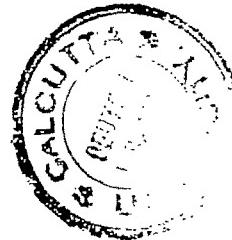


The 57
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW



Vol. LXIV, No. 1

October, 1958

The Business Classes and the Revolution
outside France

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UNTIL now we have had no general study, and very few partial studies, of the attitude of the commercial classes of Europe to the French Revolution. We can trace here only a rough sketch, which we hope will show the way for research on this important problem. Our findings, it should also be said, are limited in both time and place. In time, they are restricted to the period called "revolutionary" in the narrow sense, the period, that is, extending from about 1789 to 1799. As to place, we shall be concerned only with countries affected by the revolutionary conflagration during this period —the Low Countries, both Dutch and Belgian, the German Rhineland, Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt. We leave aside the countries where revolutionary propaganda was active, but where for various reasons it was not followed by revolution—Great Britain, Ireland, northern and central Germany (where

* Translation by Robert Palmer, Princeton University. This paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York City, December 29, 1957, by Professor Palmer.

the merchants of Hamburg nevertheless deserve careful study), Spain, and the Balkan countries.

It is well first to point out certain common features of all the business classes to be examined, and then to turn to peculiarities in each country.

In none of the regions we are considering, including Egypt, was the commercial class a homogeneous group. In all of them we find what Professor George V. Taylor has found for France¹—namely, several groups of merchants belonging often to very different social classes. Everywhere there can be distinguished a group of “great merchants,” for whom the term *négociants* was frequently reserved. This group may have included nobles and was in any case always composed of wealthy bourgeois. It was most especially engaged in the large-scale import and export trade, in seaborne commerce, or the general provisioning of the state. Below it were the small merchants who filled the role of retail intermediaries and who often had originated quite recently from among the peasants and artisans. The Jews, where there were any, were generally found in this group, and from the revolutionary point of view their attitude was very important, as will be seen. Finally there was a third group, the artisans who sold wares that they made themselves. Thus the goldsmith sold the jewelry, and the shoemaker the footwear, which he had himself produced. In this group, too, there was a wide range of social difference, from the goldsmith, at the top, to the makers and sellers of wicker baskets, for example, who at Toulouse, on the eve of the Revolution, came at the extreme end of the hierarchic list of the trade guilds or *corporations d'arts et métiers*.²

Hence we must speak of business classes in the plural. Each of these classes certainly had its own aspirations and was often in conflict with the class nearest to itself. Nevertheless, if abstraction is made of these differences and oppositions, if matters are considered from a more general point of view, it is possible to see certain aspirations that these classes, of whatever country, had in common, aspirations, in truth, that were natural to a business class: the desire for more freedom of action, for new forms of security in their business, for enlarged markets to extend and improve their affairs. Let us pass some of these various tendencies in review.

The revolution of the late eighteenth century was for many people above all the revolution of liberty. And each person dreamed of becoming more

¹ “Social Classification of French Businessmen in the Eighteenth Century,” a paper read at the 1957 meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, New York City.

² P. H. Thore, “Essai de classification des catégories sociales à l’intérieur du Tiers État de Toulouse,” *Actes du 78^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes tenu à Toulouse en 1953* (Paris, 1954).

free in his own customary sphere of action. Trade was subject to regulations varying in strictness from country to country, and often from town to town. These regulations had been laid down to protect the buyer, not the seller, to assure the customer of the quality of the object being purchased, or to safeguard him from excessive prices. In most countries there was severe regulation of the grain trade, which was vital to the population. Other trades—linens, silks, ironwares—might also be regulated. Such regulations applied to large-scale commerce. Small business in most cities was organized in guilds. On the usefulness of guilds there was far from being unanimity of opinion. The problem was discussed with intense interest, at the close of the eighteenth century, at Amsterdam as at Basel, at Leghorn as at Venice. Those harmed by the narrow and rigid structure of the guilds favored their suppression, while those who felt protected by these ancient associations hoped to preserve them. Among the latter, at Venice, were the guilds of *lanieri*, workers engaged in the production of woolen cloth, as distinguished from the guilds of woolen merchants grouped in the *camera del purgo*. The merchants all through the latter half of the eighteenth century urged the dissolution of the guilds of *lanieri*, so as to be able to recruit labor at their own convenience and, in particular, to employ women and children, to whom lower wages would be paid than to men. In 1786 the *camera del purgo* won out, and the three guilds of *lanieri* were dissolved.³ But many other guilds remained, at Venice and elsewhere. Merchants desiring their abolition hoped that the Revolution would bring it; hence these merchants became favorable to the revolutionary movement.

The merchants, especially those whose horizon went beyond the limits of the city in which they lived, were extremely hostile to barriers of every kind that blocked circulation of goods within the country. Such barriers, fairly rare in the United Provinces, were very numerous in Belgium, the German Rhineland, Switzerland, and Italy. In this last country, from 1760, the "economists" demanded the abolition of tolls on the roads and waterways and the free movement of grains. Several Italian states provided for freedom of the grain trade before the Revolution—Tuscany in 1781, Lombardy in 1785, the Kingdom of Naples in 1791, the Republic of Venice in 1794. The great merchants of other states demanded the same liberty and its extension to other commodities. As for tariff barriers, that is, those placed at state frontiers, opinions varied in accordance with fear of foreign competition. In

³ On the problem of the guilds in Italy, see especially G. Alberti, *Le corporazioni d'arti e mestieri e la libertà del commercio interno negli antichi economisti* (Milan, 1888); L. Dal Pace, *Il tramonto delle corporazioni in Italia* (Milan, 1940); M. Berengo, *La società veneta alla fine del '700* (Florence, 1956).

Belgium, merchants were unanimous in urging the opening to commerce of the river Scheldt, whose mouth had been closed by the Dutch since the sixteenth century. This measure had brought prosperity to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, ruin to Antwerp. In Italy, the economist Aldobrando Paolini, in 1786, published a treatise on freedom of trade in which he called for abolition of all tariffs. Where there was a multitude of small states, as in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, the existence of tariff barriers was a serious impediment to trade, and merchants in these countries were well disposed to ideas of abolition of tariffs and formation of larger territorial units.

The desire for wider markets was characteristic of the great merchants. Hence they favored the unity of Italy, the disappearance of multiple principalities on the left bank of the Rhine, and the unitary constitutions of the Batavian and Helvetic republics. Some of them, whose affairs were of the largest scale, hoped for even more. Thus the Belgian woolen merchants of the Verviers region favored annexation to France because it would give them a clientele infinitely larger than the bishopric of Liège.⁴ On the other hand, the French merchant-manufacturers of woolens, in Normandy and the north of France, opposed the annexation of Belgium because they feared the competition of Belgian woolens.⁵ We find tendencies analogous to those of the Verviers merchants among certain big producers of raw silk in Piedmont. These men were among the small number of Piedmontese who hoped for annexation to France, so as to sell their silk more easily to the weavers of Lyon.⁶ These great merchants, with their enlarged views, were naturally favorable to a revolution that claimed as its objective sometimes to create a universal republic, or again to establish a "great nation," *une grande nation*, by giving France the framework of its natural boundaries and surrounding it with "sister republics" with which it was to form an economic bloc.

Other merchants were less far-seeing, and their reflections, while equally inspired by self-interest, were less edifying. We mean those who undertook to supply the armies with goods of all kinds. For them the revolutionary war was a chance to make a fortune. Doubtless in theory they could have made money as well in the service of Prussia or Austria as of France. But it

⁴ P. Lebrun, *L'industrie de la laine à Verviers pendant le XVIII^e et le début du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1948).

⁵ Jacques Godechot, *La grande nation* (Paris, 1956), I, 65 ff.; G. Dejouy, *La politique économique du Directoire* (Paris, 1951). The attitude of French business interests toward Belgian woolens persisted throughout the nineteenth century. See H. T. Deschamps, *La Belgique devant la France de juillet, l'opinion et l'attitude française de 1839 à 1848* (Paris, 1956).

⁶ G. Vaccarino, "Annessionismo e autonomia nel Piemonte giacobino dopo Marengo," *Studi in memoria di Gioele Solari* (Turin, 1953); see also E. V. Tarle, *La vita economica dell'Italia nell'età napoleonica* (Turin, 1950).

appears that the suppliers of the Prussian and Austrian armies were recruited almost entirely in Prussia and Austria, while France, upon occupying foreign soil, made a liberal appeal to native businessmen for the furnishing of its troops. Thus in 1792 the French addressed themselves to the Belgians Perlau and Carpenter of Ostend, and Mossermann, Walckiers, and Simons of Brussels; to the Swiss Haller; to the Germans Vanhes and Fockeley; to the Italians Felice and Balbi, to name only the most important. These army contractors, compromised by association with revolutionary France, more often from the profit motive than for ideological reasons, could only hope for the success of the Revolution.

There were, however, reasons of a higher kind that attracted commercial men to the Revolution. By the institutions that it set up in the judicial, financial, and economic spheres, the Revolution had procured for French merchants guarantees very superior to those that existed in most European countries. In the judicial domain it gave a simple and rational organization of the civil courts, a justice that was inexpensive, if not actually free of cost as was claimed, and a guarantee of individual liberty that was superior, at least in theory, to what existed in the Anglo-Saxon countries. It gave a specialized commercial justice, distinct from civil justice and rendered by businessmen themselves. And it gave a renovated and humanized bankruptcy law that was of the utmost importance for men in business.⁷

Financially, with its constantly depreciating paper money, revolutionary France certainly could not attract the sympathy of foreign merchants. But it must not be forgotten that this situation ended in 1796, and that thereafter the only money was the franc, based on a silver standard and divided by the decimal system, which was new in Europe, having been used heretofore only in the United States in the division of the dollar. Simplification and unification of currencies could only be a boon to business. The same was true of weights and measures, unification of which in the metric system was certain to attract the man of affairs.

Thus by its promises and its realizations the revolutionary movement offered many seductions to the merchants of western Europe. But there was one category of merchants that was bound to be especially attracted, namely the Jews. In 1789 there were Jews in all the countries later gained by the revolutionary contagion. While their situation varied from region to region, they were nowhere considered the equals of other inhabitants. In several countries they were forbidden to own land, to exercise certain professions,

⁷ J. Godechot, *Les institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, 1951), and more recently, Jacques Ellul, *Histoire des institutions*, II (Paris, 1956).

or to hold public office. Hence they could only live by trade, and almost all Jews were traders. But while in some places they were authorized to engage in all sorts of commerce, as in Holland, in others—such as Germany and Switzerland—they were confined to peddling and money-lending, which is to say making loans at usurious interest. Jewish merchants rejoiced to learn that revolutionary France granted the Jews absolute equality with other French citizens. Almost everywhere the Jews favored the revolutionary movement which, they hoped, would give them the same advantages that it gave the Jews in France. Only some of the Dutch Jews, probably because they enjoyed great liberties already, were more reserved. While the big Jewish merchants of Amsterdam received the revolutionary ideas and institutions with joy, the poorer merchants and artisans, traditionally devoted to the stadholder who protected them, looked on the innovations with disapproval. They were an exception. Wherever the merchants included Jews, they were generally the most revolutionary of the group.

Thus we see that the commercial classes on the whole not only were not systematically hostile to the revolutionary ideas but were in general favorable to them so far as they emphasized liberty. Businessmen undoubtedly aspired to more liberty everywhere. On the other hand, except for the Jews, they were relatively indifferent to the notion of equality of rights. They were hostile to any policy looking toward the equality of means or which had as its aim a redistribution of wealth in any form. They had little inclination to extreme parties and were nowhere at the head of the revolutionary movement. It is possible that the experience of the French Girondists cooled their zeal: at Bordeaux, Lyon, and many other French cities many businessmen who had embraced the Girondist "party" or had taken part in the federalist movement were victims of their opinions during the Terror.⁸ The business classes, in short, while generally favorable to the Revolution, were liberals rather than democrats, moderates rather than extremists. But there were shades of difference in each country in the attitude of the business classes to the Revolution, and we shall now examine these special features.

In general, it is much more difficult to determine the activity of businessmen with regard to the Revolution in the neighboring countries than in France itself. In France there exists an abundant documentation, which has enabled Crane Brinton and Donald Greer to draw up lists and statistical

⁸ According to Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 154–60, 121 great merchants and 821 small merchants were put to death as victims of the Terror. It would be interesting to know how many of these were Girondists or federalists.

tables of great value. Outside France it is rare to have lists of "patriots," and especially lists of members of revolutionary clubs. Some have been preserved for Belgium and for certain towns of the Rhineland. In Piedmont, the Austro-Russians, during their occupation, drew up lists of "Jacobins" that are preserved in the state archives at Turin and have not yet been published. Further research will surely allow us to refine our knowledge, but at the moment we must recognize the incomplete character of our documentation.

In Belgium, most commercial men had joined in the insurrection of 1787 against Joseph II. But they soon divided into two groups. The greater men of affairs followed the party of Vonck, which demanded democratic reforms, while members of the trade guilds supported Van der Noot, the chief of the estates party, favorable to independence but very conservative in social and religious questions. Later, at the time of the first French invasion in 1792, the greater businessmen made common cause with the Girondists who were then in power in France. They hailed with enthusiasm the decision of the French executive council which on November 16, 1792, opened the mouths of the Scheldt to international commerce. A friend of theirs who had long lived in Belgium, Lebrun-Tondu, was in fact the French minister of foreign affairs and had a large influence on the enactment of the Scheldt decree. It was Lebrun-Tondu who introduced to General Dumouriez the big Belgian merchants and bankers who proposed to supply the armies—Walckiers, the Simons brothers, the Mossermann brothers, and many others.⁹ These men frequented the revolutionary clubs; they were numerous in the club at Brussels. At Liége, the Outre-Meuse club was of more democratic tendency and was a center for the merchant-artisans.¹⁰

The desertion of Dumouriez discredited the greater Belgian businessmen who had given him their support, and several of them became victims of the Terror. When the French returned in 1794 Belgium was treated as a conquered country, and the big merchants were subjected to severe requisitions and sometimes imprisoned. In the clubs that now sprang up there were no more wealthy merchants but only a small number of office-holders named by the French and workingmen or lawyers favorable to the annexation of Belgium to France. After the annexation, the Belgian businessmen rallied to the new regime, unlike the peasants, who remained hostile. Annexation was in fact favorable to the businessmen, since it gave them markets much more extensive than what they had had before.

⁹ Jean Stern, *Le mari de mademoiselle Lange, Michel Jean Simons* (Paris, 1933); Suzanne Tassier, "Aux origines de la première coalition: le ministre Lebrun Tondu," *Revue du Nord* (XXXVI), 263–72.

¹⁰ Paul Harsin, *La révolution liégeoise de 1789* (Brussels, 1954).

In the United Provinces, at the time of the first revolution, from 1783 to 1787, the business class was divided, as in Belgium. The great merchants had arrayed themselves for the most part with the patriots, while smaller merchants of the guilds had remained loyal to the stadholder. While the great merchants, after 1792, were favorable to the French Revolution ideologically, their attitude toward its economic policy was more negative. The opening of the Scheldt to Belgian commerce was a serious blow to the merchants of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Dutch commercial interests in England and the Dutch colonies were considerable; occupation of the United Provinces by French troops in January, 1795, brought with it a blockade of Dutch assets in Great Britain, interruption of trade between Holland and her colonies, which were occupied by the British, and a great reduction of maritime trade. Hence there were few businessmen among the Batavian patriots, who were recruited essentially from the lawyers, the artisans, and the Jews. Nevertheless, the businessmen by no means adopted a systematically hostile attitude to the Revolution. They attempted to limit the losses that it might cause them. They managed to prevent the circulation of assignats in the Batavian Republic, to preserve the Dutch currency, and to build up trade with north Germany so as to replace in some measure the lost maritime commerce. But they were unable to obtain a commercial treaty with France, and the exchanges between France and the Batavian Republic remained small in volume. Dutch businessmen would have liked the early restoration of a peace that would maintain most of the liberal institutions of the Revolution while reopening maritime commercial connections. Their efforts until 1799 were in vain, but they were not to be discouraged.

In the German Rhineland the Jewish merchants hailed the Revolution with enthusiasm. Others were favorable to the new ideas but were moderate. The levies and requisitions upon the Rhineland had a chilling effect. Among the Rhenish "patriots" we find few businessmen; the "patriots" were mainly intellectuals, lawyers, professors, doctors, and ecclesiastics. The businessmen stayed away from the clubs. There were very few in the club at Mainz, and some of these were strangers to the city.¹¹ When in 1794 and 1795 the French troops again occupied the Rhineland, the businessmen, overburdened with requisitions and levies, were even less enthusiastic than during the first invasion. The French government considered the bankers and great merchants

¹¹ Information kindly supplied by M. F. G. Dreyfus, professor at the Lycée Fustel de Coulanges at Strasbourg, who is preparing a thesis on social classes in the Rhineland cities at the close of the eighteenth century. See also J. Droz, *La pensée politique et morale des Cisrhénans* (Paris, 1940); Sydney Seymour Biro, *The German Policy of Revolutionary France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 105-108.

of Frankfurt as entirely devoted to Austria, and when the French army approached the city in 1796 the Directory ordered General Jourdan, the commander, to arrest them all as hostages. The richest bankers and merchants had left Frankfurt before the French arrival, so that only the Jews remained.¹² In 1797 there was a recrudescence of clubs and "constitutional circles" in the Rhineland. There were still very few businessmen in them, the members still being intellectuals or office-holders set up by the French. None of the chiefs of the Cisrhénane movement of 1797 were businessmen. In short, the attitude of businessmen in the Rhineland, much more than in the Low Countries, was to wait and see.

Switzerland, at the crossroads of Europe, had long been the home of important commercial and banking houses in Geneva, Basel, and Zurich. Several bankers and businessmen had taken to living abroad, either voluntarily or to escape the reaction that followed revolutionary attempts in 1766 and in 1780–1781. They had taken refuge in France, where they played an important role in the early stages of the French Revolution. It is enough to recall the names of the Geneva bankers, Necker, Clavière, and Panchaud; of the Zurich financier, Johann Gaspard Schweitzer; of the great man of affairs and army contractor, Haller, of Bern; of the great merchant, Bidermann, a native of Winterthur and married to a Geneva woman. Many others of less importance might be named.¹³ All these Swiss businessmen were moderate revolutionaries, most of them linked with the French Girondists. After contributing to revolutionary propaganda in Switzerland in 1792 and 1793, they fell into the background in 1794. At Geneva, the revolution of December 5, 1792, gave power to the democrats, who were small artisans and shopkeepers of the guilds in conflict with the wealthy merchants. In the other cantons, the revolutionary agitation was led by intellectuals, such as the educator Pestalozzi, the painter Hüssli, the pastor Lavater, the engineer Escher, and the doctor Usteri, at Zurich. At Basel Peter Ochs belonged to an aristocratic family and had held office in the cantonal government. There were practically no businessmen in the clubs founded in 1789 when the Helvetic Republic was established and very few in the legislative assemblies. If Swiss businessmen were heavily burdened by the war levy of fourteen millions, imposed by the French government, they had the advantage of participating in the supply of the armies. On the whole, they showed no hostility to the

¹² J. Godechot, *Les commissaires aux armées sous le Directoire* (Paris, 1938), pp. 318–22. Biro, in *The German Policy . . .*, has treated the question of the occupation of Frankfurt, pp. 594–95 and 648–49, but with an insufficient documentation, so that he presents an inaccurate picture.

¹³ Ch. Poisson, *Les fournisseurs aux armées sous la Révolution française* (Paris, 1932).

Helvetic Republic, but the revolutionary enthusiasm shown by Swiss businessmen in 1789-1792 had disappeared.

In Italy the businessmen for the most part professed liberal opinions at the end of the eighteenth century. We have given the reasons above. Moreover, they included numerous Jews at Venice and Leghorn. But among the patriots who took refuge in France before 1796 there were very few of the business class. Can one so term Andrea Vitaliani, leader of a secret club at Naples, who was an artisan watchmaker? Doubtless he did not limit himself to repairing watches, but did he sell them also? In actuality, the great majority of these exiled patriots was composed of intellectuals. The commercial men did not openly show their opinions before the arrival of the French. Their behavior then varied according to differences in region, in commercial connections, and practical interests at stake. It would take too long to examine each state of Italy separately. We shall limit ourselves to the five most important commercial centers: Genoa, Milan, Venice, Leghorn, and Naples.

Genoa after 1792 maintained a strict neutrality from which business prospered. Some businessmen dealt with the Sardinians and the Austrians, others with the French. We do not know whether the latter group was more numerous; it would be a good subject for investigation. Among businessmen who supplied the French, one of the most notable was the banker Balbi, who several times lent large sums to the French army and then acted as collector of its receipts throughout Italy. Great merchants like Paolo Gherardi and Favaga took contracts for provisions. Yet the Jacobins who carried on revolutionary propaganda at Genoa included few merchants; along with aristocrats, lawyers, and intellectuals, they were mainly small artisans and shopkeepers such as the apothecary Morando. It was they, aided by the French, who rose on May 21, 1797, and transformed the old republic of the doges into a "democratic" state.

At Milan, commercial relations with France were suspended after 1792, but with Austria and England they were continued. This explains why no merchants figured among the Milanese patriots of 1796. Several joined the popular society after the entry of the French army, but the most prominent members of the clubs, as at Genoa, were aristocrats and intellectuals, with artisans and shopkeepers represented also, as well as an apothecary, Paolo Sangiorgio.¹⁴ But the Lombard businessmen soon showed themselves to be favorable to the creation of a large republic in the peninsula, even to the unification of Italy. Their wishes were only partly fulfilled in the Cisalpine

¹⁴ The British agent, Francis Drake, in his letter of June 11, 1796, to his government, sent a list of "Jacobins" of Milan. The only person in it of the business class was the apothecary Sangiorgio. F.O. 28-15, Public Record Office, London.

Republic. The commercial treaty signed by the Cisalpine Republic and France on February 21, 1798, met the desires of the business classes in part, because it lowered the tariffs between the two countries—duties were not to exceed 6 per cent ad valorem and all prohibitions were done away with. In return, the Cisalpine merchants were to carry on all their seaborne trade in French ships, and they engaged themselves to keep out British goods to the same extent as in France. The Cisalpine merchants also exhibited their attachment to the new republic by sharing extensively in the purchase of *biens nationaux*, or church properties and other properties confiscated during the Revolution. At Bologna, the only town for which statistics on the purchasers exist, it is clear that all the bankers and many of the large merchants made important acquisitions.¹⁵ On the whole, the business people of Milan and the Cisalpine appear to have been satisfied with the new regime.

At Venice, trade had greatly declined in the years before the Revolution, owing to the competition of Trieste in the Adriatic and of France and England in the Near East and to an increasing backwardness in Venetian industrial activity. Many businessmen had given up trade, settled on the land, and become agriculturists. Others were dissatisfied and inclined to new ideas and political changes. Yet it was the men in small businesses who most generally adopted the revolutionary principles: innkeepers, café owners, tailors, dealers in vegetables and fish. It was these who were found at the club, along with the intellectuals. It is characteristic that during discussions at the club commercial problems were rarely raised, other than the abolition of guilds, the creation of business schools, and the causes of the decline of Venetian commerce. This decline was to be prolonged, for Venice, contrary to the hopes of the patriots, was annexed not to the Cisalpine but to Austria, which continued to favor Trieste.¹⁶

While Venice was in decline, Leghorn was at its height. It owed its prosperity to the vast stores of merchandise established there by the English to serve their trade in the Near East. Precisely for this reason Leghorn was suspected by the French government. The Directory had the port occupied by Bonaparte on June 27, 1796, and the stores of merchandise were confiscated. Those belonging to the British remained in the hands of agents of the French Republic; the rest were restored to the Leghorn merchants, or rather sold back to them, since an indemnity of 1,500,000 livres was de-

¹⁵ Umberto Marcelli, "La crisi economica e sociale a Bologna et le prime vendite dei beni ecclesiastici (1797-1800)," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia patria per le Province di Romagna*, Nuova serie, V (1953-54), 43.

¹⁶ On Venice see especially M. Petrocchi, *Il tramonto della repubblica di Venezia* (Venice, 1950), and Berengo, *La società veneta alla fine del'700*.

manded. This procedure alienated most of the business class from France and had a deplorable effect throughout Italy. Bonaparte himself observed as much in a letter to the Directory: "The Leghorn merchants are being very severely dealt with, with more rigor than you intended to be used toward the British merchants themselves. This alarms the business class in all Italy and makes us look to them like Vandals. . . . It has turned the merchants of Genoa against us."¹⁷

Trade at Naples, as at Leghorn, was progressing, though in less degree, at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁸ Trade relations with France had notably increased. Naples had also become a great center for fermentation of the new ideas. Were there, however, many businessmen among the "Jacobins" who warmly welcomed the French naval squadron under Latouche-Tréville in 1792? We do not know. We know only that the clandestine clubs that then took form were composed mainly of educated aristocrats and intellectuals. There were also some small artisans and shopkeepers, such as the watchmaker Vitaliani already mentioned. We find the same kind of persons at the head of the Neapolitan Republic in 1799. The clubs then became public, but no commercial questions were discussed. It does not appear that the Naples merchants profited by supply operations from the presence of the French army. It was in fact the Sicubert brothers, French bankers established at Rome, who took these matters in hand and collected the proceeds of levies and requisitions. The Naples merchants also lost without compensation the British, Russian, and Turkish credits in their possession. They showed, in their politics, so far as we are informed, a prudent reserve that contrasts with the attitude of merchants at Venice or Genoa.

In Egypt, finally, the last of the countries touched by the revolution in our period, foreign and especially maritime trade was in the hands of European merchants, mainly French. For twenty years they had urged French intervention in Egypt, and they were enthusiastic at the arrival of French troops.¹⁹ On the other hand, the small traders of the guilds were loaded with taxes and requisitions and saw little difference between the French administration and that of the Mamelukes. Christian Coptic merchants and the Jews nevertheless collaborated with the French authorities, but the Moslems remained hostile and took part in the insurrection at Cairo of October 21, 1798.

¹⁷ Bonaparte to the Director, Castiglione, 2 thermidor an IV (July 20, 1796), Napoléon; *Correspondance* (4 vols., Paris, 1858), I, 484.

¹⁸ R. Romano, *Le commerce du port de Naples avec la France et l'Adriatique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1951). The recent work of R. Bouvier and A. Laffargue, *La vie napolitaine au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1956), is anecdotal.

¹⁹ Fr. Charles-Roux, *Les origines de l'expédition d'Égypte* (Paris, 1910); *id.*, *Bonaparte gouverneur de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1936).

The first conclusion to be drawn is that our knowledge of the business classes, their composition, attitude, and ideas, is still very incomplete. This paper has merely defined problems and sketched tentative solutions. New and deeper researches are necessary. Yet it appears that, with few exceptions, the business people were not hostile to the Revolution. In several cases, in Belgium, Switzerland, and Egypt, the great merchants were among those chiefly responsible for the revolutionary explosion. Elsewhere, at Genoa and Venice, if they did not introduce the Revolution they at least aided it. In the United Provinces, in Germany, and at Naples they were more reserved, but did not oppose it. Such, in broad outline, and subject to numerous modifications which future investigation will not fail to bring, is the picture we can form today of the attitude toward the Revolution of the commercial classes of countries affected by the revolutionary expansion from 1789 to 1799.

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Urban Life in Western America, 1790-1830

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THE towns were the spearheads of the American frontier. Planted as forts or trading posts far in advance of the line of settlement, they held the West for the approaching population. Indeed, in 1763, when the British drew the Proclamation Line across the Appalachians to stop the flow of migrants, a French merchant company prepared to survey the streets of St. Louis, a thousand miles through the wilderness. Whether as part of French and Spanish activity from New Orleans or part of Anglo-American operations from the Atlantic seaboard, the establishment of towns preceded the breaking of soil in the transmontane West.

In 1764, the year of the founding of St. Louis, settlers made the first plat of Pittsburgh. Twelve years later and four hundred miles down the Ohio, Louisville sprang up at the Falls, and the following decade witnessed the beginnings of Cincinnati and Lexington. Before the century closed, Detroit, Buffalo, and Cleveland were laid out on the Great Lakes. In fact, by 1800 the sites of every major metropolis in the old Northwest except Chicago, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis had been cleared and surveyed.

Furthermore, these urban outposts grew rapidly even in their infant decades. By 1815 Pittsburgh, already a thriving industrial center, had 8,000 inhabitants, giving it a slight margin over Lexington. Cincinnati estimated its population at 4,000 at the end of the war with Great Britain, while farther west Louisville and St. Louis neared half that figure.

The speed and extent of this expansion startled contemporaries. Joseph Charless, the editor of the *Missouri Gazette*, who had made a trip through the new country in 1795, remembered the banks of the Ohio as "a dreary wilderness, the haunt of ruthless savages," yet twenty years later he found them "sprinkled with towns" boasting "spinning and weaving establishments, steam mills, manufactures in various metals, leather, wool, cotton and flax," and "seminaries of learning conducted by excellent teachers."¹ The great transformation moved a Cincinnati bard to a somewhat heroic couplet:

Here where so late the appalling sound
Of savage yells, the woods resound
Now smiling Ceres waves her sheaf
And cities rise in bold relief.²

¹ *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), July 13, 1816.

² *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati), June 11, 1815.

Not all the towns founded in the trans-Allegheny region in this period fared as well, however. Many never developed much beyond a survey and a newspaper advertisement. Others, after promising beginnings, slackened and settled down to slow and unspectacular development. Still others flourished briefly then faded, leaving behind a grim story of deserted mills, broken buildings, and aging people—the West's first harvest of ghost towns. Most of these were mere eddies in the westward flow of urbanism, but at flood tide it was often hard to distinguish the eddies from the main stream. Indeed, at one time Wheeling, Virginia, St. Genevieve, Missouri, New Albany, Indiana, and Zanesville, Ohio, were considered serious challengers to the supremacy of their now more famous neighbors.

Other places, such as Rising Sun, Town of America, or New Athens, were almost wholly speculative ventures. Eastern investors scanned maps looking for likely spots to establish a city, usually at the junction of two rivers, or sometimes at the center of fertile farm districts. They bought up land, laid it out in lots, gave the place a name, and waited for the development of the region to appreciate its value. Looking back over this period one editor called it a "city-making mania," when everyone went about "anticipating flourishing cities in vision, at the mouth of every creek and bayou."³ This speculation, though extensive, was not always profitable. "Of the vast number of towns which have been founded," James Hall declared, "but a small minority have prospered, nor do we think that, as a general rule, the founders of these have been greatly enriched by their prosperity."⁴

Despite many failures, these abortive attempts to plant towns were significant, for they reveal much about the motives of the people who came West in the early period. Many settlers moved across the mountains in search of promising towns rather than good land; their inducements being urban opportunities rather than fertile soil. Daniel Drake, who was among the earliest urbanites of the frontier, later commented on this process:

It is worthy of remark, that those who made these beginnings of settlement, projected towns, which they anticipated would grow into cities. . . . And we may see in their origins, one of the elements of the prevalent tendency to rear up towns in advance of the country which has ever since characterized Ohio. The followers of the first pioneers, like themselves had a taste for commerce and the mechanic arts which cannot be gratified without the construction of cities.⁵

Proprietors competed for these urban migrants, most of whom came from

³ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), Aug. 29, 1825.

⁴ Hall, *The West: Its Commerce and Navigation* (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 227.

⁵ Drake, "Dr. Drake's Memoir of the Miami County, 1779-1794," Beverley Bond, Jr., ed., Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Quarterly Publications*, XVIII (1923), 58.

"those portions of the Union which cherish and build up cities."⁶ In fact, the preference of some settlers for towns was so great that in 1787 Lexington petitioned the Virginia legislature for incorporation to be "an inducement to well disposed persons, artizens [sic] and mechanics who from motives and convenience do prefer Town life."⁷

The West's young cities owed their initial success to commerce. All sprang from it, and their growth in the early years of the century stemmed from its expansion. Since the Ohio River was the chief artery of trade and travel, the towns along its banks prospered most. Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny meets the Monongahela, commanded the entire valley; Cincinnati served the rich farm lands of Kentucky and Ohio; Louisville fattened on the transshipment of goods around the Falls; and St. Louis, astride the Mississippi, was the focus of far-flung enterprises, some of which reached to the Pacific Ocean. Even Lexington, landlocked in a country of water highways, grew up as the central mart of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Though these cities were firmly established by the first decade of the century, the coming of the steamboat greatly enhanced their size and influence.⁸ By quickening transportation and cutting distances, steam navigation telescoped fifty years' urban development into a single generation. The flow of commerce down river was now supplemented by a northward and eastward movement, giving cities added opportunities for expansion and growth. "The steam engine in five years has enabled us to anticipate a state of things," a Pittsburgher declared enthusiastically, "which in the ordinary course of events, it would have required a century to have produced. The art of printing scarcely surpassed it in beneficial consequences."⁹ The "enchanter's wand" not only touched the established towns but created new ones as well. A French observer noted that "in the brief interval of fifteen years, many cities were formed . . . where before there were hardly the dwellings of a small town. . . . A simple mechanical device has made life both possible and comfortable in regions which heretofore have been a wilderness."¹⁰

As these commercial centers grew, some inhabitants turned to manufacturing. Indeed, this new interest spread so rapidly in Pittsburgh that in 1810 a resident likened the place to "a large workshop," and already travelers com-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ James R. Robertson, ed., *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia, 1769-1792* (Louisville, Ky., 1914), p. 106.

⁸ Louis C. Hunter, *Steamboats on the Western Rivers, An Economic and Technological History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 27-32.

⁹ Morgan Neville, "The Last of the Boatmen," *The Western Souvenir for 1829* (Cincinnati, Ohio, n.d.), p. 108.

¹⁰ [Jean Baptiste] Marestier, *Mémoire sur les Bateaux à vapeur des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1824), pp. 9-10.

plained of the smoke and soot.¹¹ Between 1803 and 1815 the value of manufactured goods jumped from \$350,000 to over \$2,600,000, and the city's iron and glass products became known throughout the new country.¹² Watching this remarkable development, the editor of *Niles' Register* exclaimed: "Pittsburgh, sometimes emphatically called the 'Birmingham of America,' will probably become the *greatest manufacturing town in the world*"¹³ Lexington also turned increasingly to industry, her ropewalks and textile mills supplying the whole West. Beginnings were more modest in other places, but every city had at least a few ambitious enterprises.

Some of this urban expansion rested on a speculative base, and the depression of 1819 brought a reckoning. Lexington, already suffering from its landlocked position, received fatal wounds, while Pittsburgh, the West's foremost city, was crippled for a decade. Elsewhere, however, the setback proved only momentary and the mid-twenties saw the old pace renewed. Population growth again provides a convenient index of development. Cincinnati quickly overtook its faltering rivals, the number of its residents leaping from 6,000 in 1815 to over 25,000 in 1830. By the latter date the census recorded Pittsburgh's recovery. Though the figure had dropped to 7,000 during the depression, it rose to 13,000 in 1830. Farther west Louisville and St. Louis enjoyed spectacular expansion, the former boasting over 10,000 inhabitants at the end of the period, while the Mississippi entrepôt passed the 6,000 mark. Lexington alone lagged, its population remaining stable for the next two decades.

Even these figures, however, do not convey the real growth. In most places municipal boundaries could no longer contain the new settlers, and many spilled over into the suburbs. For instance, Allegheny, Bayardstown, Birmingham, Lawrenceville, Hayti, and East Liberty added nearly 10,000 to Pittsburgh's population, bringing the total to 22,000.¹⁴ The same was true of Cincinnati where 2,000 people lived in the Eastern and Northern Liberties.¹⁵ In Louisville, Preston's and Campbell's "enlargements" and Shippingport and Portland swelled the city's total to 13,000.¹⁶ Ultimately, the urban centers annexed these surrounding clusters, but in the meantime local authorities grappled with early manifestations of the suburban problem.

¹¹ Zadock Cramer, *Pittsburgh Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1810* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1810), p. 52.

¹² Pittsburgh's industrial foundations are discussed in Catherine Elizabeth Reiser, *Pittsburgh's Commercial Development, 1800-1850* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1951), pp. 12-21.

¹³ *Niles' Register*, May 28, 1814.

¹⁴ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Nov. 16, 1830.

¹⁵ *Cincinnati Advertiser*, Aug. 18, 1830.

¹⁶ United States Census, 1830, pp. 114-15.

As the cities grew they staked out extensive commercial claims over the entire West.¹⁷ Timothy Flint calculated that Cincinnati was the central market for over a million people, while a resident asserted that its trade was "co-extensive with steamboat navigation on the western waters."¹⁸ Louisville's economic penetration was scarcely less impressive. As early as 1821, a local editor declared that "the people of the greater part of Indiana, all Kentucky, and portions of Tennessee, Alabama, Illinois, Missouri, now report to this place for dry goods, groceries, hardware and queensware."¹⁹ St. Louis' empire touched Santa Fe on the south, Canada on the north, and the Pacific on the west. "It is doubtful if history affords the example of another city," wrote Hiram M. Chittenden, "which has been the exclusive mart for so vast an area as that which was tributary to St. Louis."²⁰

In carving out these extensive dependencies, the young metropolises overwhelmed their smaller neighbors. The rise of St. Louis destroyed the ambitions of Edwardsville across the Mississippi, which once harbored modest hopes of importance. Pittsburgh's recovery in the late twenties condemned Wheeling and Steubenville to minor roles in the upper Ohio region. And Louisville's development swallowed two Kentucky neighbors while reducing Jeffersonville and New Albany on the Indiana side of the river to mere appendages.

Not satisfied with such considerable conquests, the cities reached out for more. Seeking wider opportunities, they built canals and turnpikes and, even before 1830, planned railroads to strengthen their position. Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis tried to tap the increasing trade on the Great Lakes by water links to the North. Pennsylvania's Iron City also hoped to become a major station on the National Road, and for a decade its Washington representatives lobbied to win that commercial bond with the East. Lexington, suffocating in its inland position, frantically strove for better connections with the Ohio River. A turnpike to Maysville was dashed by Jackson's veto, technical difficulties made a canal to the Kentucky River impractical, but some belated hope rose with the possibility of a railroad to Louisville or Cincinnati.

The intensive search for new advantages brought rivalry and conflict.

¹⁷ For an appreciation of the economic importance of the cities in the growth of the West, see Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829* in *The American Nation: A History*, A. B. Hart, ed., XIV (New York, 1906), 96-98.

¹⁸ Flint, "Thoughts Respecting the Establishment of a Porcelain Manufactory at Cincinnati," *Western Monthly Review*, III (1830), 512; Benjamin Drake and Edward W. Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1829* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1827), p. 71.

¹⁹ *Louisville Public Advertiser*, Oct. 17, 1829.

²⁰ Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (2 vols., New York, 1902), I, 99.

Though the commerce of the whole West lay untouched before them, the cities quarreled over its division. Thus Louisville and Cincinnati fought over a canal around the Falls of the Ohio. The Kentucky town, feeling that its strength depended upon maintaining the break in transportation, obstructed every attempt to circumvent the rapids. Only when Ohio interests threatened to dig on the Indiana side did Louisville move ahead with its own project. Likewise, harsh words flew between Wheeling and Pittsburgh as they contended for the Ohio River terminus of the National Road. Smaller towns, too, joined the struggle. Cleveland and Sandusky, for instance, clashed over the location of the Ohio Canal, the stake being nothing less than control of the mounting trade between the Valley and the lakes. And their instinct to fight was sound, for the outcome shaped the future of both places.

Urban rivalries were often bitter, and the contestants showed no quarter. In the late twenties when only the success of Transylvania University kept Lexington's economy from complete collapse, Louisville joined the attack which ultimately destroyed the school. In a similar vein Cincinnatians taunted their upriver competitor as it reeled under the impact of the depression of 1819. "Poor Pittsburgh," they exclaimed, "your day is over, the sceptre of influence and wealth is to travel to us; the Cumberland road has done the business."²¹ But even the Queen City found her supremacy insecure. "I discovered two ruling passions in Cincinnati," a traveler remarked, "enmity against Pittsburgh, and jealousy of Louisville."²² This drive for power and primacy, sustained especially by merchants and articulated by editors, was one of the most consistent and striking characteristics of the early history of Western cities.

As they pursued expansive policies, municipalities also ministered to their own growing pains. From the beginning, urban residents had to contend with the problems of living together, and one of their first acts was to petition the territory or state for governing authority to handle them. The legislatures, representing rural interests and generally suspicious of towns, responded with charters bestowing narrow grants of power which barely met current needs and failed to allow for expansion. As localities grew, however, they developed problems which could be met only with wider jurisdiction. Louisville's charter had to be amended twenty-two times before 1815 and Cincinnati's underwent five major changes between 1815 and 1827. Others, though altered less often, were adjusted and remade until finally scrapped for new ones. Reluctantly, and bit by bit, the states turned over to the cities

²¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Dec. 18, 1818.

²² *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1819.

the responsibility of managing their own affairs, though keeping them starved for revenue by strict tax and debt limitations.

Despite inadequate charters and modest incomes, urban governments played a decisive role in the growth of Western cities. Since these were commercial towns, local authorities paid special attention to mercantile requirements. They not only constructed market houses but also extended municipal regulation over a wide variety of trading activity. Ordinances protected the public against adulterated foods, false measurements, and rigged prices. Some municipalities went even farther and assumed responsibility for seeing that "justice is done between buyer and seller."²³ In search of this objective, officials fixed prices on some goods, excluded monopolies from the market, and tried to equalize opportunities for smaller purchasers. To facilitate access to the exchange center, they lavished time and money on the development of wharves and docks and the improvement of streets.

Municipalities also tackled a wide variety of other problems growing out of urban life. Fire protection, at first casually organized, was placed on a more formal basis. Volunteer companies still provided the manpower, but government participation increased markedly. Local councils legislated against many kinds of fire hazards, and public money furnished most of the equipment. Moreover, some places, haunted by the image of Detroit's disaster in 1805, forbade the construction of wooden buildings in the heart of the city, a measure which not only reduced fire risks but also changed the face of downtown areas. The development of adequate police was much slower. By 1830 only Lexington and Louisville had regular patrols, and these were established with the intent more of control of slaves than the general protection of life and property. In other towns law enforcement was lax by day and absent at night, though the introduction of gas lighting in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati in the late twenties made the after-dark hours there less dangerous than before.

Congested living created new health hazards and especially increased the likelihood of epidemics. Every place suffered, but none like Louisville, which earned a grim reputation as the "Graveyard of the West" because of the constant visitations of yellow fever and malaria.²⁴ Cities took preventive measures, such as draining stagnant ponds and clearing streets and lots, and also appointed boards of health to preside over the problem. Municipal water systems, introduced in Pittsburgh and Cincinnati before 1830, made life healthier and certainly more comfortable, while the discussion of installing

²³ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Mar. 9, 1810.

²⁴ Benjamin Casseday, *The History of Louisville from Its Earliest Settlement till the Year 1852* (Louisville, Ky., 1852), p. 49.

underground sewers pointed to still more extensive reform in sanitation.

In meeting urban problems, Western officials drew heavily on Eastern experience. Lacking precedents of their own, and familiar with the techniques of older cities, they frankly patterned their practice on Eastern models. There was little innovation. When confronted by a new question, local authorities responded by adopting tested solutions. This emulation characterized nearly every aspect of development—from the width of streets to housing regulations. No major improvement was launched without a close study of established seaboard practices. St. Louis' council, for example, instructed its water committee to "procure from the cities of Philadelphia and New Orleans such information as can be obtained on the subject of conveying water and the best manner of clearing it."²⁵ When Cincinnati discussed introducing underground sewers, an official group was designated to "ascertain from the city authorities of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston, how far the sinking of common sewers is approved in those cities."²⁶ Pittsburgh undertook gas lighting only after exhaustive research and "very full enquiries at New York and Baltimore."²⁷

Though the young towns drew upon the experience of all the major Atlantic cities, the special source of municipal wisdom was Philadelphia. Many Western urbanites had lived or visited there; it provided the new country with most of its professional and cultural leadership; it was the model metropolis. "She is the great seat of American affluence, of individual riches, and distinguished philanthropy," a Pittsburgh editorial declared in 1818. "From her . . . we have everything to look for."²⁸ Newspapers often referred to it as "our mother city."²⁹

From street plans to cultural activity, from the shape of market houses to the habits of people, the Philadelphia influence prevailed. Robert Peterson and John Filson, who had a hand in the founding of Louisville, Lexington, and Cincinnati, borrowed the basic grid pattern of the original plats from the Pennsylvania metropolis.³⁰ Market location and design came from the

²⁵ St. Louis City Council, Minutes, Court House, St. Louis, June 12, 1829.

²⁶ Cincinnati City Council, Minutes, City Hall, Cincinnati, Oct. 6, 1827.

²⁷ Pittsburgh City Council, City Council Papers, City Hall, Pittsburgh, May 10, 1827. The extent of Western urban indebtedness to the East is perhaps best illustrated in the establishment of the high school in Louisville. The building was "mainly after the plan of the High School of New York, united with the Public School Rooms of Philadelphia." Most of the teachers came from the East, while the curriculum and even reading assignments derived from "the High School of New York and some of the Boston establishments." *An Account of the Louisville City School, Together With the Ordinances of the City Council, and the Regulations of the Board of Trustees for the Government of the Institution* (Louisville, Ky., 1830), pp. 5 ff.

²⁸ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1818.

²⁹ For example, see *Pittsburgh Gazette*, June 23, 1818.

³⁰ For example, see Rufus King, *Ohio First Fruits of the Ordinance of 1787* (Boston, 1888), p. 209.

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same source, as did techniques for fire fighting and police protection. Western towns also leaned on Philadelphia's leadership in street lighting, waterworks, and wharfing. Even the naming of suburbs—Pittsburgh's Kensington and Cincinnati's Liberties—came from the mother city. The result was a physical likeness which struck many travelers and which Philadelphians themselves recognized. Gideon Burton, for instance, remembered his first impression of Cincinnati in the 1820's: "How beautiful this city is," he remarked, "how much like Philadelphia."⁸¹

The Quaker City spirit, moreover, went beyond streets, buildings, and improvements, reaching into a wide range of human activity. Businessmen, yearly visitors in the East, brought marketing and promotion techniques from there;⁸² young labor movements lifted their platforms from trade union programs in the mother city; employment agencies were conducted "principally on the Philadelphia plan."⁸³ The same metropolis trained most of the physicians of the West and a large share of the teachers and ministers. Caspar Wistar's famed Sunday evening gatherings of the intelligentsia provided the idea for Daniel Drake's select meetings of Cincinnati's social and cultural elite. Moreover, Philadelphia furnished the model of the perfect urbanite, for the highest praise that Western town dwellers could bestow upon a fellow citizen was to refer to him as their own "Benjamin Franklin."⁸⁴ In short, Philadelphia represented the highest stage of urban development, and progress was measured against this ideal.

Such borrowing was a conscious policy. In 1825 Mayor William Carr Lane of St. Louis, the most able urban statesman of the period, provided the justification. "Experience is the best guide . . . , " he told his councilmen. "The records of other towns are a source from which we may expect to derive useful hints. . . . It is therefore incumbent upon us to examine carefully what other communities similarly situated have done."⁸⁵ The process, however, was selective, not slavish. Investigation usually revealed a wide variety of possibilities, allowing Western cities to choose the most appropriate technique. Nevertheless, young towns preferred to meet their urban problems by adopting the established ways of the East. The challenge of the new coun-

⁸¹ Burton, *Reminiscences of Gideon Burton* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1895). The strategic location of Western cities in the life of the new country reminded some visitors of the regional supremacy of Philadelphia. Lewis Condick, for example, referred to Lexington as "the Philadelphia of Kentucky." "Journal of a Trip to Kentucky in 1795," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, n.s., IV (1919), 120.

⁸² *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Apr. 22, 1923.

⁸³ *Pittsburgh Mercury*, Aug. 7, 1827.

⁸⁴ The phrase was constantly used in characterizing John Bradford of Lexington and Daniel Drake of Cincinnati, but it was applied to others as well.

⁸⁵ St. Louis City Council, Minutes, Court House, St. Louis, Apr. 25, 1825.

try, far from producing a bold and fresh response, led to greater dependence on the older sections of the Union.

As transmontane cities developed they created societies whose ways and habits contrasted sharply with those of the countryside. Not only was their physical environment distinct, but their interests, activities, and pace of life also differed greatly. In 1811 a farmer near Lexington expressed the conflict as contemporaries saw it in a dialogue between "Rusticus" and "Urbanus." The latter referred to the "rude, gross appearance" of his neighbor, adding: "How strong you smell of your ploughed ground and corn fields. How dismal, how gloomy your green woods. What a miserable clash your whistling woodland birds are continually making." "Rusticus" replied with the rural image of the town dweller. "What a fine smooth complexion you have Urbanus: you look like a weed that has grown up in the shade. Can you walk your streets without inhaling the noxious fumes with which your town is pregnant? . . . Can you engage in calm contemplation, when hammers are ringing in every direction—when there is as great a *rattling* as in a storm when the hail descends on our house tops?"³⁶

One of the most conspicuous differences was in social structure. The stratification of urban societies was in marked contrast with the boisterous equality of the countryside. Social lines developed very quickly in the city. Though not as tightly drawn as in the East, they represented the meaningful distinctions in Western communities. The groupings were basically economic, though professional people were set apart by their interest and training, and Negroes by their color. No rigid boundaries divided the classes, and movement between them was constant. Yet differences did exist; people felt them and contemporaries thought them significant. It is suggestive in this regard that the first great literary product of the West, *Modern Chivalry*, satirized the notion of equality, and the author, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, was one of Pittsburgh's leading citizens.

These divisions deepened in the postwar years. As the cities grew the sense of neighborliness and intimacy diminished, giving way to the impersonality characteristic of urban living. To old-timers the changing social configuration bred a deep nostalgia and raised the image of happier, simpler days. "We cannot helping looking back with sorrowful heart, in that time of unaffected content and gaiety," a Pennsylvanian lamented, "when the unambitious people . . . in the village of 'Fort Pitt' in the yet unchartered town of Pittsburgh, were ignorant and careless of all invidious distinctions, which distract and divide the inhabitants of overgrown cities. Then all was peace-

³⁶ *Kentucky Reporter* (Lexington), July 2, 1811.

ful heartfelt felicity, undisturbed by the rankling thorns of envy; and equality . . . was a tie that united all ranks and conditions in our community."⁸⁷ Town life in the West had never been that idyllic, but the distortion of the vision was itself a measure of the rapid change. "We have our castes of society, graduated and divided with as much regard to rank and dignity as the most scrupulous Hindoos maintain in defense of their religious prejudices," the same source admitted in 1826. Moreover, social distances were great. "Between the . . . classes . . . there are lines of demarcation drawn wide, distinct and not to be violated with impunity."⁸⁸ Nor was this stratification surprising. Having come from places where differences mattered, early city dwellers tried to re-create them in a new setting. The urge for status was stronger than the appeal of equality, and as the towns expanded cleavages deepened.

Urban ways were further distinguished from rural habits by the collective approach to many problems. City living created issues which could not always be solved by the highly individualistic methods of agrarian society. Local governments assumed an ever wider responsibility for the conduct of community affairs, and voluntary associations handled a large variety of other questions. Merchants formed chambers of commerce to facilitate cooperation on common problems; professional people organized societies to raise the standards of their colleagues and keep out the untrained. Working people, too, banded together in unions, seeking not only greater economic strength but also fraternity and self-improvement. Religious and philanthropic clubs managed most charity and relief work, while immigrants combined to help new arrivals. In addition, other associations grew up to promote literature and music, encourage debating, advocate social innovations, support public causes, and conduct the welter of amusements which larger cities required. Just as conditions in the countryside placed greatest emphasis on individual effort, so the urban situation made cooperative action seem more appropriate.

Rural and metropolitan West were also separated by distinctive social and cultural developments. The towns very quickly produced a surprisingly rich and diversified life, offering opportunities in many fields similar to those of Eastern cities but lacking on the farm or frontier.⁸⁹ They enjoyed a virtual monopoly of printing presses, newspapers, bookstores, and circulating li-

⁸⁷ Samuel Jones, *Pittsburgh in 1826* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1826), p. 43.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ For a day-to-day account of the cultural offerings of a Western city between 1820 and 1830 see the highly informative but unpublished diary of William Stanley Merrill in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati).

braries. Theaters sprang up to encourage local players and traveling troupes, while in larger places museums brought the curious and the scientific to the townfolks.⁴⁰ In addition, every week brought numerous lectures and debates on all kinds of topics, keeping urban residents abreast of the latest discoveries and developments in every field. By 1815 these amenities had already lost their novelty. Indeed, some thought the civilizing process was getting out of hand. "Twenty sermons a week—," a Cincinnatian wearily counted, "Sunday evening Discourses on Theology—Private assemblies—state Cotillion parties—Saturday Night Clubs, and chemical lectures— . . . like the fever and the ague, return every day with distressing regularity."⁴¹

Of course, the whole transmontane region matured culturally in this period, but the towns played a strategic role. "Cities have arisen in the very wilderness . . . , " a St. Louis editor noticed in 1821, "and form in their respective states the *foci* of art and science, of wealth and information."⁴² A Cincinnatian made a similar observation. "This *city*, in its growth and cultural improvements has anticipated the western country in general."⁴³ The hinterland, already bound to urban communities by trade, readily admitted its dependence. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* merely stated the obvious when it remarked in 1819 that the surrounding region "looks up to Pittsburgh not only as a medium through which to receive the comforts and luxuries of foreign commodities, but also a channel from which it can most naturally expect a supply of intellectual wealth."⁴⁴ Thus while the cities' merchants staked out markets in the countryside, their civic leaders spread a cultural influence into the same area.

This leadership extended into almost every field. For example, the educational opportunities of town children greatly exceeded those of their rural neighbors. Every municipality developed a complex of private tuition schools topped by an academy and, in every place except Louisville, a college. Moreover, the cities organized the movement for public schooling. Ohio's experience is illustrative. The movement for state legislation started in Cincinnati, received its major impetus from the local press, and was carried in the Assembly through the efforts of representatives from Hamilton county. It is also significant that the first superintendent of common schools in Ohio was Samuel Lewis of Cincinnati. Nor was this urban leadership surprising.

⁴⁰ The development of the theater in Western cities is outlined in Ralph Leslie Rush, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 352-400. For a detailed study of a single town see William G. B. Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier, The Early Years of the St. Louis Stage* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 1-134.

⁴¹ *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati), Dec. 9, 1816.

⁴² *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), Dec. 20, 1820.

⁴³ *Liberty Hall* (Cincinnati), June 29, 1819.

⁴⁴ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Apr. 30, 1819.

The cities, as the great population centers, felt the educational pressure first and most acutely. In addition, they alone had the wealth needed to launch ambitious projects for large numbers of children. Hence the towns were ready for comprehensive public programs long before the countryside.

The most striking illustration of the cultural supremacy of the cities, however, was Lexington's unique reign as the "Athens of the West."⁴⁵ The area's largest town until 1810, it was early celebrated for its polish and sophistication and was generally conceded to be the region's capital of arts and science. But the coming of the steamboat and the depression of 1819 combined to undermine its economic position. To offset this commercial and industrial decline, Lexington's civic leaders inaugurated a policy of vigorous cultural expansion.⁴⁶ They built schools, subsidized Transylvania University, and advertised the many opportunities for advancement in learning and letters in the metropolis. Throughout the twenties this campaign was a spectacular success. The town became the resort of the most talented men of the new country. Educators, scientists, painters, lawyers, architects, musicians, and their patrons all flocked there. Transylvania University attained national eminence, attracting most of its faculty from the East and drawing students from better than a dozen states. Like a renaissance city of old Italy, Lexington provided the creative atmosphere for a unique flowering that for a decade astonished travelers and stimulated the best minds of the West.

In its golden age the town boasted the most distinguished collection of intellectuals the new country had ever seen in a single city. The central figure in this awakening was Horace Holley, a Unitarian minister from Boston and the president of Transylvania. Though not an accomplished scholar himself, he recruited a remarkable faculty and raised the institution from a small denominational college to a university of the first rank. The medical department achieved a special distinction. Its dean was Charles Caldwell, one of Benjamin Rush's favorite pupils, who turned down important posts in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore to join the Kentucky experiment. Members of the staff included the botanist, Charles Wilkins Short, Daniel Drake, later the author of a pioneering study of diseases in the Mississippi Valley, and the surgeon, Benjamin Winslow Dudley. Among them, too, was the furtive and erratic, yet highly talented, Turkish-born naturalist, Constantine Rafinesque, whose most fruitful years were spent in Lexington.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ For Lexington's growth and brief supremacy see Bernard Mayo, "Lexington, Frontier Metropolis," in *Historiography and Urbanisation*, Eric F. Goldman, ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1941), pp. 21-42.

⁴⁶ See, for example, *Kentucky Reporter*, Oct. 4, 1820.

⁴⁷ Transylvania's "golden age" is treated in detail in Walter William Jennings, *Transylvania*,

The graduating class of the medical school in 1826 demonstrated the extent of the university's reputation and influence. With sixty-seven degrees granted in that year, twenty-eight of the recipients came from Kentucky, ten from Tennessee, five each from Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama, three from Ohio, two each from Mississippi, Illinois, and Louisiana, and one each from North Carolina and Georgia. During the twenties the college trained many of the West's most distinguished people. In politics alone it turned out at least seventeen congressmen, three governors, six United States senators, and the president of the Confederacy. In the same decade the school produced scores of lawyers, clergymen, and physicians, who did much to raise professional standards in the new country. Few universities have left such a clear mark on a generation; in its heyday Transylvania fully deserved its title of the "Harvard of the West."⁴⁸

The college was the center of this wilderness renaissance, but around it moved other figures—artists, architects, musicians, and poets—who gave added luster to the movement. In Matthew Jouett the city had the West's most famous painter. A student of Gilbert Stuart and a portraitist of considerable gifts, he made his studio the exciting headquarters for a group of promising young artists. Gideon Shryock provided Lexington with an architect equal to its enlightenment. After studying with William Strickland in Philadelphia, he brought the Greek revival across the mountains. His work, especially the state capitol at Frankfort and Morrison College at Transylvania, brought him immediate fame and has led a modern critic to assert that he "was almost a decade ahead of his time even when judged by sophisticated eastern standards."⁴⁹ Music shared the upsurge, and in 1817 townsfolk heard Anthony Phillip Hennrich conduct the first performance of a Beethoven symphony in the United States.

The glitter of this city drew young people from all over the transmontane region, including many from the countryside. In doing so, it provoked a familiar lament from the rural areas whose children succumbed to the bewitchment of Lexington. "We want our sons to be practical men," wrote a Kentucky farmer, "whose minds will not be filled with those light notions

Pioneer University of the West (New York, 1955), pp. 99–124, and Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780–1828* (New York, 1939), pp. 160–242.

⁴⁸ The reputation of Lexington in Cincinnati is charmingly portrayed in the letters of young Ohioans attending Transylvania University to their friends back home. See especially the William Lytle Collection in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati).

⁴⁹ Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life prior to the War between the States* (New York, 1944), p. 244.

of refinement and taste, which will induce them to believe that they are of a different order of beings, or that will elevate them above their equals."⁶⁰ Later, agrarian representatives in the legislature joined the attack on Transylvania by voting to cut off state financial assistance.

No less striking than cultural cleavages were the differences in rural and urban religious development. Progress in the cities was steadier and more substantial—though less spectacular—than in the back country. Traveling ministers might refer to Pittsburgh as "a young hell, a second Sodom,"⁶¹ and Francis Asbury might complain in 1803 that he felt "the power of Satan in those little, wicked western trading towns,"⁶² but both churches and membership multiplied rapidly in urban centers. Furthermore, the growth owed nothing to the sporadic revivals which burned across the countryside at the beginning of the century. These movements were essentially rural, having their roots in the isolation of agricultural living and the spiritual starvation of people unattended by regular services. The city situation, with its constant contacts and settled church organizations, involved neither of these elements. Instead, religious societies proliferated, sects took on such additional functions as charity and missionary work, and congregations sent money back East to aid their seminaries. Far from being sinks of corruption, Western cities quickly became religious centers, supplying Bibles to the frontier, assisting foreign missions, and, in the twenties, building theological schools to provide priests and ministers for the whole region.

Political life also reflected the growing rural-urban division. Though the rhetoric of the period often obscured them, differences existed from the very beginning. Suspicion of the towns led states to avoid economic and cultural centers when locating their capitals. Nearly all these cities sought the prize, but none was successful. The *Missouri Gazette* candidly stated the issue in 1820. "It has been said that St. Louis is obnoxious to our Legislature—that its growth and influence . . . are looked on with a jealous eye, and its pretensions . . . ought to be discouraged."⁶³ The same clash had earlier occurred in Kentucky, where state leaders virtually invented Frankfort to keep the capital away from Louisville or Lexington.

As the region developed, however, the conflict became increasingly apparent, though it was still expressed cautiously. "We must be permitted to say," an editor asserted in 1829, "that in Cincinnati we have separate inter-

⁶⁰ *Kentucky Reporter* (Lexington), Feb. 16, 1824.

⁶¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1803.

⁶² Francis Asbury, *Journal of Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church* (n.p., 1821), III, 127.

⁶³ *Missouri Gazette* (St. Louis), Dec. 6, 1820.

ests" from the countryside.⁵⁴ Likewise, a Pittsburgher prefaced a strong attack on the neighboring areas by declaring that "we think it wrong to stir up a jealousy between city and county."⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the split represented one of the fundamental facts of Western politics.

Of course, farm dwellers easily outnumbered urbanites, but the latter wielded disproportionate power. The case of Jefferson and Oldham counties in Kentucky was illustrative. In the mid-twenties the combined vote reached 3,200, Louisville residents casting roughly a quarter of them. Yet the state senator and both representatives came from the city. In 1829 when a third assemblyman was added, the rural interests pleaded with Louisville leaders to name someone from the surrounding area. "It may seem strange," wrote an observer, "that it would be necessary thus to ask for the liberality of 800 voters in favor of 2,400. . . . Nevertheless, the concentrated energies of 800 do entirely outweigh the scattered influence of the 2,400—that all past experience teaches."⁵⁶ The situation was the same elsewhere. At one time all of Missouri's representatives in Washington—two senators and one congressman—as well as its governor came from St. Louis.

The cities' political influence rested on their ability to produce leadership. As the economic and intellectual centers of transmontane life they attracted the talented and ambitious in all fields. Politics was no exception. Nearly all the great spokesmen of the West had important urban connections and their activity often reflected the demands of their town constituents. Henry Clay was one of Lexington's most prominent lawyers when he went to the United States Senate in 1806. Thomas Hart Benton held local offices in St. Louis before moving on to the national scene, and William Henry Harrison, though he lived in nearby North Bend, had deep roots in Cincinnati affairs through most of his long public life. Moreover, all were alive to the interests of their city. Benton's successful attack on government factories in the Indian territory culminated a long and intense campaign by St. Louis merchants to break federal trade control on the Missouri. Clay's enthusiasm for an ample tariff on hemp derived at least as much from the pressure of Lexington's manufactures as from that of the growers of the Blue Grass. And Harrison, as state senator, led the campaign for public schools in Ohio largely at the behest of his Cincinnati supporters. These were not isolated cases; an examination of the careers of these men demonstrates the importance of their urban connections.

By 1830, then, the West had produced two types of society—one rural and

⁵⁴ *Cincinnati Advertiser*, Sept. 16, 1829.

⁵⁵ *Pittsburgh Statesman*, Aug. 26, 1823.

⁵⁶ *Louisville Public Advertiser*, July 28, 1824.

one urban. Each developed its own institutions, habits, and living patterns. The countryside claimed much the larger population and often gave to transmontane affairs an agrarian flavor. But broadcloth was catching up with buckskin. The census of 1830 revealed the disproportionate rate of city growth. While the state of Ohio had four times as many inhabitants as it counted in 1810, Cincinnati's increase was twelvefold. The story was the same elsewhere. Louisville's figure showed a growth of 650 per cent compared with Kentucky's 50 per cent, and Pittsburgh tripled in size while Pennsylvania did not quite double its population. By 1830 the rise of these cities had driven a broad wedge of urbanism into Western life.

Though town and country developed along different paths, clashes were still infrequent. The West was large enough to contain both movements comfortably. Indeed, each supported the other. The rural regions supplied the cities with raw materials for their mills and packinghouses and offered an expanding market to their shops and factories. In turn, urban centers served the surrounding areas by providing both the necessities and comforts of life as well as new opportunity for ambitious farm youths. Yet the cities represented the more aggressive and dynamic force. By spreading their economic power over the entire section, by bringing the fruits of civilization across the mountains, and by insinuating their ways into the countryside, they speeded up the transformation of the West from a gloomy wilderness to a richly diversified region. Any historical view which omits this aspect of Western life tells but part of the story.

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Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice*

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BY the year 1830, the vanguard of the southern frontier had crossed the Mississippi and was pressing through Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. But the line of settlement was by no means as solid as frontier lines were classically supposed to be. East of the Mississippi, white occupancy was limited by Indian tenure of northeastern Georgia, enclaves in western North Carolina and southern Tennessee, eastern Alabama, and the northern two thirds of Mississippi. In this twenty-five-million-acre domain lived nearly 60,000 Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.¹

The Jackson administration sought to correct this anomaly by removing the tribes beyond the reach of white settlements, west of the Mississippi. As the President demanded of Congress in December, 1830: "What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?"²

The President's justification of Indian removal was the one usually applied to the displacement of the Indians by newer Americans—the superiority of a farming to a hunting culture, and of Anglo-American "liberty, civilization, and religion" to the strange and barbarous way of the red man. The superior capacity of the farmer to exploit the gifts of nature and of nature's God was one of the principal warranties of the triumph of westward-moving "civilization."³

Such a rationalization had one serious weakness as an instrument of policy. The farmer's right of eminent domain over the lands of the savage

* This article, in slightly different form, was delivered as a paper at the joint meeting of the Southern Historical Association and the American Historical Association in New York City, December 29, 1957.

¹ Ellen C. Semple, *American History and Its Geographic Conditions* (Boston, Mass., 1933), p. 160; Charles C. Royce, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report, 1896-1897* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1899), II, Plates 1, 2, 15, 48, 54-56.

² James Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (New York, 1897), III, 1084.

³ Roy H. Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore, Md., 1953), p. 70; *House Report 227, 21 Cong., 1 sess.*, pp. 4-5.

could be asserted consistently only so long as the tribes involved were "savage." The southeastern tribes, however, were agriculturists as well as hunters. For two or three generations prior to 1830, farmers among them fenced their plantations and "mixed their labor with the soil," making it their private property according to accepted definitions of natural law. White traders who settled among the Indians in the mid-eighteenth century gave original impetus to this imitation of Anglo-American agricultural methods. Later, agents of the United States encouraged the traders and mechanics, their half-breed descendants, and their fullblood imitators who settled out from the tribal villages, fenced their farms, used the plow, and cultivated cotton and corn for the market. In the decade following the War of 1812, missionaries of various Protestant denominations worked among the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, training hundreds of Indian children in the agricultural, mechanical, and household arts and introducing both children and parents to the further blessings of literacy and Christianity.⁴

The "civilization" of a portion of these tribes embarrassed United States policy in more ways than one. Long-term contact between the southeastern tribes and white traders, missionaries, and government officials created and trained numerous half-breeds. The half-breed men acted as intermediaries between the less sophisticated Indians and the white Americans. Acquiring direct or indirect control of tribal politics, they often determined the outcome of treaty negotiations. Since they proved to be skillful bargainers, it became common practice to win their assistance by thinly veiled bribery. The rise of the half-breeds to power, the rewards they received, and their efforts on behalf of tribal reform gave rise to bitter opposition. By the mid-1820's, this opposition made it dangerous for them to sell tribal lands. Furthermore, many of the new leaders had valuable plantations, mills, and trading establishments on these lands. Particularly among the Cherokees and Choctaws,

⁴ Moravian missionaries were in contact with the Cherokees as early as the 1750's. Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens, Ga., 1956), p. 92. There is a voluminous literature on the "civilization" of the civilized tribes. Among secondary sources, the following contain especially useful information: Malone, *Cherokees*; Marion Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946); Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, Okla., 1934) and *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, Okla., 1941); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (ed. ed., Norman, Okla., 1953); Robert S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1954); Merrit B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, Ga., 1951). Among the richest source material for tracing the agricultural development of the tribes are the published writings of the Creek agent, Benjamin Hawkins: *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806* in Georgia Historical Society *Collections*, IX (Savannah, 1916), and *Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799* in Georgia Historical Society *Publications*, III, (Americus, 1928). For the Choctaws and Cherokees, there is much information in the incoming correspondence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University. On the Chickasaws, see James Hull, "A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, IX, (Jackson, 1906).

they took pride in their achievements and those of their people in assimilating the trappings of civilization. As "founding Fathers," they prized the political and territorial integrity of the newly organized Indian "nations." These interests and convictions gave birth to a fixed determination, embodied in tribal laws and intertribal agreements, that no more cessions of land should be made. The tribes must be permitted to develop their new way of life in what was left of their ancient domain.⁵

Today it is a commonplace of studies in culture contact that the assimilation of alien habits affects different individuals and social strata in different ways and that their levels of acculturation vary considerably. Among the American Indian tribes, it is most often the families with white or half-breed models who most readily adopt the Anglo-American way of life. It is not surprising that half-breeds and whites living among the Indians should use their position as go-betweens to improve their status and power among the natives. Their access to influence and their efforts toward reform combine with pressures from outside to disturb old life ways, old securities, and established prerogatives. Resistance to their leadership and to the cultural alternatives they espouse is a fertile source of intratribal factions.⁶

To Jacksonian officials, however, the tactics of the half-breeds and the struggles among tribal factions seemed to reflect a diabolical plot. Treaty negotiators saw the poverty and "depravity" of the common Indian, who suffered from the scarcity of game, the missionary attacks on his accustomed habits and ceremonies, and the ravages of "demon rum" and who failed to find solace in the values of Christian and commercial civilization. Not unreasonably, they concluded that it was to the interest of the tribesman to remove west of the Mississippi. There, sheltered from the intruder and the whisky merchant, he could lose his savagery while improving his nobility. Since this seemed so obviously to the Indian's interest, the negotiators conveniently concluded that it was also his desire. What, then, deterred emigration? Only the rapacity of the half-breeds, who were unwilling to give up their extensive properties and their exalted position.⁷

⁵ Paul W. Gates, "Introduction," *The John Tipton Papers* (3 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1942), I, 3-53; A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1939), pp. 62-63; John Terrell to General John Coffee, Sept. 15, 1829, *Coffee Papers*, Alabama Dept. of Archives and History; Campbell and Merriwether to Creek Chiefs, Dec. 9, 1824, *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 570; Clark, Hinds, and Coffee to James Barbour, Nov. 19, 1826, *ibid.*, p. 709.

⁶ See for example, Edward M. Bruner, "Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII (Aug., 1956), 605-23; SSRC Summer Seminar on Acculturation, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist*, LVI (Dec., 1954), esp. pp. 980-86; Alexander Spoehr, "Changing Kinship Systems: A Study in the Acculturation of the Greeks, Cherokee, and Choctaw," Field Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Series*, XXXIII, no. 4, esp. pp. 216-26.

⁷ Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (2 vols., New York,

These observers recognized that the government's difficulties were in part of its own making. The United States had pursued an essentially contradictory policy toward the Indians, encouraging both segregation and assimilation. Since Jefferson's administration, the government had tried periodically to secure the emigration of the eastern tribes across the Mississippi. At the same time, it had paid agents and subsidized missionaries who encouraged the Indian to follow the white man's way. Thus it had helped create the class of tribesmen skilled in agriculture, pecuniary accumulation, and political leadership. Furthermore, by encouraging the southeastern Indians to become cultivators and Christians, the government had undermined its own moral claim to eminent domain over tribal lands. The people it now hoped to displace could by no stretch of dialectic be classed as mere wandering savages.⁸

By the time Jackson became President, then, the situation of the United States vis-à-vis the southeastern tribes was superficially that of irresistible force and immovable object. But the President, together with such close advisers as Secretary of War John H. Eaton and General John Coffee, viewed the problem in a more encouraging perspective. They believed that the government faced not the intent of whole tribes to remain near the bones of their ancestors but the selfish determination of a few quasi Indian leaders to retain their riches and their ill-used power. Besides, the moral right of the civilized tribes to their lands was a claim not on their whole domain but rather on the part cultivated by individuals. Both the Indian's natural right to his land and his political capacity for keeping it were products of his imitation of white "civilization." Both might be eliminated by a rigorous application of the principle that to treat an Indian fairly was to treat him like a white man. Treaty negotiations by the tried methods of purchase and selective bribery had failed. The use of naked force without the form of voluntary agreement was forbidden by custom, by conscience, and by fear that the administration's opponents would exploit religious sentiment which cherished the rights of the red man. But within the confines of legality and the formulas of voluntarism it was still possible to acquire the much coveted domain of the civilized tribes.

The technique used to effect this object was simple: the entire population

1907), I, 61-77; Thomas L. McKenney to James Barbour, Dec. 27, 1826, *House Doc.* 28, 19 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 5-13; Andrew Jackson to Colonel Robert Butler, June 21, 1817, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, ed. John Spencer Bassett (6 vols., Washington, D. C., 1926-28), II, 299.

⁸ For brief analyses of government policy, see Annie H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1908), I, 233-450; George D. Harmon, *Sixty Years of Indian Affairs, 1789-1850* (Chapel Hill, N. Car., 1941).

of the tribes was forced to deal with white men on terms familiar only to the most acculturated portion of them. If the Indian is civilized, he can behave like a white man. Then let him take for his own as much land as he can cultivate, become a citizen of the state where he lives, and accept the burdens which citizenship entails. If he is not capable of living like this, he should be liberated from the tyranny of his chiefs and allowed to follow his own best interest by emigrating beyond the farthest frontiers of white settlement. By the restriction of the civilized to the lands they cultivate and by the emigration of the savages millions of acres will be opened to white settlement.

The first step dictated by this line of reasoning was the extension of state laws over the Indian tribes. Beginning soon after Jackson's election, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee gradually brought the Indians inside their borders under their jurisdiction. Thus an Indian could be sued for trespass or debt, though only in Mississippi and Tennessee was his testimony invariably acceptable in a court of law. In Mississippi, the tribesmen were further harassed by subjection—or the threat of subjection—to such duties as mustering with the militia, working on roads, and paying taxes. State laws establishing county governments within the tribal domains and, in some cases, giving legal protection to purchasers of Indian improvements encouraged the intrusion of white settlers on Indian lands. The laws nullified the legal force of Indian customs, except those relating to marriage. They provided heavy penalties for anyone who might enact or enforce tribal law. Finally, they threatened punishment to any person who might attempt to deter another from signing a removal treaty or enrolling for emigration. The object of these laws was to destroy the tribal governments and to thrust upon individual Indians the uncongenial alternative of adjusting to the burdens of citizenship or removing beyond state jurisdiction.⁹

The alternative was not offered on the unenlightened supposition that the Indians generally were capable of managing their affairs unaided in a white man's world. Governor Gayle of Alabama, addressing the "former chiefs and headmen of the Creek Indians" in June of 1834 urged them to remove from the state on the grounds that

you speak a different language from ours. You do not understand our laws and from your habits, cannot be brought to understand them. You are ignorant of the arts of civilized life. You have not like your white neighbors been raised in habits of industry and economy, the only means by which anyone can live, in settled

⁹ Georgia, *Acts*, Dec. 12, 1828; Dec. 19, 1829; Alabama, *Acts*, Jan. 27, 1829; Dec. 31, 1831; Jan. 16, 1832; Dec. 18, 1832; Mississippi, *Acts*, Feb. 4, 1829; Jan. 19, 1830; Feb. 12, 1830; Dec. 9, 1831; Oct. 26, 1832; Tennessee, *Acts*, Nov. 8, 1833; George R. Gilmer to Augustus S. Clayton, June 7, 1830, Governor's Letterbook, 1829-31, p. 36, Georgia Dept. of Archives and History.

countries, in even tolerable comfort. You know nothing of the skill of the white man in trading and making bargains, and cannot be guarded against the artful contrivances which dishonest men will resort to, to obtain your property under forms of contracts. In all these respects you are unequal to the white men, and if your people remain where they are, you will soon behold them in a miserable, degraded, and destitute condition.¹⁰

The intentions of federal officials who favored the extension of state laws are revealed in a letter written to Jackson by General Coffee. Referring to the Cherokees, Coffee remarked:

Deprive the chiefs of the power they now possess, take from them their own code of laws, and reduce them to plain citizenship . . . and they will soon determine to move, and then there will be no difficulty in getting the poor Indians to give their consent. All this will be done by the State of Georgia if the U. States do not interfere with her law— . . . This will of course silence those in our country who constantly seek for causes to complain—It may indeed turn them loose upon Georgia, but that matters not, it is Georgia who clamors for the Indian lands, and she alone is entitled to the blame if any there be.¹¹

Even before the laws were extended, the threat of state jurisdiction was used in confidential "talks" to the chiefs. After the states had acted, the secretary of war instructed each Indian agent to explain to his charges the meaning of state jurisdiction and to inform them that the President could not protect them against the enforcement of the laws.¹² Although the Supreme Court, in *Worcester vs. Georgia*, decided that the state had no right to extend its laws over the Cherokee nation, the Indian tribes being "domestic dependent nations" with limits defined by treaty, the President refused to enforce this decision.¹³ There was only one means by which the government might have made "John Marshall's decision" effective—directing federal troops to exclude state officials and other intruders from the Indian domain. In January, 1832, the President informed an Alabama congressman that the United States government no longer assumed the right to remove citizens of Alabama from the Indian country. By this time, the soldiers who had protected the territory of the southeastern tribes against intruders had been withdrawn. In their unwearying efforts to pressure the Indians into ceding their lands, federal negotiators emphasized the terrors of state jurisdiction.¹⁴

¹⁰ Governor John Gayle to former chiefs and headmen of the Creek Indians, June 16, 1834, Miscellaneous Letters to and from Governor Gayle, Alabama Dept. of Archives and History.

¹¹ Feb. 3, 1830, Jackson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹² John H. Eaton to John Crowell, Mar. 27, 1829, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, V, 372-73, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Middleton Mackey to John H. Eaton, Nov. 27, 1829, Choctaw Emigration File 111, *ibid.*; Andrew Jackson to Major David Hale, Oct. 10, 1829, Jackson Papers.

¹³ *6 Peters*, 515-97.

¹⁴ Wiley Thompson to Messrs. Drew and Reese, Jan. 18, 1832, Indian Letters, 1782-1839, pp. 173-74, Georgia Dept. of Archives and History; John H. Eaton to Jackson, Feb. 21, 1831,

Congress in May, 1830, complemented the efforts of the states by appropriating \$500,000 and authorizing the President to negotiate removal treaties with all the tribes east of the Mississippi.¹⁶ The vote on this bill was close in both houses. By skillful use of pamphlets, petitions, and lobbyists, missionary organizations had enlisted leading congressmen in their campaign against the administration's attempt to force the tribes to emigrate.¹⁷ In the congressional debates, opponents of the bill agreed that savage tribes were duty-bound to relinquish their hunting grounds to the agriculturist, but they argued that the southeastern tribes were no longer savage. In any case, such relinquishment must be made in a freely contracted treaty. The extension of state laws over the Indian country was coercion; this made the negotiation of a free contract impossible. Both supporters and opponents of the bill agreed on one cardinal point—the Indian's moral right to keep his land depended on his actual cultivation of it.¹⁸

A logical corollary of vesting rights in land in proportion to cultivation was the reservation to individuals of as much land as they had improved at the time a treaty was signed. In 1816, Secretary of War William H. Crawford had proposed such reservations, or allotments, as a means of accommodating the removal policy to the program of assimilation. According to Crawford's plan, individual Indians who had demonstrated their capacity for civilization by establishing farms and who were willing to become citizens should be given the option of keeping their cultivated lands, by fee simple title, rather than emigrating. This offer was expected to reconcile the property-loving half-breeds to the policy of emigration. It also recognized their superior claim, as cultivators, on the regard and generosity of the government. The proposal was based on the assumption that few of the Indians were sufficiently civilized to want to become full-time farmers or state citizens.¹⁹

The Crawford policy was applied in the Cherokee treaties of 1817 and

Sen. Doc. 65, 21 Cong., 2 sess., p. 6; Cyrus Kingsbury to Jeremiah Evarts, Aug. 11, 1830, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Manuscripts; Tuskenha to the President, May 21, 1831, Creek File 176, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Journal of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, *Sen. Doc.* 512, 23 Cong., 1 sess., p. 257.

¹⁶ 4 *Statutes-at-Large*, 411-12.

¹⁷ J. Orin Oliphant, ed., *Through the South and West with Jeremiah Evarts in 1826* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1956), pp. 47-61; Jeremiah Evarts to Rev. William Weisner, Nov. 27, 1829, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Manuscripts; *Sen. Docs.* 56, 59, 66, 73, 74, 76, 77, 92, 96, 21 Cong., 1 sess.

¹⁸ Gales and Seaton, *Register of Debates in Congress*, VI, 311, 312, 320, 357, 361, 1022, 1024, 1039, 1061, 1110, 1135.

¹⁹ *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 27. A general history of the allotment policy is Jay P. Kinney, *A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won: Indian Land Tenure in America* (Baltimore, Md., 1937).

1819 and the Choctaw treaty of 1820. These agreements offered fee simple allotments to heads of Indian families having improved lands within the areas ceded to the government. Only 311 Cherokees and eight Choctaws took advantage of the offer. This seemed to bear out the assumption that only a minority of the tribesmen would care to take allotments. Actually, these experiments were not reliable. In both cases, the tribes ceded only a fraction of their holdings. Comparatively few took allotments; but on the other hand, few emigrated. The majority simply remained within the diminished tribal territories east of the Mississippi.¹⁹

The offer of fee simple allotments was an important feature of the negotiations with the tribes in the 1820's. When the extension of state laws made removal of the tribes imperative, it was to be expected that allotments would comprise part of the consideration offered for the ceded lands. Both the ideology which rationalized the removal policy and the conclusions erroneously drawn from experience with the earlier allotment treaties led government negotiators to assume that a few hundred allotments at most would be required.

The Choctaws were the first to cede their eastern lands. The treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, signed in September, 1830, provided for several types of allotment. Special reservations were given to the chiefs and their numerous family connections; a possible 1,600 allotments of 80 to 480 acres, in proportion to the size of the beneficiary's farm, were offered others who intended to emigrate. These were intended for sale to private persons or to the government, so that the Indian might get the maximum price for his improvements. The fourteenth article of the treaty offered any head of an Indian family who did not plan to emigrate the right to take up a quantity of land proportional to the number of his dependents. At the end of five years' residence those who received these allotments were to have fee simple title to their lands and become citizens. It was expected that approximately two hundred persons would take land under this article.²⁰

The Creeks refused to sign any agreements promising to emigrate, but their chiefs were persuaded that the only way to put an end to intrusions on their lands was to sign an allotment treaty.²¹ In March, 1832, a Creek delegation in Washington signed a treaty calling for the allotment of 320

¹⁹ 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 156-60, 195-200, 210-14; Cherokee Reservation Book, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Special Reserve Book A, *ibid.*; James Barbour to the Speaker of the House, Jan. 23, 1828, *American State Papers: Public Lands*, V, 396-97.

²⁰ 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 334-41; manuscript records of negotiations are in Choctaw File 112, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

²¹ John Crowell to Lewis Cass, Jan. 25, 1832, Creek File 178, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

acres to each head of a family, the granting of certain supplementary lands to the chiefs and to orphans, and the cession of the remaining territory to the United States. If the Indian owners remained on their allotments for five years, they were to receive fee simple titles and become citizens.²² Returning to Alabama, the chiefs informed their people that they had not actually sold the tribal lands but "had only made each individual their own guardian, that they might take care of their own possessions, and act as agents for themselves."²³

Unlike the Creeks, the Chickasaws were willing to admit the inevitability of removal. But they needed land east of the Mississippi on which they might live until they acquired a home in the west. The Chickasaw treaty of May, 1832, therefore, provided generous allotments for heads of families, ranging from 640 to 3,200 acres, depending on the size of the family and the number of its slaves. These allotments were to be auctioned publicly when the tribe emigrated and the owners compensated for their improvements out of the proceeds.²⁴ Although the fullblood Chickasaws apparently approved of the plan for a collective sale of the allotments, the half-breeds, abetted by white traders and planters, persuaded the government to allow those who held allotments to sell them individually.²⁵ An amended treaty of 1834 complied with the half-breeds' proposals. It further stipulated that leading half-breeds and the old chiefs of the tribe comprise a committee to determine the competence of individual Chickasaws to manage their property. Since the committee itself disposed of the lands of the "incompetents," this gave both protection to the unsophisticated and additional advantage to the half-breeds.²⁶

Widespread intrusion on Indian lands began with the extension of state laws over the tribal domains. In the treaties of cession, the government promised to remove intruders, but its policy in this respect was vacillating and ineffective. Indians whose allotments covered valuable plantations proved anxious to promote the sale of their property by allowing buyers to enter the ceded territory as soon as possible. Once this group of whites was admitted, it became difficult to discriminate against others. Thus a large number of intruders settled among the Indians with the passive connivance of

²² 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 366-68.

²³ John Scott to Lewis Cass, Nov. 12, 1835, Creek File 193, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

²⁴ 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 381-89.

²⁵ John Terrell to Henry Cook, Oct. 29, 1832 (copy), John D. Terrell Papers, Alabama Dept. of Archives and History; Benjamin Reynolds to John Coffee, Dec. 12, 1832, Chickasaw File 83, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Terrell to John Tyler, Feb. 26, 1841 (draft), Terrell Papers; G. W. Long to John Coffee, Dec. 15, 1832, Coffee Papers; Rev. T. C. Stuart to Daniel Green, Oct. 14, 1833, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Manuscripts.

²⁶ 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 450-57.

the War Department and the tribal leaders. The task of removing them was so formidable that after making a few gestures the government generally evaded its obligation. The misery of the common Indians, surrounded by intruders and confused by the disruption of tribal authority, was so acute that any method for securing their removal seemed worth trying. Furthermore, their emigration would serve the interest of white settlers, land speculators, and their representatives in Washington. The government therefore chose to facilitate the sale of allotments even before the Indians received fee simple title to them.²⁷

The right to sell his allotment was useful to the sophisticated tribesman with a large plantation. Such men were accustomed to selling their crops and hiring labor. Through their experience in treaty negotiations, they had learned to bargain over the price of lands. Many of them received handsome payment for their allotments. Some kept part of their holdings and remained in Alabama and Mississippi as planters—like others planters, practicing as land speculators on the side.²⁸ Nearly all the Indians had some experience in trade, but to most of them the conception of land as a salable commodity was foreign. They had little notion of the exact meaning of an "acre" or the probable value of their allotments.²⁹ The government confused them still further by parcelling out the lands according to Anglo-American, rather than aboriginal notions of family structure and land ownership. Officials insisted, for example, that the "father" rather than the "mother" must be defined as head of the family and righteously refused to take cognizance of the fact that many of the "fathers" had "a plurality of wives."³⁰

²⁷ William Ward to Secretary of War, Oct. 22, 1831, Choctaw Reserve File 133; Mushulatubbee to Lewis Cass, Feb. 9, 1832, Choctaw File 113; W. S. Colquhoun to General George S. Gibson, Apr. 20, 1832, Choctaw Emigration File 121; A. Campbell to Secretary of War, Aug. 5, 1832, Choctaw File 113; John Kurtz to Benjamin Reynolds, Aug. 9, 1833, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, XI, 74; S. C. Barton to Elbert Herring, Nov. 11, 1833, Choctaw File 113; William M. Gwin to Lewis Cass, Apr. 8, 1834, Choctaw File 84, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Mary E. Young, "The Creek Frauds: A Study in Conscience and Corruption," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (Dec., 1955), 415-19.

²⁸ Benjamin Reynolds to Lewis Cass, Dec. 9, 1832, Apr. 29, 1833, Chickasaw File 83, 85, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; David Haley to Jackson, Apr. 15, 1831, *Sen. Doc.* 512, 23 Cong., 1 sess., p. 426; Elbert Herring to George W. Elliott, Jan. 23, 1833, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, IX, 516, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; J. J. Abert to J. R. Poinsett, July 19, 1839, Creek File 220, *ibid.* See Special Reserve Books and Special Reserve Files A and C, and William Carroll's List of Certified Contracts for the Sale of Chickasaw Reservations, Special File, Chickasaw, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and compare Chickasaw Location Book, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, National Archives.

²⁹ George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land Ownership among the Iroquois and their Neighbors," in *Symposium on Local Variations in Iroquois Culture*, ed. William N. Fenton, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 149 (Washington, D. C., 1951), pp. 16-26; Petition of Choctaw Chiefs and Headmen, Mar. 2, 1832, Choctaw Reserve File 133; James Colbert to Lewis Cass, June 5, 1835, Chickasaw File 84; Benjamin Reynolds to Elbert Herring, Mar. 11, 1835, Chickasaw File 85, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

³⁰ Memorial of Chickasaw Chiefs to the President, Nov. 25, 1835, Chickasaw File 84; Thomas J. Abbott and E. Parsons, Sept. 7, 1832, *Sen. Doc.* 512, 23 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 443-44;

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the common Indian's legal freedom of contract in selling his allotment did not necessarily lead him to make the best bargain possible in terms of his pecuniary interests. Nor did the proceeds of the sales transform each seller into an emigrant of large independent means. A right of property and freedom to contract for its sale did not automatically invest the Indian owner with the habits, values, and skills of a sober land speculator. His acquisition of property and freedom actually increased his dependence on those who traditionally mediated for him in contractual relations with white Americans.

Prominent among these mediators were white men with Indian wives who made their living as planters and traders in the Indian nations, men from nearby settlements who traded with the leading Indians or performed legal services for them, and interpreters. In the past, such individuals had been appropriately compensated for using their influence in favor of land cessions. It is likely that their speculative foresight was in part responsible for the allotment features in the treaties of the 1830's. When the process of allotting lands to individuals began, these speculative gentlemen made loans of whisky, muslin, horses, slaves, and other useful commodities to the new property-owner. They received in return the Indian's written promise to sell his allotment to them as soon as its boundaries were defined. Generally they were on hand to help him locate it on "desirable" lands. They, in turn, sold their "interest" in the lands to men of capital. Government agents encouraged the enterprising investor, since it was in the Indian's interest and the government's policy that the lands be sold and the tribes emigrate.³¹ Unfortunately, the community of interest among the government, the speculator, and the Indian proved largely fictitious. The speculator's interest in Indian lands led to frauds which impoverished the Indians, soiled the reputation of the government, and retarded the emigration of the tribes.

An important factor in this series of complications was the government's

Elbert Herring to E. Parsons, B. S. Parsons, and John Crowell, Oct. 10, 1832, *ibid.*, p. 524; Leonard Tarrant to E. Herring, May 15, 1833, Creek File 202, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Alexander Specht, "Kinship Systems," pp. 201-31; John R. Swanton, *Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 137 (Washington, D. C., 1946).

³¹ John Coffee to Andrew Jackson, July 10, 1830, Creek File 192, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; John Crowell to John H. Eaton, Aug. 8, 1830, Creek File 175, *ibid.*; John H. Brodnax to Lewis Cass, Mar. 12, 1832, *Sen. Doc.* 512, 23 Cong., 1 sess., III, 258-59; John Terrell to General John Coffee, Sept. 15, 1829, Coffee Papers; J. J. Abert to [Lewis Cass], June 13, 1833, Creek File 202, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; contract between Daniel Wright and Mingo Mushulatubbee, Oct. 7, 1830, *American State Papers: Public Lands*, VII, 19; W. S. Colquhoun to Lewis Cass, Sept. 20, 1833, *ibid.*, p. 13; Chapman Levy to Joel R. Poinsett, June 19, 1837, Choctaw Reserve File 139, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; James Colbert to Lewis Cass, June 5, 1835, Chickasaw File 84, *ibid.*; Chancery Court, Northern District of Mississippi, Final Record A, 111, M, 235-37, Courthouse, Holly Springs, Mississippi.

fallacious assumption that most of the "real Indians" were anxious to emigrate. Under the Choctaw treaty, for example, registration for fee simple allotments was optional, the government expecting no more than two hundred registrants. When several hundred full-bloods applied for lands, the Choctaw agent assumed that they were being led astray by "designing men" and told them they must emigrate. Attorneys took up the Choctaw claims, located thousands of allotments in hopes that Congress would confirm them, and supported their clients in Mississippi for twelve to fifteen years while the government debated and acted on the validity of the claims. There was good reason for this delay. Settlers and rival speculators, opposing confirmation of the claims, advanced numerous depositions asserting that the attorneys, in their enterprising search for clients, had materially increased the number of claimants.⁸² Among the Creeks, the Upper Towns, traditionally the conservative faction of the tribe, refused to sell their allotments. Since the Lower Towns proved more compliant, speculators hired willing Indians from the Lower Towns to impersonate the unwilling owners. They then bought the land from the impersonators. The government judiciously conducted several investigations of these frauds, but in the end the speculators outmaneuvered the investigators. Meanwhile, the speculators kept the Indians from emigrating until their contracts were approved. Only the outbreak of fighting between starving Creeks and their settler neighbors enabled the government, under pretext of a pacification, to remove the tribe.⁸³

Besides embarrassing the government, the speculators contributed to the demoralization of the Indians. Universal complaint held that after paying the tribesman for his land they often borrowed back the money without serious intent of repaying it, or recovered it in return for overpriced goods, of which a popular article was whisky. Apprised of this situation, Secretary of War Lewis Cass replied that once the Indian had been paid for his land, the War Department had no authority to circumscribe his freedom to do what he wished with the proceeds.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, within their conception of the proper role of government, officials who dealt with the tribes tried to be helpful. Although the Indian must be left free to contract for the sale of his lands, the United States sent agents to determine the validity of the contracts. These agents sometimes

⁸² Mary E. Young, "Indian Land Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi, 1830-1860" (manuscript doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1955), pp. 70-82; Franklin L. Riley, "The Choctaw Land Claims," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VIII (1904), 370-82; Harmon, *Indian Affairs*, pp. 226-59.

⁸³ Young, "Creek Frauds," pp. 411-37.

⁸⁴ Lewis Cass to Return J. Meigs, Oct. 31, 1834, *Sen. Doc.* 428, 24 Cong., 1 sess., p. 23.

refused to approve a contract that did not specify a fair price for the land in question. They also refused official sanction when it could not be shown that the Indian owner had at some time been in possession of the sum stipulated.⁸⁵ This protective action on the part of the government, together with its several investigations into frauds in the sale of Indian lands, apparently did secure the payment of more money than the tribesmen might otherwise have had. But the effort was seriously hampered by the near impossibility of obtaining disinterested testimony.

In dealing with the Chickasaws, the government managed to avoid most of the vexing problems which had arisen in executing the allotment program among their southeastern neighbors. This was due in part to the improvement of administrative procedures, in part to the methods adopted by speculators in Chickasaw allotments, and probably most of all to the inflated value of cotton lands during the period in which the Chickasaw territory was sold. Both the government and the Chickasaws recognized that the lands granted individuals under the treaty were generally to be sold, not settled. They therefore concentrated on provisions for supervising sales and safeguarding the proceeds.⁸⁶ Speculators in Chickasaw lands, having abundant resources, paid an average price of \$1.70 per acre. The Chickasaws thereby received a better return than the government did at its own auctions. The buyers' generosity may be attributed to their belief that the Chickasaw lands represented the last first-rate cotton country within what were then the boundaries of the public domain. In their pursuit of a secure title, untainted by fraud, the capitalists operating in the Chickasaw cession established a speculators' claim association which settled disputes among rival purchasers. Thus they avoided the plots, counterplots, and mutual recriminations which had hampered both speculators and government in their dealings with the Creeks and Choctaws.⁸⁷

A superficially ironic consequence of the allotment policy as a method of acquiring land for white settlers was the fact that it facilitated the engrossment of land by speculators. With their superior command of capital and the

⁸⁵ Lewis Cass, "Regulations," for certifying Creek contracts, Nov. 28, 1833, *Sen. Doc.* 276, 24 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 88-89; *id.*, "Regulations," Feb. 8, 1836, Chickasaw Letterbook A, 76-78, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Secretary of War to the President, June 27, 1836, Choctaw Reserve File 136, *ibid.* For adjudications based on the above regulations, see Special Reserve Files A and C and Choctaw, Creek, and Chickasaw Reserve Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, *passim*.

⁸⁶ "Memorial of the Creek Nation . . .," Jan. 29, 1883, *House Misc. Doc.* 18, 47 Cong., 2 sess.

⁸⁷ Average price paid for Chickasaw lands computed from William Carroll's List of Certified Contracts, Special Reserve File, Chickasaw, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Young, "Indian Allotments," 154-67.

influence it would buy, speculators acquired 80 to 90 per cent of the lands allotted to the southeastern tribesmen.³⁸

For most of the Indian beneficiaries of the policy, its most important consequence was to leave them landless. After selling their allotment, or a claim to it, they might take to the swamp, live for a while on the bounty of a still hopeful speculator, or scavenge on their settler neighbors. But ultimately most of them faced the alternative of emigration or destitution, and chose to emigrate. The machinations of the speculators and the hopes they nurtured that the Indians might somehow be able to keep a part of their allotted lands made the timing of removals less predictable than it might otherwise have been. This unpredictability compounded the evils inherent in a mass migration managed by a government committed to economy and unversed in the arts of economic planning. The result was the "Trail of Tears."³⁹

The spectacular frauds committed among the Choctaws and Creeks, the administrative complications they created and the impression they gave that certain self-styled champions of the people were consorting with the avaricious speculator gave the allotment policy a bad reputation. The administration rejected it in dealing with the Cherokees,⁴⁰ and the policy was not revived on any considerable scale until 1854, when it was applied, with similar consequences, to the Indians of Kansas.⁴¹ In the 1880's, when allotment in severalty became a basic feature of American Indian policy, the "civilized tribes," then in Oklahoma, strenuously resisted its application to them. They cited their memories of the 1830's as an important reason for their intransigence.⁴²

The allotment treaties of the 1830's represent an attempt to apply Anglo-American notions of justice, which enshrined private property in land and freedom of contract as virtually absolute values, to Indian tribes whose tastes

³⁸ See calculations in Young, "Indian Allotments," 141-42, 163-64. No system of estimating percentages of land purchased for speculation from figures of sales is foolproof. The assumption used in this estimate was that all those who bought 2,000 acres or more might be defined as speculators. Compare James W. Silver, "Land Speculation Profits in the Chickasaw Cession," *Journal of Southern History*, X (Feb., 1944), 84-92.

³⁹ For the story of emigration, see Foreman, *Indian Removal*; Debo, *Road to Disappearance*, pp. 103-107 and *Choctaw Republic*, pp. 55-57. Relations between speculation and emigration can be traced in the Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw Emigration and Reserve Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

⁴⁰ Hon. R. Chapman to Lewis Cass, Jan. 25, 1835, Cherokee File 7, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Lewis Cass to Commissioners Carroll and Schermerhorn, Apr. 2, 1835, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, XV, 261, *ibid.*; "Journal of the Proceedings at the Council held at New Echota . . . , Cherokee File 7, *ibid.*; Joint Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Alabama . . . , Jan. 9, 1836, *ibid.*; William Gilmer to Andrew Jackson, Feb. 9, 1835, Jackson Papers; 7 *Statutes-at-Large*, 483-84, 488-89.

⁴¹ Paul W. Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), pp. 11-48.

⁴² Memorial of the Creek Nation on the Subject of Lands in Severalty Among the Several Indian Tribes," Jan. 29, 1883, *House Misc. Doc.* 18, 47 Cong., 2 sess.

and traditions were otherwise. Their history illustrates the limitations of intercultural application of the Golden Rule. In a more practical sense, the treaties typified an effort to force on the Indians the alternative of complete assimilation or complete segregation by placing individuals of varying levels of sophistication in situations where they must use the skills of businessmen or lose their means of livelihood. This policy secured tribal lands while preserving the forms of respect for property rights and freedom of contract, but it proved costly to both the government and the Indians.

How lightly that cost was reckoned, and how enduring the motives and rationalizations that gave rise to it, may be gathered from the subsequent experience of the southeastern tribes in Oklahoma. There, early in the twentieth century, the allotment policy was again enforced, with safeguards hardly more helpful to the unsophisticated than those of the 1830's. Once more, tribal land changed owners for the greater glory of liberty, civilization, and profit.⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ Compare Angie Debo, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1951) and Kinney, *Indian Land Tenure*, pp. 243-44.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Land Tenure System and Class in Southern Italy*

MANLIO ROSSI-DORIA

THE prevailing influence of idealistic thought is partially responsible for the scarce attention given by historians in Italy to problems of economic and social development in the south. Disregarded by the historians, these problems have been analyzed mainly by politicians and economists, and they frequently become more an object of political controversy than a subject of methodical research. Those acquainted with Italian political literature know how widely some general and very ambiguous slogans are used regarding the south and the evolution of its agriculture. It is common to hear of the Risorgimento as a "missed" agrarian revolution, of the feudalistic character of the new land tenure system, of immobility as the dominant feature of economic and social life. To this sterile controversy a new stimulus was brought, after the Second World War, by a group of young Marxist historians. Their work, undoubtedly important and stimulating in many aspects, has been so involved in the schemes of a forced Marxist interpretation of history as to make nonsense of what otherwise could have been an important revival and a new approach in the field of historical studies.¹

An outsider to the field, I nevertheless have the impression that a critical point has finally been reached. Abstract controversy has run its course, and the way is open to scientific research. The progress of similar studies in other countries points more and more in this direction. I hope, therefore, that in a few years the theme of this paper will no longer be discussed by a precarious, inductive method, as here, but by the comparison, interpretation, and measurement of facts and documents.

One of the first jobs of the historians should consist in finding and presenting an integrated interpretation of the numerous existing documents,²

* This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, New York City, December 29, 1957.

¹ On the work of this group of historians, see the critical survey of Rosario Romeo, "La Storiografia Politica Marxista," *Nord e Sud* (Aug.-Sept., 1956).

² An excellent critical survey of documents, the consultation and elaboration of which is necessary for the study of agricultural history in southern Italy in the eighteenth century, can

which will answer these three main questions: (1) Why did the dissolution of feudalism in southern Italy bring the largest part of the land into the hands of the rural bourgeoisie rather than of the peasants? (2) How large and intensive has been the development of agricultural resources under the new land tenure system? and (3) What large and deep changes did this land tenure system undergo in the long period between its establishment and our days?

These questions cannot be answered in this paper, but they can serve as an outline for some considerations based on available data and on our knowledge about the present situation in southern agriculture. "Il est de cas," Marc Bloch said once, "où, pour interpréter le passé, c'est vers le présent, où, au moins, vers un passé tout voisin du présent qu'il sied d'abord de regarder. Telle est, en particulier, la méthode que l'état de la documentation impose aux études agraires."⁸

The first question can be approached from two directions—by considering the organization of agriculture in the eighteenth century and by analyzing the economic requirements for further progress. The little information at our disposal shows how poor the agricultural system was two centuries ago. With few exceptions, limited to the areas around Naples, Bari, and Palermo and a few others where intensive farming (mainly based on tree crops) of ancient origin had maintained itself through the centuries, the largest part of the land was in pasture. The poor peasant population carried on its existence cultivating a few small and scattered plots through a system of precarious tenancy and exercising, in an even more precarious way, their civic rights on feudal or communal lands. Farming had, therefore, no stability. There was no permanent settlement on the land; the rural population lived in the villages completely isolated from the surrounding world. Contradictory as it may seem, the only stable enterprise in this poor rural world was that of the shepherds, whose flocks year after year moved between summer pastures on the Apennines and winter pastures in the low and warmer areas.

When in the middle of the eighteenth century, population increase, revival of economic life, and reform policies of the Bourbons brought an improvement in agricultural production, the initiative for progress could not be

be found in Rosario Villari, "Per la storia rurale del Mezzogiorno nel secolo XVIII," *Movimento Operaio* (July-Aug., 1954).

⁸ "There are some cases where, in order to interpret the past, you need to take into consideration the present or at least a past very near to the present. This is the method, particularly, which the actual state of documentation imposes on studies in agricultural history." Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Paris, 1952), I, x.

taken by the peasants. In contrast to what had happened in other countries, mainly in France, they were not only too poor but without a stable footing on the land.⁴ Yet any possible progress in southern agricultural production lay in the direction of specialized land utilization everywhere. The nature of soils and climate both pushed toward monoculture. In the internal areas, where the soils could not support tree cultivation and the climate was too dry for mixed farming, even more than today, there was no other alternative than better use of pastures or specialized cultivation of wheat.⁵ On the other hand, many of the coastal areas which were free of malaria had different soils and milder climate in winter and early spring. Here, the most profitable use of land lay in specialized vineyards and olive, almond, or citrus groves.

In either case, an improved agriculture required a considerable amount of capital. Better use of pastures and improved animal husbandry could only be realized by those who owned sheep and cattle. Tree plantations involve long-run investment for years before they bear fruit. Both tree crops and specialized wheat farming require a year's anticipation of expenses before the harvest. Both have highly variable yields, obliging the farmers to take the risk of frequent crop failures. Many products (such as olives, grapes, milk) need to be processed, stored for several months, and sold on changing markets, thus requiring considerable financial capacity on the part of the farmers.

The peasants' condition was obviously unequal to these tasks. The initiative of progress, therefore, had to pass into the hands of the new class of rural bourgeoisie.

The rural bourgeoisie of southern Italy originated as part of the ancient rural society. As administrators of the feudal lords, tax receivers, money lenders, lawyers, and public officers, or as shepherds, tenants, or enterprising peasants, they had gained strength under the shadow of feudalism. This enabled them to exert their power and privileges on the peasant population and accumulate their capital at the latter's expense. Through a long process, they little by little acquired portions of feudal and church lands and even of royal and communal demesnes.

The new landowners, being the heirs of feudal lords, were obviously ready to transfer into the new land tenure system the same social relations

⁴ One of the best observers of rural conditions in the south, Leopoldo Franchetti, writing on the economic and social situation in Basilicata and Calabria in 1876 but making reference to previous periods, said that "also if it seems to contradict normal experience, agriculture in the south was in a nomadic phase" and "the condition of the rural population was that of a country in which the supply of laborers exceeds the demand." See Franchetti, "Condizioni Economiche e Amministrative delle Province Napoletane," in *Mezzogiorno e Colonie* (Florence, 1950), pp. 71-87.

⁵ The same can be said, for different reasons, for the few plains and other coastal areas where malaria prevented any permanent settlement.

which had prevailed in the old one. It would be wrong, however, to assign too much importance to this. Many of them were, in fact, less and less interested in maintaining the old organization and more anxious to attain the same freedom of action and economic function exerted elsewhere by any other capitalistic bourgeoisie of their age. The real nature and importance of their activity, therefore, was not in the conservative framework of feudalism but in the opposite direction, so that in a few decades it produced a deep transformation of rural society and remarkable progress in agriculture.

One aspect of this change was the revolution brought about by the codification of the legal rights of private property and its extension to all types of land. This stabilized a tenure system previously characterized by confusion and uncertainty due to the coexistence of various types of property rights (involving feudal and church lands, royal and communal demesnes, civic rights of use, etc.). In this connection, much attention has been paid to how recklessly the new class appropriated land to the detriment of the rights and the needs of the peasants. It is necessary, however, to recognize also how absorbing a process it was, involving a tremendous amount of work, money, and thrifty management on the part of the rural bourgeoisie.

The legal revolution was, undoubtedly, the condition and the starting point of all progress in southern agriculture, and progress in the course of the past century has been much greater than is commonly realized. In order to appraise its real dimensions and its consequences, we should consider separately what happened in different sections of the south: (1) in the non-malarious coastal areas where climate and soils were appropriate to intensive farming and particularly to tree production, (2) in the interior or those coastal areas where malaria, clay soils, and an extremely arid climate necessitated an extensive type of farming, and (3) in the mountain areas where overpopulation was, even in olden times, openly in contrast with the very poor natural resources.⁶

At the beginning of the past century, intensive farming, mainly tree crops, covered no more than one fifth of the surface covered now.⁷ Five hundred thousand acres in specialized olive groves, 20,000,000 olive trees in open fields, 1,200,000 acres in vineyards, 70,000 acres in citrus groves, and

⁶ Separate analysis of agricultural evolution in the three groups of areas indicated above has obvious disadvantages. But it seems to me that the dangers of not recognizing these differences are even greater, for then observations and conclusions which make sense only in one or the other of these different situations are related to the south as a whole. The sterile controversy on the character of modern agricultural evolution in the south, referred to above, largely originates in this lack of analysis and the tendency toward unjustified generalizations.

⁷ Only for the period following 1860 is there statistical data which permits a rough evaluation of progress in agriculture. Previous to 1860, we can only rely on conjecture based on the age of plantations and farm buildings in the most important areas. The data given above have

additional surfaces in orchards were planted in the century preceding the First World War, primarily during the years 1860-1880. These plantations, covering practically every susceptible area outside the districts requiring reclamation, were mainly the result of private investment and management on the part of the bourgeois owners, although some were developed on the properties of small direct cultivators or through the application of the so-called "plantation contracts" (*contratti a miglioria*).⁸

Direct management and investment also brought great change to extensive farming. On better soils in the interior or the coast, where malaria and severe droughts prevented intensive land utilization, the holdings of the new owners, as well as those remaining in the hands of noble families, were organized in primitive but rational farms, equipped with buildings, animals, and farm machinery, through a considerable investment of capital. In the period of their major growth around 1880, more than 10,000 farms of this type were in operation, covering 8,000,000 acres. Considerable increase of wheat production and exceptional increase in cattle (probably from 400,000 to 1,000,000 head in one century) were mainly the result of the progress of these farms, organized jointly by the landowners and some groups of capitalist tenants.

Both in the intensive and extensive areas, the social condition of the rural population changed deeply in the course of this agricultural development. The peasants, in fact, completely lost both their old character of feudal dependents and the meager advantages of their rights in the use of common lands. Only in a few cases did they succeed in appropriating any small part of cultivable land, and they more and more explicitly became simply day laborers, poorly supplementing their earnings through the cultivation of tiny plots of either owned or rented land in the surroundings of the villages. The process of land appropriation and agricultural development was, therefore, associated in these areas with a process of almost complete proletarianization of the agricultural laborers.

The internal and mountain areas showed a quite different economic

a composite origin and should be considered only as very approximate. See my article, "L'Evoluzione delle Campagne Meridionali e i Contratti Agrari," *Nord e Sud* (Apr., 1955).

⁸ *Contratti a miglioria* were imposed on tenant-cultivators by landowners as a means of avoiding the burdens and risks of investment in plantations. The cultivator obtained the use of the land for a period of twenty-nine years but was obliged to plant within a certain number of years all the trees required for a specialized plantation. He did not pay any rent for a short period (five years), and for the remaining time he paid either a fixed rent or a fixed share of products, obviously less than that demanded in any other type of contract. At the end of the twenty-nine years, the contract was exhausted, the peasant had to leave or to accept different conditions, and the landowner could use freely the plantation in its period of full productivity. Other kinds of similar contracts recognized the peasant's right to become owner of a part of the plantation (*contratti di parzoneria*).

and social evolution. Here, also, dissolution of the feudal system put most of the lands into the hands of bourgeois owners, but the land tenure system in some respects remained very similar to that existing in feudal times. Pastures and forests became mostly private property and were utilized mainly as summer pastures for the large flocks and herds coming from capitalist farms in the low areas. A part of them, however, as in olden times, continued to be used under communal civic rights, although they were reduced in size and impoverished by overuse and deforestation. Most of the cultivable land was appropriated by nonoperating owners and rented in small pieces to peasants either directly or, as in the interior of Sicily, through intermediaries. The landowners were, therefore, in a position of simple *rentiers* similar to that of feudal lords, even if the comparison appears ridiculous considering how small in size and value the properties often were and how miserable the standard of living of the new landlords was. As for the peasants, they did not become day laborers here but remained in a position similar to that which they had in feudal times. Their precarious use of land was governed by primitive tenancy and sharecropping contracts. Their standard of living appeared equally low and equally dominated by permanent indebtedness. The increase of population, particularly serious in those areas of old human settlement, increased competition among the peasants and led to the cultivation of poorer and poorer soils, cutting down the few benefits of the new situation.

At the time of Italian unification, land appropriation by the new landowners was almost complete, and the reorganization and progress of agriculture in the areas provided with better natural resources were fairly well advanced. The year in which the south entered into the unified state, 1860, can be considered as the midway point in this phase of consolidation of the new land tenure system, which continued without interruption until 1880.

After 1880 a gradual change set in. New circumstances began to operate, such as the general agricultural depression, specific difficulties with particular products such as wine, increased fiscal burdens, the beginning of transoceanic migration, and later the beginning of the union movement and social legislation. The cumulative effects of previous developments, such as continuous population increase, progressive subdivision of rural properties, and growing differentiation within the peasant class, also became increasingly apparent.

It is impossible to analyze here how each of these single factors contributed to changing the land tenure system and shifting the positions of social classes in southern rural society. But a few illustrations of the mechanism of

changes as they occurred, both in the landowner and peasant classes, are sufficient to show how important and, in a certain sense, irreversible the change was and to understand why it increasingly dominated the countryside in southern Italy until our times.

The change began among the landowners, with particular impact among those who had been farming their own holdings directly and were leaders of agricultural progress. In these families the first two or three generations increased and consolidated their properties. The new generation after 1880 was compelled, on the other hand, to subdivide them and to interrupt or slow down investment and land improvement. Subdivision of properties became more common, as a consequence of hereditary divisions, as an answer to the increased demand and high prices of land, or as a remedy for financial difficulties in the depression years. Subdivided properties could meet the families' needs less and less so that the center of gravity of the landowners' economy started to shift toward other activities—mainly professional and bureaucratic—and toward other residences, mainly Rome and the north. This movement was possible since both plantations and extensive farms had by this time matured and consolidated. They needed less direct supervision by landowners and could be left in the hands of tenant direct cultivators under some kind of agricultural contract.

This is, schematically, the mechanism through which, in the course of a few decades, the landowner class, and particularly owners of medium-sized or small holdings, increasingly assumed the characteristics of *rentiers* without any real function in agricultural production and progress.

The acceleration of new land purchases, with an increase in the number of landowners, brought similar and often more accentuated results. Between 1880 and the First World War, the most desirable and reliable investment for personal savings in southern Italy was the purchase of land. Members of the growing small bourgeoisie—every lawyer, doctor, merchant, public official, or *carabiniere*—felt that by buying some piece of land, they stabilized their economic condition and, in any case, gained higher social status. There is no need to add that these new landowners, most of whom had their main activity away from the land, were by far more *rentier*-minded and detached from agriculture than the old ones. Through such a process it came about little by little, that southern bourgeois became the landowners of southern peasants. This is one of the bases of the more striking peculiarities of social and political life in the south of Italy.

Changes in the peasants' condition were closely related to changes in the landowning class and developed mainly in the form of growing internal

differentiation. Before 1880 peasants in any one of the areas described above were in similar conditions, so that their class as a whole had a remarkable homogeneity. After 1880, the growing subdivision of bourgeois property and the gradual change of landowners into *rentiers* opened the road to change for individual peasants. More and more day laborers became tenants, sharecroppers, or other kinds of *coloni*. Their earnings and savings as direct cultivators permitted many of them to buy a piece of land, to build a house, and to have some animals. But in doing so, each one became different from the other. They became more and more involved in the competition for a job and for more and better land to cultivate, adhering less and less to class solidarity and community participation as they became more exclusively interested in personal or family progress.

It is easy to understand how important and positive the processes outlined above were. Almost all progress in southern agriculture in recent times is an outcome of them. Fifty per cent of cultivable land is now operated by small tenants and *coloni*, who undoubtedly have a more stable footing on the land than they had before. More than 35 per cent of the land is owned by peasants, and, regardless of how tiny these holdings are, they have considerably changed the social status of the owner. Standards of living in general are undoubtedly higher than they were before, and remarkable progress has taken place in agricultural production through their increased technical capacity. But these positive aspects of recent change cannot be separated from the negative ones. Instability remains everywhere the characteristic feature of the peasants' condition, which is dominated now as before by the precariousness of agricultural contracts, by overpopulation and consequent unemployment and underemployment, by growing fragmentation of rural holdings, by lack of capital and credit facilities, by lack of technical assistance and organization, and mainly by competition and differentiation among themselves and by acute contrast with other social classes, which prevent their development of economic cooperation, significant social institutions, and real civic and democratic life.

The more recent evolution of the land tenure system, therefore, has resulted not in stabilization but in growing disintegration of rural society. It is to this that we can trace the fact that social unrest, on the one hand, and inefficiency of institutional life on the other are now, more than ever, the characteristics of the south.

The Big Flat

History of a New York Tenement House

ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE model tenement movement as a whole warrants more thorough investigation by historians and is equally interesting whether studied as a phase of urban social reform, as an expression of nineteenth-century philanthropy, or as a problem in American domestic architecture. Moreover, as this note seeks to demonstrate, study of the movement offers a convenient method of getting at specific information, otherwise difficult to obtain, on the way of life of the urban poor in the recent past. Students interested in pursuing research along the lines suggested in this note will readily discover a number of other experiments in improved housing launched during the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's. Some of these ventures were more successful than the one here discussed, and a few may be found to have exercised a more positive influence on the later course of housing reform.

The Big Flat did not acquire that name until midway in its history. When erected in 1855 by New York's leading philanthropic organization it was christened the Workmen's Home. A substantial brick structure, six stories tall and somewhat prison-like in appearance, the Home covered most of six city lots and ran through the block from 96 and 98 Mott Street to 47 and 49 Elizabeth Street. It was the largest multiple dwelling built in New York before the 1880's.

The man most responsible for the construction of the Workmen's Home was Robert M. Hartley, founder and executive secretary of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. As early as 1847 he had proposed building a group of eight model tenements, each containing twenty-four apartments that would be rented to poor families for \$1.00 a week. Lack of funds prevented the AICP from trying the experiment, but the plans were printed and widely distributed in the hope that some philanthropically-inclined builder might utilize them.¹ In 1854, disappointed by the failure of private capitalists to act, Hartley organized a subsidiary of the AICP to build and operate a model tenement for Negroes. The project, the first of the kind to be undertaken in this country, was intended to demonstrate the feasibility

¹ W. H. Tolman, "Half a Century of Improved Housing Effort by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor," *Yale Review*, V (1896-97), 290.

of providing decent housing, at a price within the means of the poorer classes, which would also yield a fair return on the capital invested.²

The building was designed by a well-known architect, John W. Ritch, and built at a cost of \$60,000 on land purchased for \$30,500. It was 53 feet wide by 188 feet deep. There were stores on the Mott and Elizabeth Street sides, a courtyard 22 feet wide on the south, and an open space 5 feet wide on the north. The basement was divided into separate coal bins and storage spaces for each family. On the top story were two assembly rooms which the inmates, as Hartley called the tenants, were permitted to employ for "lectures, concerts, or moral and educational uses" during the week and for Sunday School and religious observance on the Sabbath. Immediately inside both street entrances rose fireproof stairways made of iron with slate treads. On the north side of each floor a public hall, lighted by gas lamps at either end, extended through the length of the building. Along the outside wall of each hall were rows of compartments containing the toilets for the apartments on that floor. In the middle of the halls were water taps and slop sinks—one for each floor.

Originally there were eighty-seven apartments in the building, or about fourteen to a floor. They stretched back railroad-fashion from the halls to the south or courtyard side. Each had three rooms and a closet large enough to be used as an extra bedroom. With the exception of those facing the streets, where windows were more numerous, the apartments had two windows apiece, one opening on the courtyard and the other on the hall. A system of small flues rising from each room to the roof supplied, or was supposed to supply, further ventilation. Hartley described these apartments as "commodius and well ventilated." They rented at \$5.50 to \$8.50 a month.³

What the inmates thought of the building is not known, but there is reason to doubt that the Workmen's Home provided conditions conducive to either health or morality. In most of the apartments only one room had access to outside air, and the inner rooms were always dark and practically unventilated. As often as not pressure was inadequate to carry water above the street floor. In winter the toilets, the sink traps, and the water pipes, which were outside the building, froze solid. The halls that ran through the Home from street to street, although intended for the convenience of the tenants, turned out to be among the worst features, since by day and

² New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1856), pp. 45-51.

³ *Ibid.* See also Robert W. DeForest and Lawrence Veiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem Including the Report of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900* (2 vols., New York, 1900), I, 85-86; James Ford, *Slums and Housing* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1936), II, 673, 878.

night they attracted a disorderly crowd of idlers into the public portions of the house.⁴

Such defects were by no means peculiar to the Workmen's Home, nor were they entirely confined to the habitations of the poor. In the 1860's up-town apartment houses designed for occupancy by moderately well-to-do families were being erected with no more provision for light and ventilation and with somewhat less attention to fire safety.⁵ In 1865 a civic group cited the Home as one of the few examples of "comfortable and decent tenant-houses" in the city.⁶ As late as 1884, long after the AICP had sold the house, an expert witness told a legislative commission that, although abominably dirty, it was basically "a fine building, well ventilated and well built."⁷ Outside of the AICP, however, the design of the building awakened little enthusiasm, and later builders of model tenements, instead of copying the Home, adopted plans based on contemporary English experiments in low-cost housing.⁸

Despite the pride Hartley took in the building, the conduct of the tenants—"a semi-civilized class," according to Hartley—proved a constant source of embarrassment to him. In 1867 the Association sold the Home for \$100,000 to the trustees of the Five Points House of Industry. The new owners spent an additional \$40,000 to convert the property, now renamed the Working-women's Home, into a "cheery boarding place" for "tailoresses, dress and cloak-makers, milliners, hoop-skirt and artificial flowermakers, book-folders, workers in confectionary, tobacco, cigars, etc. . . . and shop or store clerks." The Workingwomen's Home was expected to be a self-sustaining enterprise rather than a gratuitous charity, but the trustees proposed to offer the boarders decent living accommodations, wholesome food, and facilities for education and self-improvement at reasonable rates. Above all the Home was expected to serve as a refuge where women whose wages were small would be "withdrawn from temptation and brought under moral and Christian influences."⁹

⁴ For comments on the defects of the building see DeForest and Veiller, *Tenement House Problem*, I, 87; Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York, 1890), pp. 271-72.

⁵ Citizens' Association of New York, Council of Hygiene and Public Health, *Report Upon the Sanitary Condition of the City* (New York, 1865), pp. lxxi-lxxii fn.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. cxii.

⁷ New York (State) Legislature, *Report of the Tenement House Commission of 1884* (Albany, 1885), p. 86.

⁸ Alfred T. White, for example, adopted the design of the Waterlow buildings in London for the outstandingly successful and much admired model tenements he built in Brooklyn between 1877 and 1890.

⁹ William F. Barnard, *Forty Years at the Five Points: A Sketch of the Five Points House of Industry* (New York, 1893), p. 40; *The Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry*, X (1866-67), 179.

The remodeled Home opened its doors on October 1, 1867. It had space for between four hundred and five hundred boarders in sixty dormitories and twenty apartments on the five upper stories. The main entrance, now located on the Elizabeth Street side, led into an office or reception room, behind which were a parlor, sewing room, library, and a dining hall just under 100 feet long. The basement contained a kitchen connected by dumb-waiters with the dining hall, a bakery, laundry, "bathing department," and storage space. As before there were sixteen water closets and one sink (now supplied with hot as well as cold water) on each of the upper floors. The house was lighted by gas and heated by fireplaces. The boarders paid \$3.25 a week for bed, meals, free use of the baths, and washing of eight pieces of laundry.¹⁰ Comparable accommodations elsewhere in the city, it was estimated, would have cost from \$8.00 to \$10.00 a week.¹¹

The residents, except those whose employment kept them out later, had to be in the house by ten o'clock. Secure within their refuge, the girls could dance in the hallways or walk in the court, which had been converted into a paved yard bordered by well-tended flower beds. Their parlor and library were comfortably furnished and supplied with papers, magazines, and a few books and pictures. Newspaper comments on the venture were uniformly laudatory, and on the first anniversary of the opening of the Working-women's Home, the residents presented the superintendent with a bouquet and a silver water pitcher in token of their gratitude.¹²

Even at this early date, however, the sponsors were beginning to complain of "the cost, care, and trouble" involved in operating the Home. Not all of the boarders, it seems, were "grateful and appreciative." Some were "unfortunately constituted" and caused the management and the other residents no little trouble. There was, for example, the sad case of a woman, otherwise estimable, who sang and prayed at unseemly hours and in such a loud voice that she disturbed people even in remote parts of the house. She persisted in these habits despite repeated admonitions and at last had to be dismissed.¹³

The most serious problem, however, was financial. The Home did not fill up. At no time were there more than three hundred women in residence, and by 1872 it appeared certain that the number would decline rather than increase in the future. The trustees had gone into debt to buy and refurbish the building, but revenues were never even sufficient to meet current operat-

¹⁰ *Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry*, XII (1868-69), 116-19 and XIII (1869-70), 295-98.

¹¹ *New York Times*, Sept. 30, 1868.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry*, XII, 115.

ing expenses, so that instead of being self-sustaining, the Home was a constant drain on the resources of the parent organization. After five years' trial the trustees announced that the Home would close on July 1, 1872.¹⁴ They sold the building about a year later for \$100,000, the same amount they had paid for it.

A factor that undoubtedly contributed to the failure of both the Workmen's and the Workingwomen's Home was the disreputable neighborhood in which the house was situated. To the south stretched the Sixth Ward, one of the most densely populated and pestilential sections of the city. Northward lay the Fourteenth Ward with its decaying tenements, fat-boiling establishments, manufactories of glass, soap, and candles, and wood-and-metal-working shops. Throughout the entire history of the building, streets, gutters, and even walks in the area were covered, winter and summer, with filth, garbage, ashes, and offal.¹⁵

The march of industry, which was eventually to engulf the Big Flat, at first only made the building less livable. In 1872, shortly before the Working-women's Home went out of business, a large factory was erected next door, seriously reducing the light and air available to the tenants.¹⁶ But neither its undesirability as a residence nor the deterioration of the neighborhood affected the value of the property. The man who bought it from the Five Points House of Industry in 1873 sold it only a few months later for \$200,000. In the next few years the Big Flat, as it was now called, changed hands several times, reaching its peak value in 1875 when it sold for \$221,000. Thereafter every owner of the Big Flat was forced to sell it for less than he had paid. Nevertheless, when finally disposed of for industrial purposes in 1888, the site alone had become so valuable that the property brought \$96,000, slightly more than the AICP had invested in the land and building in the 1850's.¹⁷

Under private management the Big Flat lost whatever attributes of a model tenement it had once possessed. The owners restored the building to something like its original plan but increased the total number of apartments to ninety-one. They also raised the rents, charging as much for the cheapest and least desirable lodgings as the most expensive and best situated ones had formerly cost.¹⁸ Even so, the demand for housing had become so great

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI (1872-73), 34-35.

¹⁵ Citizens' Association of New York, *Report Upon the Sanitary Condition of the City*, pp. 76, 85-86; see also New York City Department of Health, *Second Annual Report* (1871-72), pp. 99-100; George E. Waring, Jr., *Street Cleaning* (New York, 1899), p. 9.

¹⁶ *Monthly Record of the Five Points House of Industry*, XVI, 34-35.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Mr. William Wolfman, chief counsel of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, New York, for data on real estate transactions involving the Big Flat.

¹⁸ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" New York Association for Improving the Condition of the

that most of the apartments were rented. The population of the house, once (probably erroneously) estimated at 1,500, seems to have averaged around 500, although the actual number of occupants was difficult to determine because some tenants took in lodgers and unauthorized persons camped out in the halls.¹⁹ Alfred T. White, a successful builder and operator of model tenements who visited the house in the mid-eighties, concluded that the chief problem was the landlord's failure to supervise and police the property. "At no time," he stated in 1885, "have 'the Big Flats' had an agent equal to the preservation of peace or the enforcement of any rules."²⁰

Overcrowding, neglect on the part of the owners, and violation of the simplest rules of sanitation by the tenants, together with the unfortunate design of the building, created serious hygienic problems. A sanitary inspector employed by the AICP, who made a careful survey of the Big Flat in 1886, pronounced it a "pest-hole and resort of the worst characters." According to his report, all but four of the apartments in the building were dirty; three of the exceptions were clean, and the other was filthy.²¹ Other visitors observed "dampness and vegetable organisms" on the walls of the inner rooms,²² and White found dust and dirt covering the stairs "like a carpet," so that the hard stone steps were soft to the tread.²³ Piles of garbage littered the halls; the walls and floors around the sinks were wet and smelly; and the sinks themselves appeared to be used primarily to dispose of refuse. The toilets on the upper stories had caused so much trouble that the Board of Health finally ordered them removed—with the result that twenty-eight privy-like compartments originally intended for tenants on the first two floors had to serve all the occupants of the building. Even in the comparative coolness of the early morning hours visitors found the stench permeating the Big Flat almost unbearable.²⁴

Deplorable as the situation was, observers agreed the house was about on a par with, and in some respects superior to, the common run of low-grade tenements. In reputation for turbulence and disorder, however, the Big Flat outranked most of its rivals. Perhaps simply because it housed so

Poor, *Forty-third Annual Report* (1886), p. 46. This thirty-page article, the most important source of information on the Big Flat in the 1880's, forms part of the report of Frederick N. Owen, sanitary agent of the AICP. Owen also served as chief inspector for the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1884.

¹⁹ Lucy M. Hall, "Tenement-Houses and Their Populations," *Journal of Social Science*, XX (1884), 94.

²⁰ White, "Better Homes for Workingmen," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1885), p. 373.

²¹ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" p. 44.

²² Hall, "Tenement-Houses and Their Populations," pp. 93-94.

²³ White, "Better Homes for Workingmen," p. 373.

²⁴ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" pp. 47, 71-72.

many people and was frequented by so many others, it gave the police more trouble than smaller tenements. At any rate the number of arrests for both major and minor breaches of the peace was high. The prostitutes who rented most of the ground floor rooms attracted an unruly and occasionally violent clientele into the house. At night streetwalkers from the neighborhood roamed the corridors in search of customers and sometimes engaged in noisy quarrels with the resident prostitutes. Boys and young men loitered around the steps or played cards under the gas lamps. Drunks ejected from the saloon on the Mott Street side, or wandering in from the streets, staggered through the main floor hall, and tramps undismayed by the din, if not actively adding to it, sought free sleeping space on the floor.²⁵ In 1879 revenue agents discovered an illicit still capable of producing 175 gallons of whisky a day in the abandoned bakery portion of the basement.²⁶ Several years later a raid on the six opium dens then flourishing in the Big Flat netted twenty-nine persons, fifteen of them white women. One of the men caught in the raid was charged with luring young girls into his establishment.²⁷

The saloon dispensed whisky at five cents a glass from 5:30 A.M. until late at night. The proprietor did a brisk carry-out business early in the morning when women and children brought in cups and soda water bottles to be filled with liquor. On Sundays, when it was illegal to sell whisky, the saloonkeeper locked the street entrance but permitted a side door leading to the hall to remain open. Men, women, and children went in and out all day long, usually taking their drinks to the hall where there was likely to be accordion playing, dancing, and loud talk.²⁸

The raffish activities and conduct that gave the Big Flat its evil reputation were concentrated on the first two stories. The vast majority of the tenants were law abiding, industrious, and necessarily thrifty souls who had as little as possible to do with their disreputable neighbors. About 85 per cent of the occupants in 1886 were recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, mainly Russian, Polish, and Romanian Jews. All but a few worked as well as resided in the Big Flat, since they made their living by finishing coats, pants, waists, and overalls in their own apartments. Nearly all of the families had a sewing machine, and some owned as many as four. They received needles, thread, buttons, and cut and basted garments from manufacturers;

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁶ *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1879. The owner of the Big Flat at this time was Jabez A. Bostwick, an oil merchant who lived on upper Fifth Avenue.

²⁷ *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1884.

²⁸ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" pp. 46-50, 52.

the men operated the sewing machines, and the women sewed on buttons and made button holes by hand. By working at top speed from six in the morning until ten at night a man and wife, assisted by a child or two, could earn \$1.60 a day. Many of the families supplemented their earnings by keeping lodgers, who paid \$2.00 a week for board and "room"—a quilt or mattress on the floor. About fifty of the lodgers were pushcart peddlers, and these were almost the only adult residents of the Big Flat who worked outside the building.²⁹

Slightly more than a third of the Big Flat's inhabitants in the 1880's were children. About half of the youngsters were of school age, but by no means all of them attended school. Some helped their parents in the family sweatshops; others worked in the factory next door, peddled matches, or engaged in other street trades.³⁰ As was true in other large tenement houses, the high percentage of infants and children under five years of age helped swell the Big Flat's mortality rate to an alarming figure. In 1883-1885, when the average death rate in the city was about twenty-six per thousand of the population, the average for the Big Flat was equivalent to forty-two per thousand. The infant death rate in the house during this period was more than two and a half times as high as in the city as a whole.³¹ Infanticide, as a sanitary reformer sadly remarked, had seldom been practiced on as large a scale as in late nineteenth-century New York.³²

The owner of the Big Flat in the final and most disreputable phase of its history was the New York Steam Company, a corporation that supplied newspapers and industrial consumers with steam for heat and power. The trustees of the corporation included men prominent in the business community, but the operation of the tenement apparently engaged little of their attention. They had other matters to worry about, for, in addition to the normal cares and vicissitudes of business, the firm underwent a reorganization and became involved in a bitter dispute with its employees.³³ From time to time, at the insistence of health authorities, the company made various changes in the Big Flat. Unfortunately, these alterations—such as the removal of most of the toilets and the transfer of all the slop sinks from

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 47-52; see also Charles F. Wingate, "The Cradle of Cholera," *New York Daily Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1884; New York (State), *Report of the Tenement House Commission of 1884*, pp. 108-10, 175.

³⁰ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" pp. 49, 60; cf. Jacob Riis, "How the Other Half Lives," *Scribner's Magazine*, VI (1889), 651-52.

³¹ "The Story of the 'Big Flat,'" pp. 58-59.

³² A. N. Bell, "Report on the Sanitary Condition of Towns," *Ninth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities, State of New York* (1876), p. 144.

³³ *New York Times*, July 30, 1879; *New York Daily Tribune*, Mar. 17, 1884, Mar. 7-13, 1886.

the interior to positions outside a window on each hall—only had the effect of adding to the inconvenience of the tenants without materially improving the cleanliness of the house. None of the changes remedied the hardships from which residents of the Big Flat, like dwellers in other tenements, suffered most: lack of privacy, light, air, and above all, water.³⁴

One day in the winter of 1888–1889 Jacob Riis, who described the Big Flat as “a regular hot-bed of thieves and peace-breakers,” discovered that the building had been demolished. On its site stood a new carriage factory bustling with activity on every floor. To Riis the moral was plain. “Business,” he was to exult in his soon-to-be published *How the Other Half Lives*, “has done more than all other agencies together to wipe out the worst tenements. It has been New York’s real Napoleon III. . . . In ten years I have seen plague-spots disappear before its onward march with which health officers, police and sanitary science had struggled vainly.”³⁵

By this time New York contained a few newly constructed tenements that were more nearly model buildings than the Big Flat had ever been and some old houses, such as Gotham Court, which had been made decent by conscientious landlords. These, however, were incapable of housing more than a tiny fraction of the poorer classes of the city. The onward march of industry and the “beneficent spirit of business,” which Riis and other reformers hailed, sometimes destroyed bad tenements but almost never built good ones. The overwhelming weight of evidence presented in tenement house inspections and investigations made in the 1890’s leads to the conclusion that the dispossessed tenants of the Big Flat benefited little from its destruction. In all probability they moved into buildings equally as bad, and perhaps worse than the one they had vacated.

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³⁴ The Big Flat was better supplied with water than the law required, since the provision of the Act of 1887 requiring running water on each floor of a tenement house did not become operative until 1895. For interesting comment on the water problem in tenements see New York (State), *Report of the Tenement House Committee of 1894* (Albany, 1895), pp. 382–84, 430–31.

³⁵ Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, pp. 271–72; see also *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1888; *The Engineering and Building Record and the Sanitary Engineer*, XVIII (1888), 216.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General

THE FRONTIER IN PERSPECTIVE. Edited by *Walker D. Wyman* and *Clifton B. Kroeber*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Pp. xx, 300. \$5.50.)

Two Differing Views*

A CENTURY ago an Easterner named Draper came to Wisconsin and began to build a local archive of frontier history. One of those who used the materials he collected was an intense but shallow historian named F. J. Turner. In 1954, someone had the bright idea of exploiting, at a summer session of the University of Wisconsin, the centenary of Draper's arrival in the state. By this approach we reach *The Frontier in Perspective*, a monument of provincial piety—but a monument to Turner, not to Draper. He, having provided the occasion by living long enough ago, is dropped. No essay is devoted to him or to the value of local archives. What we have instead is a rag bag of discussions of this, that, or the other topic as Turner might have dealt with it, had he been less parochial than he was, or if his name can somehow be dragged in. The reader feels at times like a tourist trying to identify the scenic features of the Grand Canyon from a guide-book to the Yosemite.

The most distinguished contribution, with only polite and minimal reference to the inadequacy of Turner, is on "The Frontiers of Hispanic America," by Silvio Zavala. The Hispanic thrust into the Americas had been preceded by a long tradition of wars against the Moors, which shaped the social and institutional character of Hispanic conquest, colonization, and exploitation of natives. Village Indians could be conquered at a blow and made to pay labor tribute on the farm or in the mines. Against the mobile plains Indians, especially after they acquired the horse, which at first only the Spaniards had, other methods had to be worked out. Thus the historical process is seen as having primary and secondary aspects. Primarily, a society has its own characteristics, and when it expands it tends to create its own kind of frontier. Secondarily, it finds that it can impose itself on some local conditions, while under other conditions it can continue to expand only if it modifies itself. Unmistakably, this view differs radically from Turner's mixture of political sentimentality and misconceived geographical materialism.

* Presented above are two reviews of one book by specialists in different fields. The *Review* prints both as an experiment.

It is unfortunately impossible, when reviewing a symposium in a limited number of words, to mention each and every contribution—there are more than a dozen in this book. P. L. MacKendrick, "Roman Colonization and the Frontier Hypothesis," shows the extremes to which "Turnerian" interpretation can be carried. Yes, the Romans expanded and colonized but, surely, not against "Indians." They contended, within Italy, against peoples of much the same cultural level, with similar economic practices and methods of warfare. R. L. Reynolds, "The Mediterranean Frontiers, 1000-1400," has the valuable concept that societies which are changing in themselves create new kinds of frontiers; this is not surprising, since the one writer whom he recommends for further reading is R. S. Lopez.

A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, "Russian Expansion in the Far East in the Light of the Turner Hypothesis," mentions the importance of the Cossack use of firearms but does not tie this up tightly, as it should be, with the fact that it took the Russians, without firearms, six centuries to reach the Urals and, with firearms, only another hundred years to reach the Pacific. W. P. Webb, "The Western World Frontier," though he does not cite either Malthus or Henry George, mixes up what seems to be an extraordinary brew of Turner, Malthus, and George, and skims off it the suggestion that perhaps what we need is a law of primogeniture and entail. Entertaining, but not convincing.

E. P. Boardman discusses the intellectual unpreparedness of the Chinese officials who in the nineteenth century had to make treaties with the Western sea powers. He attributes the attitude of the Chinese to their millenial contact with the northern, Great Wall barbarians; a stronger case could be made for a theory that the Manchu-Chinese authorities were trying to extend, to the Westerners, concepts of trade and tribute deriving from many centuries of contact with Arab, Indian, and Indonesian seafarers. Boardman refers to, without naming, "a Far Eastern counterpart of the Turner school," and it is possible, given the context, that he has the present reviewer in mind. If so, he is dead wrong. This reviewer, product of an incomplete education, never read Turner until 1955 and obviously did not then form a high opinion of him.

Johns Hopkins University

OWEN LATTIMORE

THIS volume collects thirteen lectures delivered at the University of Wisconsin in 1954. The editors recommended taking "the Turner thesis of the significance of the frontier in United States history as a reference point." "It is now time," they say, "to lay the numerous frontiers against the Turner hypothesis to test its validity, and to search for valid elements in the non-Turnerian history areas."

The most substantial results are papers by Paul W. Gates and Henry Nash Smith, who treat the American West only. For all his chipping away at aspects of the "Turner thesis," Gates is one of the most Turnerian of historians in method and spirit. His paper on "Frontier Estate Builders and Farm Laborers" rests

solidly on the sources as well as on his previous monographs. Smith fruitfully appraises the structure of Mark Twain's *Roughing It* to illustrate the Easterner's adjustment to the frontier and the transience of the frontier itself. Two other papers by major interpreters of the West present nothing new. Thomas P. Abernethy summarizes his accounts of aristocratic survivals in the Old Southwest. Walter P. Webb restates the main generalizations of *The Great Frontier* (1952), which is more than Turnerian in scope and less than Turnerian in relationship of thesis to evidence; the parts of the West that Turner studied correspond more nearly to the whole Mississippi Valley than west Texas corresponds to the world. Three papers offer more details about American society in general than analysis of the frontier. Walter Agard traces examples of the classical tradition in architecture, education, and journalism through the nineteenth century, Frederic G. Cassidy surveys miscellaneous elements in American English, and A. Irving Hallowell considers Indian contributions to cuisine and pharmacopoeia and then turns to general American reactions to the Indian.

The remaining contributors describe frontiers of other countries. Insofar as they make comparisons, most merely note general resemblances to expansion in the United States; they seldom try to analyze the processes that interested Turner most, nor do they distinguish universal factors—land and nature—from the local and inherited factors that Turner also took into account. A. L. Burt, in a paper on Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, achieves the most significant comparison, emphasizing again the independent spirit of the Canadian *habitant*. One may wish, since he contrasts urban Australia with rural North America (that is, the rural Mississippi Valley), and since he complains of Turner's failure to study the Canadian frontier, that he had considered western Canada and the American Far West also, as did one of Turner's students (William J. Trimble) many years ago and one of Burt's students (Paul F. Sharp) more recently. Silvio Zavala cautiously comments on Argentina and northern Mexico but finds little more basis for comparison than Victor Andrés Belaúnde found thirty-five years ago, thus reminding us how little synthesis has come out of decades of studies of the Spanish borderlands and of the "history of the Americas." Speakers on the Roman, medieval Mediterranean, Chinese, and Russian frontiers find chiefly verbal resemblances to America as Turner described it. Paul L. MacKendrick so stresses parallels and passes over divergences as to picture Cato "assuming a hillbilly pose" and Marius as "a GI general." Eugene P. Boardman considers essentially international frontiers and the policies of a foreign dynasty in China. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky begins by comparing Cossacks and American pioneers, as George Lantzeff and Donald Treadgold have done, and then turns to recent international conflicts.

The sum is an interesting though uneven assortment and no great advance toward comparative history. James Westfall Thompson's studies of the *Ostmark* and even Arnold J. Toynbee's overfacile remarks on atavism on the frontier went further than many of these efforts, though some present data and ideas that

should have invited active discussion then and may yet prompt further study. Perhaps it is enough of an achievement to bring eminent visitors to a summer conference without expecting them to confer or attend to a common problem. The editors faced a difficult task in articulating thirteen such different papers.

University of Oregon

EARL POMEROY

CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. Edited by Harald Ingholt. (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1958. Pp. xii, 712, 50 plates. \$30.00.)

AWARE of their new strength and potentials, numismatists have done much stocktaking in recent months. The inventory reveals the science of the study of coins as a discipline proud of its past reaching back into the Renaissance and conscious of the interrelationship of numismatics with other studies in economics, history, visual aesthetics, architecture, and field archaeology. Two illuminating short essays in this appraisal are A. H. M. Jones's "Numismatics and History," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (New York, 1956), and C. H. V. Sutherland's *Ancient Numismatics: A Brief Introduction* (New York, 1958). Sutherland's essay covers the past and present world of ancient numismatics from the beginnings under Croesus in Lydia through the transition to the Byzantine Middle Ages; the documentation is superb. In the full and diverse fashion of infrequent gatherings of international scholarship, we now have the *Actes* (Paris, 1957) of the International Numismatic Congress of July 6-11, 1953, an organized glimpse into the recent researches of nearly every numismatist of note.

On to this stage moves the massive *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, ably edited by Professor Harald Ingholt of Yale. In the foreword, Louis C. West, president of the Society, speaks of an organization "born a century ago with no resources except hope and enthusiasm" and having "today all the hope and enthusiasm with which it began life," and "something more: its physical plant, its collections, its place among the world's learned societies." The centennial called for something beyond the usual round of testimonials and commemorative medals, for the anniversary was also the fiftieth of establishment in the splendid building on Audubon Terrace. The volume reviewed here is more than a society's *Festschrift*; it is a document of this general arrival of numismatics as something far beyond a mere end in itself. A companion volume is promised, a history of the Society, which will show how the evolution came about on this side of the Atlantic.

What of the book we have introduced at length? It is always worth repeating that a volume of fifty essays spread over seven hundred pages cannot be examined other than generally in a review of this length. To list the titles would be to do what any bookseller can do to better purpose. To single out two or three articles for minute examination would be to deprecate forty-five others and to parade

the reviewer in his own scholarly cage. But in an era which sees too many *Festschriften* one can sense whether the collection being reviewed has hit its mark, whether the contributors have given important material or that essay which they had no incentive to finish for one of the journals. The *Centennial Publication* contains one or two after-dinner speeches on "international cooperation" or "numismatics and economic history," but in general each scholar has tried to give in a few pages what he might well have offered as a monograph elsewhere.

All periods from early Greek to "Brasher and Bailey: Pioneer New York Coiners, 1787-1792" (W. H. Breen) are included. The essays are not grouped by region or topic but are presented in alphabetical sequence of authors. Plates, fortunately, come with each article. Ingholt hopes the Tyche of numismatics has hovered over the presses to keep misprints away, and the brevity of the *Errata* sheet suggests she has. Ancient numismatics account for nearly half the contributions, but R. B. Whitehead, "Coins and Indian History," H. Grunthal, "Richard Wagner in Medallic Art," G. C. Miles, "The Early Islamic Bronze Coinage of Egypt," and H. Enno van Gelder, "Les plus anciens tarifs monétaires illustrés des Pays-Bas," suggest the scope.

Historians with a grim sense of humor and with a conviction that coins not properly screened by numismatists are worse than useless in other contexts will delight in Philip Grierson's "Some Modern Forgeries of Carolingian Coins." A well-known Italian forger of the early twentieth century, whose dies are to a large extent awaiting publication in the Museo Nazionale Romano, filled gaps in the numismatic history of the Italian Middle Ages. In spite of early "recognition," he was subsequently able to deceive one of the great authorities of the Medagliere Vaticano with the so-called "hoard of Bolsena" in 1909. Before the revelations of 1902-1905, however, the great numismatist King Victor Emmanuel III acquired twenty-two of the forger's papal *antiquiores* in endeavoring to fill as many gaps as possible in his collection before publishing the *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*.

Among the articles on Greek and Roman coins, M. Thompson's "The Grain-Ear Drachms of Athens" shows in an exhaustive marshaling of evidence new and old that on three separate occasions between 180 and 165 B.C. the city mint issued fractions for special purposes, probably associated with gifts or distributions of grain by such patrons as Antiochus Epiphanes of Syria (166 B.C.). At the other end of antiquity, K. Pink catalogues the medallions of Carus and his sons Carinus and Numerianus (A.D. 282-284). In a period generally devoid of historical and artistic riches, one is surprised at the breadth and quality of the large multiple coins or ceremonial tokens of these Illyrian rulers. The obverses show them in rich consular robes and elaborate cuirasses with scenes of Virtus in relief on the shields; the reverses rise to the level of dramatic transcriptions of the brief histories of Flavius Vopiscus and the Byzantine Malalas.

CONSTITUTIONAL REASON OF STATE: THE SURVIVAL OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. By C. J. Friedrich. [The Colver Lectures, 1956.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 131. \$3.00.)

By a fortunate coincidence, the Colver Memorial Lectures which Professor Friedrich gave at Brown University have come out as a book in the same year in which Meinecke's famous work on the idea of the reason of state, under the title *Machiavellism*, has been published in an English translation. The two books are closely related; Friedrich tries to close a gap which Meinecke had left. Meinecke studied the development of political thought accompanying the emergence of the absolutist state, and the essence of the problem of reason of state was to him the conflict between the values of a moral order and the view of the state as an engine exclusively driven by power interests. Meinecke neglected those thinkers who were interested in the legal and constitutional aspects of politics; these "constitutional thinkers" are the chief concern of Friedrich. He investigates the aspects which the problem of reason of state takes when it has to be faced by those who believe in government by law and a constitutional order. Friedrich's consideration of this question has been clearly influenced by the great significance of this problem in present-day politics: If the existence of the democratic order is threatened, is it justifiable to use in its defense undemocratic means? This is the central problem of the constitutional reason of state, and the defense against Communism, the rise of McCarthyism, the concept of the "security risk" have demonstrated the existence and importance of this problem in the modern world.

Friedrich admits frankly that his historical survey of the views on this problem held by "constitutional thinkers" from Machiavelli to Hegel will not give any clear indication how this problem ought to be solved today. He succeeds, however, in showing that the constitutional thinkers of the past were aware that an emergency situation might arise in which the maintenance of legality might involve great risks for the continued existence of a constitutional order. Harrington believed that a security council, in the pattern of the Venetian Council of Ten, with discretionary powers of wide scope, might be able to eradicate such threats. Spinoza was willing to concede to the government all possible rights of interference as long as freedom of thought was maintained. The Calvinist political thinkers believed in the need of using emergency powers against tyrants and subversives but did not fear the consequences because the "saints" who employed this dangerous weapon would always return to a lawful order of society. In the Enlightenment, Locke believed that the right to use emergency powers, under special circumstances, could be built into the constitution. Kant had no great hopes that constitutional rights would remain intact as long as force was employed in politics; only a world federation under law which would end wars among states would remove all possible threats against the maintenance of a constitutional order.

Friedrich's concise but clear lectures are significant not only because they reveal the extent to which the question of the defense of the constitutional order has been a permanent problem in constitutional thought. They can also serve as a stimulating introduction to the general political ideas of these "constitutional thinkers," because Friedrich shows that the manner in which they approach this special problem is inextricably connected with their entire system of thought and permits an insight into their fundamental presuppositions.

The reviewer cannot end, however, without raising one query: To what extent do the presuppositions of a "constitutional thinker" divest the problem of reason of state of its complexity and sharpness? In his first chapter, Friedrich argues most convincingly that the problem of reason of state did not exist for Machiavelli because the state was for him the highest value and "he was thereby precluded from seeing the issue of the clash between a transcendent morality and the requirements of security and survival of the political order." Friedrich seems to assume—quite in accordance with Meinecke's views on this problem—both that the moral order and the political order have equal claims to the loyalty of man and that the individual is driven into an insoluble conflict when the demands of these two orders clash with each other. But at the end Friedrich writes that "the most fundamental of all is the right of a man to his conviction, his belief, his faith. For here is the hard core of man's dignity. . . . It is the reason why a constitutional state is founded and maintained." Thus in a constitutional state the political order is made to serve the purposes of the maintenance of the moral dignity of man. The conclusion would seem to be that in the minds of "constitutional thinkers" the problem of reason of state resolves itself into the technical question of providing a political order with the right legal and constitutional protection whereas to the absolutist thinkers the problem could have no final solution as it had always to be decided by the conscience of the individual.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

NATURE AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE: ESSAYS IN NATURALISM
AND IN THE THEORY OF HISTORY. By John Herman Randall, Jr.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 326. \$5.50.)

THIS book is devoted to two themes that have long been central in Professor Randall's thinking: the theory of history and the theory of nature. These two themes really become one in his treatment, for his basic philosophic commitment is to "functional realism," a form of that familiar naturalism which, for two generations in America and for many more than that in Europe, has sought to subsume under "a common set of categories and a common intellectual method" the worlds both of history and of nature. Randall comes closer to success in this difficult project than most of his naturalistic predecessors. Because he is a professional philosopher, he has avoided some of the traps into which historians such as Beard

and Becker stepped. Because he has been himself a historian of ideas throughout his life, he does less violence to the true historical world and to the discipline that studies it than philosophers such as Mandelbaum or Dewey have been wont to do.

Historians will be pleased to find here the ready admission that older naturalisms failed when they tried to deal with "the higher activities of mankind." They will be even more pleased perhaps to read that the world of history differs from the world of science with its "continuity of processes and conditions" and that "a history is always a particular: it is always unique and unrepeatable, and never an instance of any universal structure." All of this may lead some historians to conclude that Randall is approaching the position of German *Historismus*. But that impression fades immediately when it is recalled that he has rejected this position at the outset as a species of philosophical idealism quite alien to the realistic American mind. Though Randall does not specifically term such idealism un-American, he does put it into sharp contrast with the "realistic" position widely held among "American thinkers" such as Woodbridge, Hook, Strong, and Dewey and among historians—presumably "American" too, whether or not they qualify as "thinkers"—such as Becker, Beard, Nevins, and Gottschalk. Furthermore, he applies the approbatory term to himself as well, when he professes to offer "an 'American'—that is, a *realistic*—conception of historical knowledge." But what is this "American" theory of history? Though it cannot be characterized in a few words, terms such as functional, relational or relativistic, instrumentalist, presentist, and pragmatic do fairly well, if they are applied to Randall's work as a nonpolemical person might apply them to Beard's historiographical writings or to Robinson's essays on the New History or even to Harry Elmer Barnes's book on the same subject. Randall's discussion of the theory of history is more philosophically sophisticated, more logically coherent, than the discussions of most historians who have dealt with this theme, while it is more attuned to the realities of history than the discussions of most naturalistic philosophers. For these reasons this book must be considered an important addition to one of the major currents of historical thought. Still, it has not solved naturalism's principal unsolved problem, however much it may have moved toward a solution. It has not been able to encompass both nature and history within a single conceptual system in a manner consistent with the realities of each. A solution to that problem, which does not do violence to history, will come only when philosophers—and historians too—abandon the attempts to apply arbitrarily to history the concepts and schemes that have been developed in the natural sciences. The real need is not, as Randall seems to suggest, to avoid un-American ideas in historical theory, but to avoid unhistorical ones. We must analyze what historians do in much the same way that we have already analyzed what scientists do. Perhaps then history and nature can be taken up into a single system that encompasses both by

transcending both. But if that happens naturalism itself will have been transcended—the “American” as well as every other variety.

University of Oregon

LLOYD R. SORENSEN

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. Volume IV, THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES. By *Winston S. Churchill*. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 403. \$6.00.)

WITH this fourth volume Sir Winston Churchill brings to an end his ambitious sweep through the histories of those who speak the English tongue. From the fall of Napoleon to the death of Queen Victoria, the distinguished author follows over the face of the earth the peoples who, whatever their mistakes and confusions, have carried with them the high and tenacious virtues bred into the parental stock.

The subject is long, the book is short. The reader's initial interest, therefore, is in the nature of the condensation and the emphasis. Two persons seem to have presided over the choices made. There is as chief interpreter the long-time dweller in the House of Commons, who projects himself with easy grace—and with a sympathetic understanding—into constitutional crises, cabinet policies, and party maneuvers. Into the midst of such basic political concerns, however, there rides the indomitable *Malbrouck manqué* to capture virtually a fourth of the book for the military campaigns of the American Civil War. No ordinary toiler in Clio's domain could have hazarded such an allocation, but probably no ordinary toiler could have proposed to himself such a panoramic undertaking.

Sir Winston's is no book for small contentions. It tells—and, since it is in Churchillian prose, it tells well—spirited and graphic chapters in the life of his chosen lands. More important still, it tells much of the mind and the character of its redoubtable author; it is an account of how a great son of two English-speaking countries views his inheritance. In this fact the reader will find the excitement and the significance of the present volume as well as of its predecessors. Sir Winston surveys the course of a mighty century and, especially when looking at the motherland, he is constrained to agree with the otherwise dubious Macaulay on the verity of progress. At the end of the Boer War he takes leave of a Britain leading the world, and he finds it, of course, proper and good. He is naturally aware of the Irish shadow over the domestic scene, but philosophic reflections about the democracy advertised in his title cannot be expected from such a magnificent activist. Imbued with a belief in the good sense of British political life, he is content to observe: “To go forward gradually but boldly seemed to be fully justified.”

The end of the book comes abruptly. A few and manifestly hurried lines give no explanation of how the serpents of the twentieth century crept into this garden

where English is spoken. Sir Winston leaps over the tortured decades of the recent past to look to the future in which these kindred peoples will face in firm union yet more tests in the cause of peace and freedom. The call for this union is the political testament of an extraordinary personnage whose rich and diverse labors come by mortal necessity toward their end. Debate waits upon other times; now let us praise a famous man.

Stanford University

DAVID HARRIS

REPORTING THE WARS. By *Joseph J. Mathews*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. Pp. x, 322. \$6.50.)

WHAT little historical study there has been of the collection and reporting of news has largely concerned particular countries, individual newspapers, and outstanding individuals. Professor Mathews' book, incorporating revisions of his published articles, breaks new ground in an important phase of the general problem as the first attempt to trace the evolution of war news during the past two centuries. After a glance at a seventeenth-century battle report, Mathews begins with the French revolutionary wars, Napoleon I, and his famous bulletins and ends with World War II, Ernie Pyle's down-to-earth accounts of GI experiences, and occasional references to the even more recent Korean War. The story is mainly concerned, on the one hand, with the invasion of official monopoly and secrecy by a dynamic free press to satisfy a news hungry public and, on the other, with the gradual awakening of authority to the value of publicity in the making of war.

To the Anglo-American press the author allots the major credit for the "break-throughs" of the mid-nineteenth century and World War I when, despite physical difficulties and official obstruction, wealthy and politically powerful journals searched out the news at its source. He pays appreciative but critical attention in accounting for these revolutionary changes to selected war correspondents (the number of those mentioned exceeds two hundred), of whom W. H. Russell of Crimean War fame was, of course, the best known and perhaps the most influential. Until the coming of total war, both hot and cold, in the twentieth century, war correspondents were engaged in constant conflict with the military and political authorities. Mathews rightly sees a new threat to the integrity of the news in their conversion and that of their editors to the belief that they too must put victory first. In concluding chapters he deals with the perennial problem of censorship and other controls and with war correspondence as a profession. So widely does he throw his net, noting the experiences of many countries, that some aspects of the problem naturally invite further exploration. Since the press associations played an increasing part in reporting news after the

turn of the century, an analysis of their operations would be useful, and the radio broadcast is an almost virgin field.

Duke University

E. MALCOLM CARROLL

RUSSIA E STATI ITALIANI NEL RISORGIMENTO. By *Giuseppe Berti*.
[Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 55.] (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore.
1957. Pp. xviii, 874. L. 6,000.)

IN terms of Western civilization and culture Russia and Italy stand for extreme contrast of youth and age. Not until the eighteenth century did the former begin to assume her modern shape and the role of an important European state; by that time Italy, a geographical expression, had fallen to a low estate, her parts the pawns of greater powers. Among Italian states, the Kingdom of Sardinia alone could lay some claim to independence of policy; small and weak, the relations between its two powerful neighbors, France and Austria, inevitably dominated the horizon of its policy.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756, substituting amity for traditional antagonism between these powers, created a novel situation for Italy, one which made it desirable to pay greater heed to the northern powers, Russia for one. But the Italian states were slow in recognizing the altered state of things, and it was Russian prodding and initiative—Russia was moving ever closer to the Mediterranean—that induced some of them to enter into formal relations with Russia in 1783. In the quarter of a century of conflict precipitated by the French Revolution the role of Russia was of the greatest importance. But the final defeat of Napoleon served also to dissolve the cement of the grand coalition; Britain and Austria were staunchly opposed to increased Russian influence.

Since any tendency to independence in Italy could not be other than anti-Austrian, Russian support might be an asset for the Italian states. But their progress toward this independence—and eventual unity—was slow and tortuous. There was little basis at first for popular movements, and the work of secret societies was limited by their very nature. Moreover, the Italian rulers generally preferred allegiance to Metternichian conservatism, while this same ideological factor, especially under Nicholas I, prevented Russia from opposing Austrian control in Italy. Conversely, considerations of power, overcoming ideological predilection, caused Britain to eschew positions inimical to Austria.

Gradually things changed, however, and the events of 1848 were evidence of the rising of new forces. The bourgeois-capitalist states of the West registered the increased importance of commercial interests when they went to war with Russia in 1854. The Crimean War also served to renew the Austro-Russian rivalry, and the subsequently burgeoning Franco-Russian connection created the proper

climate in which the increasingly artificial structure of Italy could collapse. Russia was wholly willing to witness Austria's humiliation at French hands and in 1860 coolly abandoned the Kingdom of Naples, her most consistent adherent in Italy.

Very succinctly, this is the story told by Berti. The subject of the relations of the Italian states with Russia remains a thin one. Yet this is a very long book as well as one of high quality, for it is not confined to the minutiae of a limited diplomatic history but places the subject instead in the larger context of European relations and of the changes taking place in Europe's society and economy. The analysis of the international significance of the Crimean War is excellent, the descriptions of the Russian and Italian milieus full of interest. The long discussion of De Maistre's thought is an acute analysis, and so are the critical reviews of the legends that have grown around the names of Alexander I and Cavour. If the Marxist influence is not far to seek in this book—Marx, Engels, Herzen, Gramsci are often, and approvingly, cited—it is no detriment to a work that encompasses a vast amount of research and sound scholarship, organized and presented with balanced and discriminating judgment.

Barnard College

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Volume VII, LES CRISES DU XX^e SIÈCLE. I. DE 1914 À 1929. By Pierre Renouvin. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1957. Pp. 376. 1,200 fr.)

This is the seventh in a series of eight volumes dealing with the history of international relations, of which Professor Renouvin has written four, devoted to the period since the end of the Napoleonic wars. The series concludes with the period 1929 to 1945. A renowned French diplomatic historian, Renouvin treats of the relations among states, not among peoples, but he has wisely chosen not to make diplomatic documents the heart and center of his essay or to weave his account of the period from the beginning of World War I to the beginning of the great world depression around the interchanges of the various foreign offices. Rather, the author is concerned with the basic forces which shaped the world of 1914-1929—the social, economic, political, and intellectual trends—and shows how they influenced and determined the course of international relations. He well notes at the very outset that the initiatives of statesmen are "dominated or limited by the facts of collective psychology: the strength of national traditions, consciousness of national interests, the moral solidity of the population of the state. When diplomacy neglects these profound forces, it risks catastrophe."

Essentially the work is divided into three parts, the first of which treats of the First World War, with the ultimate entry of the United States as the determining factor in the defeat of imperial Germany, the downfall of the tsarist regime in Russia, and the dissolution of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The second

part is devoted to the peace settlement at Versailles, the decline of Europe in the world context, and the contentions among the victors, and the third is concerned with European and world politics from 1920 to the depression in 1929. In the latter, Renouvin discusses the new influences which were at work in the world, the stimulation of extreme nationalism, the basic German question, the advent of the Soviet Union, the trends in the Danubian and Balkan region, the Mediterranean and the Near East, Latin America, and the attempt to organize the peace under the League of Nations, with its ultimate failure both on the political and the economic plane.

While there are, essentially, no novel interpretations or the presentation of new data, Renouvin has provided the reader with a very clear account, often brilliant, of the period. He is well aware of the frequent lack of basic documentary material but has included excellent bibliographical material at the end of each chapter. There are six black and white maps and a very good index.

Beirut, Lebanon

HARRY N. HOWARD

THE AXIS ALLIANCE AND JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1941.

By *Paul W. Schroeder*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. ix, 246. \$4.50.)

In recent appraisals of American diplomacy the weightiest indictment is that in the past United States policy often was one motivated by idealistic moral considerations rather than one which dealt with concrete problems of political power. This, the view which George Kennan has so brilliantly delineated, is here upheld once more in striking fashion by Mr. Schroeder, who deals with the specific issue of the American-Japanese negotiations of 1941 and the role which the Tripartite pact played in them. The central point is that American diplomacy after July, 1941, committed a serious error by pursuing strictly moral aims, whereas limited goals and achievements were within distinct attainment.

In a brief survey of the decade 1931-1941 the development of increasing antagonism between America and Japan is illustrated; it received sharp impetus with the conclusion of the Tripartite pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan in September, 1940. In American eyes, this pact identified Japan with the Axis world conquest and, instead of serving to keep the United States out of the war as the Japanese sincerely believed that it would do, caused American determination to permit no further compromise, no sacrifice of principle. The negotiations between the two powers in 1941, already well known, are once more reproduced in detail, but this time the crucial point is skillfully made that a shift in issues took place in July of that year. Before that date and the freezing of Japanese assets by the United States (as the result of the Japanese occupation of French Indo-China), the Japanese aggressively adhered to the Tripartite pact and pursued a southward expansion; the United States was in a defensive position, interested primarily in

making Japan withdraw from her Axis alignment and in stopping her southward advance. After July, the Japanese were on the defensive, willing to abandon the Tripartite pact and to withdraw from Indo-China; while America was carried by her momentum of success to demand more and more from Japan, raising the China issue as a matter of principle.

Chapter VIII in particular is a fine piece of work, showing how Hull and American public opinion, backed by a bellicose press and wholehearted congressional support, formulated a hard and rigid policy, squarely based on uncompromising adherence to moral principles. Schroeder does not believe (indeed, who does?) that this was the "backdoor entrance to war," but he does believe that America and Cordell Hull, having arrived at a position whereby it was generally felt that any and all Japanese assurances were worthless and deceitful, made a serious mistake by insisting on moral principles and failing to distinguish long-range objectives (Japan's evacuation of China) from immediate, reasonable, and attainable goals (a stop to Japan's southward advance and her abandonment of Germany). After July, 1941, a limited and temporary agreement with Konoye was a possibility, had it not been for the importance of principle in American diplomacy, which insisted on gaining everything at once, including the solution of the China problem. Schroeder's point is well taken, and the book is a fine study, well deserving the Beveridge award of the American Historical Association.

There are some errors. A rather profound ignorance of Japanese history is indicated by the statement that Japanese expansion was in imitation of Western imperialism. Japan's expansion has a respectable history of its own, studded with such names as Jingo, Hideyoshi, and Yoshida Shoin. Dirksen's first name is not Heinrich, and Jodl would have been much surprised to find himself converted into a salt-water sailor—and admiral at that!

In view of Mr. Dulles' recent expressions of hope that Red China will wither away and that America represents a finer moral world, one cannot help but wonder if the makers of our foreign policy read history. Is the point, made here again by Schroeder, that diplomacy is concerned with power relations, and not with moral issues alone, hopelessly unteachable?

Miami University

FRANK W. IKLÉ

ALLIED WARTIME DIPLOMACY: A PATTERN IN POLAND. By Edward J. Rozek. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1958. Pp. xvii, 481. \$6.95.)

THIS book is remarkable for two reasons. First, it deals in detail with British and American diplomatic negotiations and agreements with the Soviet Union concerning Poland that are less well known to postwar authors or embarrassing to memoir-writing statesmen and their apologists. Second, it uses and quotes official files of the Polish government-in-exile that contain some information which

for many years to come will be red-taped and buried in the archives of the British Foreign Office and the Department of State.

The author makes good use of all memoirs and books published on the Second World War. Piecing together the bits of available information, Dr. Rozek made a good start in putting together the jigsaw puzzle which, when completed, will present to posterity the gloomy road that marked Poland's degradation from "inspiration of all free nations" (F. D. R.) to a satellite in Moscow's orbit. The Polish official documentation, now privately owned by Mr. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, the former prime minister of the government-in-exile, sheds light on such little-known details as the negotiations which led to the conclusion, under British pressure, of the Maisky-Sikorski agreement of July 30, 1941, the Sikorski-Stalin negotiations in December of the same year, and the British-Polish conversations in search of a solution of the impasse created by Stalin's rupture of diplomatic relations with the London Poles after the discovery of the Katyn graves. The publication from official Polish sources of excerpts or entire documents originating with British and American officials and of reports of the Polish ambassadors in Washington and Moscow about their conversations with high officials of the governments concerned are an attractive indiscretion. This might precipitate publication of British and American documentation on Polish affairs during World War II. By publishing these documents Rozek contributes much to a better understanding of the complicated Polish issues during the years 1939-1945. As the flow of documents on this subject and period is not exhausted by far, however, Rozek's book is certainly not yet the final word about Britain's and the United States' policy concerning Poland during World War II.

Together with the memoirs of Arthur Bliss Lane, Jan Ciechanowski, Stanton Griffis, and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Rozek's book will become a valuable source of information to the student interested in Polish affairs during the past war. Attention, however, should be directed to certain deficiencies of the volume which might produce misunderstandings. The chapter "Historical Background of Soviet-Polish Relations: From 1917 to September 1939" contains some basic mistakes. An appeal of the Petrograd Soviet to the Poles of March 27/14, 1917, is presented as a Bolshevik act of gratitude to Polish socialists, when in fact at that time the Bolsheviks represented a small minority in the Soviet and had nothing to do with the initiative of this appeal. The Polish-Ukrainian political treaty of April, 1920, which in reality was the main support of Ukrainian aspirations for independence, is misrepresented as signifying "a future union of Poland and the Ukraine." The discussion of such shibboleths as *cordon sanitaire*, and the Curzon Line, leaves much to be added. Only when he uses Mikolajczyk's vast documentation starting with July, 1941, is Rozek on firm ground.

Stanford University

WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI

STRATEGIC SURRENDER: THE POLITICS OF VICTORY AND DEFEAT. By Paul Kecskemeti. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 287. \$5.00.)

WHILE this book does not contain any new information, it inspects what is known refreshingly. After a preliminary essay in definition of the considerations and aims that affect surrender and the various types of surrender, four case studies are examined. These concern the surrender of France (1940), Italy (1943), Germany (1945), and Japan (1945). In each, the situation, the attitudes, and the calculations of the victor and the defeated nations are summarily traced. The historical record is adeptly reduced to its essentials. But in two of these sketches —those concerned with the surrender of Italy and the surrender of Japan—the behavior of the foreign authorities seems to me to have been more fully learned than that of the United States. In judging the wisdom and consequences of the course pursued, particularly by the victor, in each of these instances, Mr. Kecskemeti admittedly is forced to enter a vast and windswept area of surmise. Considering the perils, he does creditably but must expect vigorous disputation.

The French surrender to Germany, it is inferred, was a successful and sensible bargain for both sides—in the sense that it served the immediate national and strategic purposes of both. It may be commented that it served France well only because Germany turned upon the Soviet Union before making itself secure in the West, and that for Germany it turned out to be one feature of a strategy that proved ruinous in the end.

The handling of the surrender of Italy is judged faulty. The author reaches the conclusion that if, as soon as Mussolini was displaced, the Allies had accepted Italy, under King Victor Emmanuel and the Badoglio government, as a co-belligerent, their campaign against the Germans in Italy would have been shorter and easier. This may be so. But the presentation fails to take into account the need of the Allies to be able to command all authority in Italy during the period of active combat. And it ignores the possible effect of this alternative course on the actions of the Soviet government and upon Greece and Yugoslavia.

In Allied policy toward the surrender of Germany and in the handling of the act of surrender, the author finds little to be reproved. Correctly, in my judgment, he rejects the opinion that German resistance to the end was significantly affected by the unconditional surrender policy, being determined rather by the inner nature of the Nazi regime and Hitler's nihilism.

His evaluation of the United States surrender policy toward Japan is not easy to grasp. In this brief review, an adequate account of it is not manageable. But various of his inferences seem to me dubious, for example, his impression that the way in which Stalin informed his Allies at Potsdam of Soviet response to Japanese peace feelers was guided by an intent to deceive the Allies as well as Japan, and the connected opinion that the main reason for the final fortnight

delay in Japanese surrender was the lingering hope of help from Moscow. For perspective it ought to be pointed out that faultiness of Japanese surrender was in any case only a secondary cause of the failure of our Far Eastern policy; that resulted mainly from the Cairo Declaration and our misjudged course toward China. Kecskemeti properly notes in his final chapter that all aspects of the task of formulating terms and procedures for the termination of any future great war will be deeply different because of the emergence of nuclear weapons.

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

HERBERT FEIS

A LIFE OF SIR SAMUEL LEWIS. By *J. D. Hargreaves*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 111. \$1.00.)
PAGEANT OF GHANA. By *Freda Wolfson*. [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 266. \$4.80.)

THE increasing importance of Africa in world affairs calls for more information about that continent. The books under review are the first to be published in a series on West African history under the editorship of Professor G. S. Graham, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History at the University of London. They are welcome additions to the literature in this field.

A Life of Sir Samuel Lewis is a brief but excellent biography of a leading African citizen of Sierra Leone in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This man's life is closely intertwined with the history of modern Sierra Leone, and the author has interrelated the two very well. Lewis is an unusual example of an African who responded successfully to the impact of Western culture. He was a champion of the interests of his people, but he also favored a vigorous British imperial policy in West Africa. He felt that such a policy was necessary in order to bring the peace and order essential to trade and the blessings of civilization to his land. The influence and authority of this first African to be knighted, his understanding of the needs of his countrymen, his appreciation of imperial problems, and his distinguished public service lend significance to this able study of his life. Though there is a paucity of family manuscripts, Hargreaves has covered the available sources and has ably organized and presented his material. Helpful biographical descriptions of persons referred to in the text are included in the index. Here is a valuable handbook for either the expert or the general reader.

In the anthology of writings entitled *Pageant of Ghana*, the history of the old Gold Coast from 1471 down to its emergence as the independent nation of Ghana unfolds in dramatic scenes. The introduction deftly interweaves a succinct account of the story of Ghana with brief but helpful descriptions of the sources from which excerpts were selected for inclusion in this book. The lack of continuity incidental to such a collection is greatly offset by the integrating influence of the introduction. The book provides a colorful and worthwhile account of the rela-

tions between white men and some of the most vigorous and aggressive native peoples to be found on the African continent. The selection and editing of the accounts included in this work rest upon an impressive amount of research. The maps, illustrations, and bibliographical aids are most appropriate and helpful. The purpose of illuminating Ghana's history with the observations and words of those who helped to make it, with the aid of supplementary contributions by Freda Wolfson, is admirably achieved. This is a valuable volume for all who are interested in the dynamic young African state of Ghana.

University of Cincinnati

GARLAND G. PARKER

Ancient and Medieval History

EXCAVATIONS AT GÖZLÜ KULE, TARSUS. Volume II, FROM THE NEOLITHIC THROUGH THE BRONZE AGE. By *Hetty Goldman*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Institute for Advanced Study. 1956. Pp. vii, 373; 460 plates, 26 plans. \$36.00 the set.)

This volume, the second of three comprising the record of the excavations at Gözlu Kule in Cilicia, describes the site from its beginnings until the end of the Bronze Age. The first volume covered the later periods of the site from the sixth century B.C. until its desertion at the end of the Roman period. The third will include the intervening period of the Iron Age. The report is in two parts—a description of the excavation, level by level, and a catalogue of the objects found grouped by material.

With the exception of Mersin, excavated by Professor Garstang, Gözlu Kule is the only fully explored site in the Cilician plain; between them they yield a fairly complete picture of the occupation of the area during more than three millennia. Gözlu Kule, as far as it could be explored before reaching ground water some thirty-two meters from the top of the mound, was first occupied in Neolithic times. A few polished house floors similar to those from Jericho with some darkfaced pottery and obsidian were witness to settled occupation. Above this a series of Chalcolithic houses and a few peripheral graves were uncovered. The pottery could be related to the Tell Halaf and Ubaid phases, indicating that the population was at that time oriented toward north Syria and the East.

The principal occupation on the mound, some seventeen meters in depth, belonged to succeeding phases of the Early Bronze Age. Phase I showed a part of a street with houses and grain storage bins. The pottery at this time indicated a change of orientation to Anatolia, though the local wares continued in use. In the later phases of Early Bronze II fortification walls were constructed, together with an L-shaped gateway. This was burned, and in the III phase houses were larger with stone foundations. In this period, there are signs of the area being overrun

by peoples of Trojan origin. A series of earthquakes destroyed the Early Bronze III structures and laid the area open to invasions from north Syria and the East. The transition to Middle Bronze Age was marked by clearance and the construction of many silos. These were succeeded by new types of houses with rubble foundations, storerooms with large jars, and central clay hearths belonging to Late Bronze Age I, which continued in use until the construction of the large Hittite temple of Late Bronze II. Throughout this time, the connections are mainly with Anatolia, and during the Hittite times an interesting collection of seals and bullae represent the association with the Empire. The temple was destroyed in Late Bronze IIB by sea peoples who brought Mycenaean IIIC pottery to the site. The latter built smaller houses which gradually deteriorated into a squatter's occupation.

In the remaining chapters the pottery is well and fully illustrated, with perhaps some overemphasis on types of fabric which may well be only of local significance. Indeed, most of the history of the site has been founded on rather meager pottery associations with the neighboring areas, for the other objects, bronzes, bone, stone, etc., are neither numerous nor significant. Though none were found in a securely datable context, the Hittite seals furnish the largest and most interesting group, next to those of Boghaz Köy, so far found.

Though the material from Tarsus is published in considerable detail, with adequate comparative references, it is clear that the Cilician plain is rather tenuously connected with the surrounding areas. Miss Goldman's able summary in the last chapter defines the picture as far as the results will allow. The volume of plates contains rather small views of the site (often without scale), adequate plans and section, and good illustrations of the objects.

Institute of Archaeology, University of London

JOAN DU PLAT TAYLOR

THE KING'S TWO BODIES: A STUDY IN MEDIAEVAL POLITICAL THEOLOGY. By Ernst H. Kantorowicz. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 568. \$10.00.)

The idea of the king's two bodies, the body natural and the body politic, founded on the distinction between the mortal and personal king and the perpetual and corporate crown, has long been of special interest to students of English constitutional history, in which this idea came to play an increasingly important part from the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. Professor Kantorowicz has concluded that the idea of the king's two bodies as presented by the Tudor and Stuart lawyers was based on the fusion and confusion of various strands of medieval thought. In this book he attempts to unravel the various strands for us, while modestly admitting that the present studies "do not pretend to fill the gap" in our knowledge of the precise development of the idea in its special English context, "especially with regard to the crucial

fifteenth century." The result will prove somewhat disappointing to the English constitutional historian because, in the first place, the relevance of substantial portions of the book, such as the discussions of the theories of Frederick II and Dante, to the growth of the idea in England until it comes to full expression in Plowden's Reports, is at best rather far-fetched. On the other hand, I strongly suspect that there is relevant material in the English plea rolls and year-books of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which the author has overlooked. Kantorowicz's method of inquiry into the origins of an idea important in English constitutional development seems a little dubious. What is needed is more intensive study of the arguments presented during the various struggles between the king on the one hand and the barons and parliament on the other over the control of the royal government and administration, and far less of such material as Shakespeare's *Richard II*, to which a whole chapter is superfluously devoted. Granted that the idea of the king's two bodies has roots ultimately in ecclesiastical and even in theological principles, it was closely related in England to practical legal and political considerations, arising out of the realities of power conflicts and administrative direction.

If Kantorowicz's book is thus a disappointment from this rather specialized point of view, it is anything but that on more general grounds. The author has made the most important contribution to the history of medieval kingship since Fritz Kern's *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht*, published almost half a century ago. Indeed, this book is the long-awaited complement to Kern's work; it takes up the history of medieval kingship at the beginning of the twelfth century, where Kern's study ended, and carries it through to the sixteenth. At last we have a comprehensive history of the theory of medieval kingship in the very complex and swiftly changing period of the high and late Middle Ages. Of course, Kantorowicz's work is not entirely original; one of its virtues is the author's exhaustive knowledge of the recent literature of the subject. But he has carefully studied the important sources for himself, making use of iconographic as well as textual evidence, and has elucidated them with characteristic brilliance, erudition, and ingenuity. He has attempted to bring together many different strains of medieval thought, secular as well as religious, legal as well as theological, and to work out their relationship. In this enormously difficult task he has succeeded. No historian of the Middle Ages, or of political thought in general, can afford not to give this book the most careful study.

The author shows how and why the early medieval duality of king by nature and king by grace was replaced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the duality of the king below and above the law and a little later by the king as part of and also separate from the body politic of the realm. The origins and implications of the theory of the crown as a corporation, of the inalienability of the crown and the royal fisc, of the emotional concept of *patria*, and of the theory of the *dignitas* of the crown are all carefully investigated. All the leading political

theorists of the high and late Middle Ages, as well as many minor writers, and including a host of canon and civil lawyers known only to specialists in the field, are subjected to the author's rigorous inquiry. Long notes on special problems and an unusually full index make this book a veritable encyclopedia on medieval kingship.

Princeton University

NORMAN F. CANTOR

DAS MITTELALTERLICHE DORF ALS FRIEDENS- UND RECHTSREICH. By *Karl Siegfried Bader*. [Studien zur Rechtsgeschichte des Mittelalterlichen Dorfes, I. Teil.] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1957. Pp. xii, 284. DM 24.)

HISTORIANS of medieval urban institutions have long been prone to set up a dichotomy in the development of the town and in that of the smaller agglomeration of inhabitants, customarily called the village. Too few scholars have recognized the traits common to these two institutions; most have stressed the striking legal, economic, and social contrasts between town and country and have included the village in the latter. In this book, K. S. Bader, though primarily focusing upon the peculiar and special legal status of the *Dorf*, repeatedly makes comparisons with the *Stadt* and presents, in the last chapter, a remarkably penetrating analysis of the legal privileges and immunities enjoyed by both. He breaks new ground, therefore, in emphasizing the common juridical elements of town and village.

In an introduction that demonstrates a sound knowledge of the German writing on the *Dorf*, Bader surveys the pertinent studies and completely disassociates himself from the old prevailing *Markgenossenschaft* theory, emphasizing that his research is in no way connected with this discredited view. Relying solely upon pertinent and contemporary records, he concentrates upon the *Dorf* in Switzerland and in the neighboring region of southern Germany. The first chapter deals with the meaning of the words *Dorf*, *Hof*, and *Mark*. Bader is convinced that in the early Middle Ages *Hof* and *Dorf* both referred to the residence and landed estate of a proprietor and did not signify the form of the agrarian settlement or its size. He would equate these two words with the Latin *villa* and *vicus*. Such a view contrasts sharply with the classic argument that the two words signified different forms of settlement. Traditional dogma of agrarian history also holds that the term *Dorfmark* referred to an agrarian settlement consisting of the *Dorf*, cultivated fields, and common land. Bader, however, argues that *Dorf* was a more inclusive term denoting a concentration of residences as well as the whole agrarian complex. Thus understood, *Dorf* referred to an area or region including a village and the land about and had a meaning similar to the English words "tun" or "town." But this meaning was gradually acquired only later in the Middle Ages as a result of a shifting agrarian pattern that changed the meaning of *Hof* and

Dorf. The former came to signify a group of houses and appurtenances and fused with other *Höfe* into the *Dorf*.

In the following two chapters Bader describes the juridical privileges and immunities of the *Dorf* and derives them from a process stemming back to the "peace" enjoyed by the individual house. Just as the peace of the house spread outward to embrace the *Dorf* (village), so the peace of the village expanded to include the areal *Dorf*. In this connection Bader emphasizes ecclesiastical immunity as a decisive influence. He shows, for example, that with a monastic establishment at first only the cloister was covered by an immunity; this immunity then spread to include all the monastery land and, in the case of the Cistercians, their granges. Such an interpretation leads Bader to differ with another current opinion on the *Dorf*, namely that the privileges of the *Dorf* stopped at the hedge or fortification surrounding it. On the contrary, they embraced all outlying land considered belonging to the village. Bader would extend this interpretation to the town, arguing that the municipal laws did not stop at the walls but extended to an area outside attached to the town. At this point he brings out the juridical similarities between town and village.

This learned study contributes much of value to the legal history of medieval institutions, particularly because it uses the comparative method, rather than specializing narrowly upon one institution. On the other hand, its conclusions pertain to a small section of western Europe and cannot be considered generally valid until tested in other areas. Bader's thesis, however interesting, is weakened by narrow footings; it rests solely upon the juridical method. If evidence of a social and economic nature were also introduced, can we be certain that his picture of the *Dorf* would not change?

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM: AN INTRODUCTORY OUTLINE. By Erwin I. J. Rosenthal. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 323. \$6.50.)

This book deals with more than political philosophy in medieval Islam. The Islamic community was a religio-political unity, and as a consequence Islamic thought drew no clear-cut distinction between what was strictly religious and what was political or legal. This makes it impossible to study its political ideas without delving into its thought in general and the evolution of its institutions and legal system. This delving Mr. Rosenthal has done well, and by so doing he has produced a book which not only outlines the political philosophy of Islam—the main objective of his task—but gives us also an idea of its general thought and the development of its principal institutions.

There are two parts to the book. The first, entitled "Constitutional Law and Muslim History," deals with three important subjects: the Caliphate—its origin and purpose, the meaning and content of government, and the theory of the power state. The sources used for the story of the Caliphate and government consist of the material of the jurists, men who, drawing upon the *Qur'ān*, the *Sunna*, and the Hadith, formulated the *Shariā*, the law of Islam. The point is made that while Islam, by its coherence and stability, could control its receptiveness, it nevertheless yielded to changing political conditions, modifying its ideas and altering its institutions. The Caliphate, the meaning and content of government, the *Shariā* itself changed with changing times. One may therefore speak of a constitutional evolution in medieval Islam. The thinking of the jurists was confined within the bounds of orthodox Islam; there were others, however, whose thinking went beyond. This was particularly true of Ibn Khaldūn (1352–1406), an African Muslim, who developed, with true profundity and wider appeal, a theory of the power state. Rosenthal devotes an entire chapter to Ibn Khaldūn's political ideas.

The second part of the book, entitled "The Platonic Legacy," analyzes the political ideas of the *Falāsifa*, the Muslim religious philosophers, with particular emphasis on Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ibn Bajja (Avempace), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës). These Muslim philosophers, like the Christian scholastics, tried to harmonize revelation with reason and in the process drew heavily upon Plato, Aristotle, and the later Greek philosophers. They developed a political philosophy which may be described as "a synthesis, a blending of Islam and Greek notions," in which Greek notions serve as the rational support of revelation, but revelation comes first and is never questioned. These notions, especially the political ideas of Plato, in the opinion of the author, helped the Muslim philosophers to understand their own law more clearly.

Rosenthal subtitles his book "An Introductory Outline." In explaining the subtitle he points out that a great deal of the material for the study of the political philosophy in medieval Islam remains still unedited, poorly edited, or not yet fully studied. There is here a reminder that the study of the sources, with all that it involves, remains the fundamental task of the scholar.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

HISTORY OF THE BYZANTINE STATE. By *George Ostrogorsky*. Translated from the German by *Joan Hussey*. With a foreword by *Peter Charanis*. [Rutgers Byzantine Series, Volume II.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xxv, 548. \$12.50.)

THE appearance of this volume in the United States is heartily welcomed by all scholars interested in Byzantine history. The book, in its German form, first

appeared in the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* series in 1940 and again in 1952 as a considerably enlarged second edition. The English edition is for the most part a faithful reproduction of this second German edition, though numerous additions to and alterations of the text and footnotes have been made. The English edition, translated by Professor Joan Hussey, first appeared in Britain in 1956 and was published in the United States in 1957, the same year in which Professor Ostrogorsky came to Dumbarton Oaks Research Library as visiting scholar.

The author has covered the tremendous chronological span of Byzantine history from the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and in so doing has made the work more than a narrative of events (an arduous task in itself, given the immensity of the subject) by stressing the elements of continuity and cohesion in this millennial history. Taking as the basis of Byzantium the fusion of Greek culture and Christianity within the Roman imperial framework, he traces the evolution of the Byzantine Empire as it was "determined by the interaction of changing internal and external forces." The stress is thus put on political and socio-economic factors. Ostrogorsky has given his subject matter thorough and vigorous treatment in a compact form. Of great value are the bibliographical essays prefacing each section of the book and the footnotes which discuss in somewhat greater detail some of the disputed issues in Byzantine history. These notes enable the reader to keep abreast of the latest scholarship on any given issue (as for example on the question of the Slavs in Greece).

History of the Byzantine State is certainly the best one-volume history of Byzantium. It replaces, to a certain extent, the *History of the Byzantine Empire* of A. Vasiliev, although this latter can be used profitably to supplement Ostrogorsky's work, particularly on literature, learning, and art. As with Vasiliev's history, which appeared in Russian, French, English, Greek, Turkish, and Spanish, Ostrogorsky's work has also appeared in more than one language (French, German, English). But L. Bréhier's three-volume work, *Le monde byzantin* (1947-1950), remains the basic work for detailed reference and guidance to the serious scholar interested in Byzantine research.

In conclusion a word should be said about the excellent editing by the Rutgers University Press. This work is the second volume of the new Rutgers Byzantine Series edited by Professor Charanis. Just as with the first volume in this series, C. Diehl's *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline* (1957), this second volume has been handsomely and profusely embellished with maps and illustrations. The forty-one plates include a variety of subjects, architecture, icons, coins, etc., and at the end of the volume are thirteen pages of maps in color.

Harvard University

SPEROS VRYONIS

THE PATRIARCH NICEPHORUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: ECCLESIAL POLICY AND IMAGE WORSHIP IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE. By *Paul J. Alexander*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 287. \$8.00.)

ALTHOUGH the outbreak and spread of iconoclasm in Byzantium is of great importance to church history, and more especially for the better understanding of the mentality of the Eastern church, only few scholars have tried to analyze the cause of this heresy and to trace its history. This is not an easy task as almost all writings, including the acts of the iconoclastic synods, are lost and the main ideas of their authors must be laboriously reconstructed and analyzed from the works of their opponents. In this respect research has been hampered by the fact that the main work of the Patriarch Nicephorus (806-815), the learned and outspoken defender of image worship, is not yet published. It is, therefore, gratifying that an American scholar has decided to devote a monograph to the activities of this saintly man. The book is a well-written, well-documented, and scholarly monograph which will be of great use to those interested in the history of the controversy on image worship.

Professor Alexander, in his introductory chapter, gives a short history of the origin of image worship, in which he discusses the different arguments for and against used by the early Christian theologians. He studies in more detail the theories and countertheories, namely the symbolic function of the image, the image as essence, and the christological arguments against the pictorial representation of the Lord. He then goes on to describe Nicephorus' youth, his education, his career at court, and his retirement from the civil service. Three chapters are devoted to his activity as patriarch and to his attitude during the new outbreak of iconoclasm. The iconoclastic council of St. Sophia (815), the start of further persecution of the iconophiles, the resignation of Nicephorus, and his exile are covered in detail. There follows a survey of Nicephorus' literary activity, in which his works are discussed in chronological order. An analysis of the patriarch's theory of religious images closes the study.

Some specialists may be tempted to think that the author has undertaken too ambitious a task and thus has had to limit himself to the study of Nicephorus' activities. It is true that the history of iconoclasm and the discussion of the theological problems connected with it cannot be treated fully in two chapters, but the author's exposé will be welcomed by many who are not familiar with the subject. They will also read with profit the last chapter, "Conclusions," in which the author recapitulates his ideas. Equally interesting is Alexander's explanation of how the Christians began to use the arguments first put forward by pagan apologists for the representation of gods in statues and pictures for their practice of pictorial representation. The author is right in thinking that the personal iconoclasm of Leo III may have been in some way due to Moslem influence but that

Byzantine iconoclasm was motivated by a different reason from that which prevailed among the Moslems. It was based on the old tradition of the Christian church, which opposed the icons and which was later strengthened with arguments taken from the christological controversies. In this connection the author is, I believe, justified in ascribing quasi monophysite tendencies to Constantine V (741-745).

In describing Nicephorus' career he rightly points out that Nicephorus, after retiring from court, did not become a monk but soon afterwards was appointed to a semi-ecclesiastical position, namely, the directorship of the greatest metropolitan poorhouse. The author's discussion of the difficulties which Nicephorus had with Theodore of Studios and his monks is not new, but it is presented in a truer light. He is correct in stressing the use of Aristotelian philosophy by apologists of the last phase of iconoclasm, in the defense of pictorial representation and image worship, which he characterizes as the scholastic period of iconoclasm.

One could wish that Alexander had devoted more space to his description of Nicephorus' works. His chronology of the patriarch's literary legacy is well founded, and his description of the patriarch's works is a valuable contribution to the history of iconoclasm, especially his summary of Nicephorus' unpublished treatise *Refutatio et Eversio*. Let us hope that one day Alexander will be able to publish this work with an English translation and commentary.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

MATTHEW PARIS. By Richard Vaughan. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume VI.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 287. \$7.50.)

A MEDIEVALIST reading this book will experience pleasure somewhat like that of a chess player watching a championship game. He will enjoy the display of technical skill with which he is himself familiar. He will be reminded also of the assertion in Langlois and Seignobos that the practice of historical criticism develops "the instincts of the collector and the puzzle-solver." This book tells about solving a series of puzzles. Matthew Paris has long been subjected to critical study, but it is doubtful that any previous scholar has done as thorough a job of examining all Matthew's works as has Dr. Vaughan. He not only summarizes previous scholarship but he restudies with palaeographical thoroughness the numerous manuscripts and reconsiders the various problems, registering and demonstrating his agreement and disagreement with earlier hypotheses. This is a complicated game of extracting data from internal evidence with varying degrees of probability. By meticulous, laborious, word-by-word study he has identified Matthew's handwriting and the autograph, personal copies of his chief works. This makes for better understanding of his methods of writing history. By unraveling intricate manuscript problems Vaughan shows the relationships of the

manuscripts to their sources and to each other and the author's processes of composition, editing, expurgation, and modification.

Since Matthew Paris is one of the most important chroniclers of the Middle Ages his methods and works are significant for the study of medieval historiography. This is what makes this volume more generally interesting. "As a historian in the sense of one who studies the past Matthew is of little significance." His real importance lies in "his detailed account of the events of his own lifetime," which he gives "in fuller detail than almost any medieval writer," although he is "basically unreliable as a historical source" since he occasionally indulges "in unscrupulous falsification." By raising the questions of why, how, and for whom a man of the thirteenth century wrote history, we make an approach to some of the intellectual peculiarities of that period. (For the whole Middle Ages it might be interesting to consider the baleful influence of the Bible on the writing of history.) Matthew Paris was unusually versatile and prolific. He was interested and productive in current events, hagiology, local history, vernacular poetry, heraldry, and geography. In addition, he drew his own illustrations. Examples of the latter are shown in an appendix of twenty-one plates. One of these is a facsimile of a map of Palestine; never before reproduced, which is "probably the most detailed and important of all the earlier medieval maps of Palestine, though it seems to have entirely escaped the notice of historians of cartography."

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

Modern European History

FESTGABE JOSEPH LORTZ. Volume I, REFORMATION: SCHICKSAL UND AUFTAG; Volume II, GLAUBE UND GESCHICHTE. Edited by Erwin Iserloh and Peter Manns. (Baden-Baden: Bruno Grimm. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 586; viii, 590.)

THESE two massive volumes were presented to Joseph Lortz, the distinguished Catholic scholar and church historian, on his seventieth birthday. They contain an introduction by the editors, a tribute by Theodor Heuss, president of the West German Republic, forty-five articles by an international group of contributors, and a bibliography of Lortz's writings. The range of subjects is in keeping with Lortz's broad interests; many articles deal with the Reformation and other periods of church history, there are a few on the philosophy of history, and many others on more or less closely related topics.

The spirit in which Lortz has written is also reflected here. The editors, in their introduction, make it clear that the book is offered as a contribution to the "conversation" between Catholics and Protestants working for reunion and in the conviction that the split in the church is a sin. It is Lortz's great merit, they point out, to have contributed to the establishment of a new climate of amity

between the confessions through his works on the Reformation, especially *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (3d ed., 2 vols., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1949). Several of the contributors also emphasize this fact. Many of the articles, written by both Catholics and Protestants, are addressed to the purpose of promoting Christian unity and are characterized by a spirit of fellowship between the confessions which is perhaps the most striking feature of the whole work.

Space permits only a sampling of the contents. A Jesuit clarifies Loyola's attitude toward the causes of the Reformation and his knowledge of the Reformers and concludes that he learned much from his opponents (Hans Wolter, S.J., "Gestalt und Werk der Reformatoren im Urteil des hl. Ignatius von Loyola"). Denys Gorce, in an article entitled "La patristique dans la réforme d'Erasme," shows that the attempt of Erasmus to promote a patristic renaissance was part of a reaction against decadent scholasticism, which neglected the Fathers. Engelbert Monnerjahn discusses the theological views of Pico della Mirandola ("Zum Begriff der theologischen Unklarheit im Humanismus") and finds that Pico was intentionally unclear in writing about theology because of his conviction that theological truths cannot be expressed adequately in words.

A Dominican brings out some historical elements in the theology of Thomas Aquinas, in St. Thomas' references to the "economy of salvation" (Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P., "Le sens de l' 'économie' salutaire dans la 'Théologie' de S. Thomas d'Aquin [Somme Théologique]"). A Franciscan develops the thesis that St. Francis rescued the Church from a grave danger by showing through his own example that there was a place within the Church for the religious individualism of his day that had often taken forms antagonistic to it (Kajetan Esser, O.F.M., "Die religiösen Bewegungen des Hochmittelalters und Franziskus von Assisi").

An article on the political life of the last days of the Holy Roman Empire shows that the dominant forces were the confessional groups, which had become essentially political rather than religious bodies (Karl Othmar Freiherr von Aretin, "Die Konfessionen als politische Kräfte am Ausgang des alten Reichs"). An important article on the religious views of Paolo Sarpi stresses particularly Sarpi's bitter hatred for the papacy and concludes that he cannot be considered an orthodox Catholic (Boris Ulianich, "Considerazioni e documenti per una ecclesiologia di Paolo Sarpi").

No short review can do justice to the range and richness of this collection. It is a worthy tribute to the scholar whom it is designed to honor.

University of Kansas

WILLIAM GILBERT

MELANCHTHON: THE QUIET REFORMER. By Clyde Leonard Man-schreck. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press. 1958. Pp. 350. \$6.00.)

SHORTLY after Martin Luther's death, Philip Melanchthon as a historical figure passed under a cloud which has not yet been fully dispelled. Any evaluation of

Melanchthon as an individual is the more complicated because his life and deeds are so inextricably woven into those of Luther. This biography is the first attempt to evaluate Melanchthon in his own right as a creative scholar and reformer.

The reconstruction has been based chiefly upon the *Corpus Reformatorum* and other sixteenth-century sources. The author begins with Melanchthon's early youth under the tutelage of his famous uncle, John Reuchlin, and follows the budding scholar from Pforzheim to Heidelberg and Tübingen, and, finally, to Wittenberg, scene of his life's work. Even from the shadow of his contemporary and friend, Melanchthon's genius shone forth. While the author may be understandably partial to his subject, nevertheless, the results of Melanchthon's productive scholarship amaze his detractors and friends alike. Those who would argue that he was only a humanist will be astounded by his theological depth and acumen as already evidenced in the *Loci Communes* of 1521 and by his gifts in polemics as displayed in his tracts and epistolary battles with John Eck following the Leipzig Debate and with the Paris theologians.

The author traces the role of the "quiet reformer" through the years, with milestones at Marburg and Augsburg and, after the passing of Luther, as adviser to the elector during the Schmalkaldic War when Melanchthon played the role of peacemaker. He outlines the bitter struggle to preserve the substance of the new reforms following the victory at arms of the emperor and the old Catholicism. The reader shares Melanchthon's anguish at the internecine strife among his fellow Lutherans, culminating in the seeming triumph of Flacius and his followers and the besmirching of Melanchthon's life's work. Manschreck has clearly delineated the conflict in personalities between the gentle, peace-loving Melanchthon and the aggressive Flacius to whom Melanchthon appeared as a sneaking serpent within the Lutheran fold.

The author has succeeded in bringing to light much of the true Melanchthon. His treatment of the larger movements of the age has suffered from lack of a broader perspective; hence a somewhat distorted view of the Reformation has resulted. In treating Melanchthon's part in the Church Visitations, the sources in Richter, Sehling, Burkhardt, and the Luther materials should have been used. His role in rebuilding the University of Wittenberg can be traced more accurately in the *Liber Decanorum*, Friedensburg's *Urkundenbuch*, and the sources of the Weimar Edition so vital for a complete picture.

Missing from this treatment is Melanchthon's philosophy of education, his contributions to the reorganization of the university curriculum, and, paramount, his constant, close coordination and collaboration with Luther before reaching any important decisions. Perhaps the greatest defect of this study is the failure to grasp Luther's theology, the failure to understand Luther's "real presence" as meaning not a physical presence but the "in, with, and under" of a "glorified Christ" occupying neither time nor space but nevertheless present in reality with all the "merits of the Cross." Understood thus there is no conflict with Melanch-

thon's "spiritual presence," and hence there was no difficulty in Luther's acceptance of Melanchthon's phraseology on this point.

This book is a distinct contribution to Reformation literature and a "must" for the student. The reappraisal of Melanchthon's contributions and his restoration to his rightful place as Luther's friend, adviser, confidant, and collaborator was long overdue. A further synthesis of the materials in *The Quiet Reformer* with the Luther source materials is now needed for a well-rounded composite view of the interwoven contributions of these two intellectual giants, each incomplete without the other.

Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis

ERNEST G. SCHWIEBERT

ENGLISH HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited by Levi Fox. (New York: Oxford University Press for the Dugdale Society. 1956. Pp. vi, 153. \$3.40.)

THIS beautiful volume is a record of the papers delivered at a conference arranged by the Dugdale Society to commemorate the tercentenary of the publication of Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, held at Warwick in July, 1956. The conference was attended by visiting scholars, not only from England but also from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Pakistan, and was devoted to "a general investigation of English historical scholarship in the time of William Dugdale and in the century before him."

After a general introduction on the Dugdale Tercentenary by Professor C. R. Cheney, this interesting and important subject is on the whole admirably treated in the following papers: "The Public Records in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Professor R. B. Wernham; "Genealogy and Heraldry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Michael Maclagan; "Politics and Historical Research in the Early Seventeenth Century," by Philip Styles; "The Study and Use of Charters by English Scholars in the Seventeenth Century: Sir Henry Spelman and Sir William Dugdale," by Professor H. A. Cronne; "Antiquarian Thought in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," by Professor Stuart Pigott. The series is concluded by short addresses on "The Value of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Scholarship to Modern Historical Research," by Sir Maurice Powicke, Professor V. H. Galbraith, Professor M. D. Knowles, and Professor E. F. Jacob.

Within the limits of a brief review it is obviously impossible to include any useful criticisms of the various papers in this volume. I have therefore tried here rather to describe than to judge this significant book, which I believe will probably prove to be indispensable reading for every serious student of English constitutional history in one of its most critical periods.

Harvard University

C. H. McILWAIN

VOLTAIRE, HISTORIAN. By J. H. Brumfitt. [Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. 178. \$4.00.)

THIS splendid monograph discusses, in successive chapters, Voltaire's "apprenticeship" (i.e., his *Histoire de Charles XII*), his predecessors and his relationship to them, his experiments with social history (*Le Siècle de Louis XIV* and the *Essai sur les mœurs*) and with universal history, his philosophy of history, and his historical method (including a magisterial and illuminating narrative of Voltaire's prolonged encounter with Richelieu's *Testament Politique*). Compression of his doctoral thesis presented in the University of Oxford has made this volume somewhat stark and austere but cannot conceal the amount of research and erudition that Dr. Brumfitt has brought to bear upon his conclusions and that make his book so authoritative and time-saving. What impresses the reader most, perhaps, is the extent of the author's familiarity not only with Voltaire's writings but also with those of his predecessors and contemporaries in historiography. "It is he who, more than any other individual, brings about the Copernican revolution in historiography, displacing the Christian European from his comfortable seat at the centre of the universe."

Yet Voltaire accomplished this without having a very consistent or coherent theory of causation and development and without any "deep interest in the past for its own sake." For although Voltaire's right to be considered a historian of revolutionary stature is solidly established, it is not part of Brumfitt's doctrine that Voltaire was a historian *sans reproche*. "The controversy over the *Testament*, then," he says, for example, "reveals both sides of Voltaire's historical criticism. It reveals his deep scepticism and his acute and incisive logical approach. But it reveals, too, his superficiality, his lack of really profound historical erudition, and, above all, a lack of a full sense of historical relativism, a complete failure to conceive of, or believe in, ways of thought different from those of his own age. And this same duality is visible throughout his historical work." Brumfitt points out that Voltaire believed wholeheartedly in the moral value of history but that the historian should avoid deliberate moralizing and should strive for impartiality. This was all very well for Voltaire to say, but just how intellectually honest was he? Albert Lortholary's *Le Mirage russe en France au XVIII^e siècle* raises some very grave doubts on this point in regard to Voltaire's treatment of Peter the Great. And Brumfitt himself quotes Voltaire as saying: "My friend, they gave me some very warm fur coats, and I am very sensitive to cold." The relation of propaganda to history in Voltaire's writings is a subtle problem which I for one should like to see tackled by so competent a scholar as Brumfitt.

THE HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENT IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Shelby T. McCloy*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. 274. \$6.50.)

UNDER the rubric of humanitarianism Professor McCloy, in the latest of his studies of the French eighteenth century, discusses the following movements: the efforts to end the disabilities of Protestants and a similar movement in favor of the Jews; the antislavery movement in the French colonies; the campaign for prison reforms and the efforts to eradicate the cruelties of the criminal law; the activities of reformers in the field of child and youth welfare, including educational reforms; the improvement of public health; and the pacifist reform program. The pattern of treatment is the same for all the categories: first, a brief statement of the conditions prevailing in the Old Regime; then, a digest and analysis of the reform programs; and lastly, a résumé of the legislation during the early years of the Revolution. This careful and sober work makes no claims to original research challenging accepted views, but the author's wide reading of published materials and his lucid, orderly procedure have enabled him to garner and conveniently assemble here valuable data that nonspecialists will gratefully welcome. Of the several sections, those on the antislavery movement and Protestantism are the most illuminating, those on public health and pacifism the least satisfactory. The author's favorable judgment of the educational reforms seems excessive, while his estimate of Rousseau's position on the problem of war and peace does not do full justice to the Genevan's originality.

In McCloy's interpretation, the reforms which he discusses were directly inspired by the *philosophes*, who, however, had little to do with the broad pre-revolutionary program of government assistance and social welfare policy. The distinction is perhaps oversharpened. By his own criterion he should not have included the chapters on public health and pacifism, for he grants that the arguments in behalf of the former were mostly advanced by physicians and surgeons, police officers and intendants, and in order to abhor war and wish to organize peace one did not have to be a *philosophe*. But, obviously, the two chapters are not out of place.

McCloy also contends that it was the self-conscious thinkers who molded public opinion, while enlightened despots before 1789 and the French revolutionary deputies after 1789 acted upon the suggestions advanced. Between 1770 and 1790 the former displayed "a pugnacity and determination to accomplish their ends at whatever cost" and thus by making the pen mightier than the sword "unfortunately . . . paved the way for the sword." By their precipitancy and by rushing into reforms that "would almost certainly have come about in time without the Revolution," the French revealed themselves a more intense people than the British, less likely to compromise, more individualistic, and less averse to bloodshed. Withal, he concludes, one can hardly exaggerate the debt which the world today owes to them.

This conception of relationships between the advocates and the deeds seems to be a great oversimplification and unwittingly places the author closer to the position of a Burke or a Taine than he would comfortably like to occupy. As for the larger generalizations about the behavior pattern of Frenchmen, the obvious comment is that some Frenchmen did behave as he states and others did not, and all more for reasons of circumstances than of national traits.

New York University

LEO GERSHOV

NAPOLEON III AND THE REBUILDING OF PARIS. By *David H. Pinkney*.
(Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 245. \$6.00.)

ONE of the most notable developments during the Second Empire was the transformation of Paris into a beautiful modern city. Its history has long been delayed, not only because of the fifty-year inaccessibility of official documents but also because of the reluctance of French historians to write about something that was a credit to Napoleon III. Between 1932 and 1954 several works appeared (those of Morizet, Boon, Girard, and Réau and Lavedan) which dealt with wider aspects of the history of France and Paris, including the rebuilding of the city. Now we have a careful study concentrated on just the rebuilding of Paris during the Second Empire, written by a man well qualified to undertake it, as shown by his specialized articles since 1953. In his nine chapters Dr. Pinkney deals with every phase of the rebuilding program: men, streets, buildings, parks, water system, sewers, population growth, annexation of suburbs, and financing, as well as discussions of "before" and "after." It would seem that his best chapters are those discussing water supply and sewage, although the general public is much more impressed by the boulevards and buildings.

This study becomes another in a recent succession of revisions in favor of Napoleon III and the Second Empire. The opponents of rebuilding appear as men without talent or imagination (such as Berger) or as hostile politicians (such as Thiers and Ferry). Napoleon III is the hero, whose original conception and subsequent perseverance are highly praised. Yet the author also criticizes the emperor for his failure to create sufficient new housing for workers and for his abandonment of Haussmann. On balance he concludes that "his record is not bad." Pinkney's judgment of the controversial Haussmann is one of almost complete exoneration and high praise. He says that there were no illegal financial operations, only a few irregular practices, and that the prefect did not seem to profit personally. Considering the tremendous opposition, "one may wonder that he did so well." Again this study confirms how anxious Napoleon III was to please public opinion.

The author's thickly packed eight-page bibliography is a helpful guide to the literature of the subject, but his use of printed and unprinted materials raises some questions. He rightly points out the lack of documents for Paris and the Seine

department because of the Communard fires, but he indicates the availability of the files of the national ministries. He does not, however, explain why he did not use the files of the ministries of public works and commerce and of finance. Indeed, the legislative Series C of the Archives Nationales, which is the only series used bearing directly on the transformation of Paris, furnishes less than forty citations. The only other series (45 AP, BB⁸⁰, F^{1c}III) deal mostly with Rouher or the provinces. Only about 10 per cent of his source citations come from archival materials. The rest come from printed sources, mainly (75 per cent) from Haussmann's and Belgrand's accounts and from the official *Moniteur* and *Journal Officiel*. The above sources are in general the special pleading of the defense, and the predominance of their use may weaken the persuasiveness of the revisionist conclusions. Taken altogether, however, this work is an extremely valuable study, clearly written, well organized, and enriched by excellent illustrations and maps.

University of Pennsylvania

LYNN M. CASE

PAUL HYMANS MÉMOIRES. Volumes I and II. Edited by *Frans van Kalken*, with the collaboration of *John Bartier*. (Brussels: Institut de Sociologie Solvay, Université Libre de Bruxelles. [1957.] Pp. xviii, 478; 484-1079.)

THESE volumes take their place among the memoirs of the diplomats of the First World War and its aftermath, for Paul Hymans, though also academician, journalist, lawyer, and parliamentary deputy, emerges here primarily as a diplomat. Certainly few could claim more justly the diplomatic profession than a man who was Belgium's minister to London, chief of the Belgian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, four times Belgian foreign minister, and president of the League of Nation's first Assembly. He lived in an internationally dynamic era. Elected to Parliament in 1900, Hymans began his career in a Belgium basking in the false security of the Treaties of 1839; dying in exile in 1941, he witnessed the disintegration of the nation-state system to which Belgium owed its existence.

The author and editors, selected from the faculty of l'Université Libre de Bruxelles and eminently qualified, have compiled a readable account focusing on the Paris Peace Conference, the prelude to Locarno, and the first ominous moves of Nazi Germany. The effort does not yield significantly new materials on this period. Nevertheless, one cannot be inattentive when a man writes, as does Hymans, of interviews and conversations with everyone from Hans von Seeckt and the Empress Eugenie to Theodore Roosevelt and Engelbert Dolfuss. And there is profit in assessing, from the Belgian point of view, the small nations' battle, led by Paul Hymans, to prevent Big Four domination of the Paris Conference. Perceptive, if essentially conventional, characterizations of Clemenceau,

Lloyd George, and Wilson are drawn. The first two aroused Hymans' mistrust and dislike, the American President, unrealized hopes.

More important, the role of the diplomat representing a little nation is well elucidated. Belgium in 1919 had its own expansionist ambitions—indeed, Luxembourg, Limbourg, the left bank of the Scheldt, Eupen, Malmédy, and part of German East Africa strike one as rather more extravagant than Hymans concedes them to be. It was Hymans' task to demand vigorously, plead skillfully, and then accept gracefully the much more modest awards of the Great Powers. Most illuminating, however, is the light cast by these memoirs on the revolutionary alteration in national outlook between Paul Hymans' generation and that of Paul Henri Spaak. Despite his presidency of its first Assembly, Hymans mentions the League of Nations only incidentally. Its demise receives one line. In 1931 Hymans argued against the Austro-German customs union with a statement that Belgium had never proposed or accepted a customs union with France. He saw in the failure of the French in 1922 to accept Britain's offer of military alliance against Germany an "incalculable error" opening the way to the tragedy of 1939. It is a strikingly long leap from this commitment to the traditional nation-state system to Spaak's era of Benelux, Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, United Nations, and Common Market. No wonder Hymans disdainfully, but accurately, described Spaak as "*le révolutionnaire*."

Written long enough after the events, this work happily avoids being an apologia. Despite the absence of a subject index, it ranks among the more useful diplomatic memoirs of the period.

Pennsylvania State University

KENT FORSTER

SPAIN: A MODERN HISTORY. By *Salvador de Madariaga*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. xiv, 736. \$7.50.)

THE first hundred pages of this work are devoted to the geographical, historical, and intellectual background of modern Spain. The remainder deals with the twentieth century: the reign of Alfonso XIII, the Second Republic, the Civil War, and the dictatorship of General Franco. Except for the last fifty pages of the section dealing with Franco the book is almost entirely a reprint, slightly condensed, but very little revised, of the 1943 edition entitled *Spain*. The main currents that Madariaga sees at work in modern Spain can be conveniently subsumed under his own metaphor of "the three Franciscos." There is a liberal, humane Spain, which since 1875 has been freeing itself from the shackles of the past without rejecting the grandeur of that past; this is the Spain of Francisco Giner, founder of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*. There is also a revolutionary Spain, partly Marxist, partly anarchist, which is symbolized by the aging labor leader and first prime minister of the Civil War period, Francisco Largo

Caballero. Finally, there is a traditionalist, clerical, and military Spain symbolized by Francisco Franco. The outbreak of the Civil War, a "strictly Spanish" affair, "was the combined effect of two typically Spanish pronunciamentos: that of Don Francisco Largo Caballero, commander in chief of the revolutionary wing of the General Union of Workers, which was not Communist, and that of Don Francisco Franco, commander in chief of the General Union of Officers, which was not Fascist." Though generally sympathetic to men of the moderate Left such as Azaña and Julián Besteiro, the author feels that in July, 1936, the government should have imitated the example of King Alfonso who, in 1931, had been "wise and patriotic enough to prefer his own exile to a civil war." For Madariaga "military rule is never lasting in Spain, and experience shows that it always leads to further endeavors to establish parliamentary democracy." Earlier, in analyzing the Azaña regime, he criticizes the latter for not seeking the co-operation of Lerroux's Radical party and traces the origin of the Civil War to Azaña's inability to conquer his personal aversion to Lerroux and his consequent dependence on Socialist support. Such an interpretation assumes that there was a strong Center in 1931 capable of governing in a spirit of liberal reform without Socialist participation. It suggests strongly that in 1936 the république was as bankrupt politically as was the monarchy in 1931 and that in 1936 the liberal, humane Spain of Francisco Giner would somehow ultimately have triumphed after allowing the generals to seize the government without armed resistance. These several assumptions are surely open to question.

The book contains most valuable chapters dealing with the intellectual renaissance of the middle class in the twentieth century, but it cannot be strongly recommended as a general history. There are too many questionable generalizations such as that "optimistic temperament made Catalan workers more addicted to anarchism" than to socialism, or that "the entire Perón episode was a direct consequence of the Spanish dictatorship." Very little space is given to labor and the peasants, a lack of emphasis which may well have led the author to exaggerate the power, the responsibility, and the range of choices open to the middle class politicians whose work he scrutinizes closely. A number of valuable studies of the Civil War and the Franco dictatorship are not mentioned.

Despite its weaknesses as a general history the book demands careful study by any student of Spain. The author combines immense erudition with personal knowledge of most of the leading figures of the Center and the moderate Left. His style is rich in irony and in provocative literary allusions. Above all there is a spirit of uncompromising honesty and an earnestness about learning the lesson of past errors that endow the book with great moral force and make it the author's testament on behalf of a better future for his beloved Spain.

Wellesley College

GABRIEL JACKSON

DIE IDEE DER STAATSRÄSON IN DER NEUEREN GESCHICHTE. By *Friedrich Meinecke*. Edited by *Walther Hofer*. [Friedrich Meinecke Werke, Band I.] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1957. Pp. xxx, 528. DM 24.50.)

POLITISCHE SCHRIFTEN UND REDEN. By *Friedrich Meinecke*. Edited and with introduction by *Georg Kotowski*. [Friedrich Meinecke Werke, Band II.] (Darmstadt: Siegfried Toesche-Mittler Verlag. 1957. Pp. 511. DM 25.)

THE first two volumes of the complete edition of the writings of Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der Neueren Geschichte* and *Politische Schriften und Reden*, are sponsored by a group of historians associated with the Friedrich Meinecke Institut of the Free University of Berlin. Their publication pays a richly deserved homage to the greatest historian Germany has produced since Ranke and Burckhardt, one of the few who proved immune to the virus of national-socialist ideology and whose heroic efforts contributed much to the renaissance of German scholarship after the debacle of 1945. The editors of the two volumes, Walther Hofer and Georg Kotowski respectively, were very close to the aging Meinecke. To Hofer we owe a penetrating study of Meinecke's philosophical concepts; Kotowski accompanied Meinecke in his secession from the old university of Berlin and assisted him in laying the groundwork for the Free University.

Die Idee der Staatsräson will probably outlast any other work of Meinecke's, even the famous *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, or his *Historismus*. *Die Idee der Staatsräson* rose from doubts and reflections which assaulted Meinecke during the First World War in regard to the power drive of the modern leviathan state. It made him probe into the origins of the political thought that had advocated the unmitigated pursuit of power, and at the same time opened his eyes to the ethical problems that power provokes in the moral life of the individual and the community. *Die Idee der Staatsräson* may be called a study in the philosophy of political power; the English translation, which has just appeared, is entitled *Machiavellism*. Such a designation may not be entirely adequate, and Hofer says in his introduction that the book is actually anti-Machiavelli. The truth lies somewhere between these two statements.

This reviewer was a student of Meinecke when the final touches were added to this manuscript, and he remembers vividly the poignant interpretations of Machiavelli, Frederick the Great, and Hegel, which he heard in Meinecke's seminar. A rereading of these chapters shows that they have lost nothing of their intellectual power. The analysis of Machiavelli's philosophy remains a masterpiece. The parts dedicated to Campanella, Rohan, Frederick the Great, and the school of the interests of the state are as fresh as they were thirty-five years ago. Today I do not feel wholly satisfied with the treatment that Meinecke accords Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, and Spinoza. The attempts to find traces of the *Idee der Staatsräson* in thinkers who adhered to the tenets of natural law seem

contrived and not entirely convincing. Characteristically enough, the name of John Locke does not appear in the volume. Likewise, the final chapters suffer from a distinctly continental, not to say German, slant. Obviously Hegel demands his place in a history of Machiavellism, but the inclusion of Fichte, Ranke, and Treitschke does not seem justified, at least to the degree they have been granted. Certainly the apologists of Anglo-Saxon imperialism should have found their niche in a history of this kind, and it would have been equally enlightening to submit the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to a scrutiny from Meinecke's vantage point.

The dichotomy between moral law and the demands of the state, which emerges as Meinecke's ultimate philosophy, makes him the typical historian of the period between the two World Wars, "the historian of an age in crisis," as Ludwig Dehio put it. Such reservations notwithstanding, *Die Idee der Staatsräson* is one of the great examples of German historiography, in particular of the school of *Geistesgeschichte*; its influence on the succeeding generations was strong and will continue to be so. The book is also a background study for those students of international relations, like Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan, who base their approach on the idea of the interest of the state.

The other volume is, of course, of a very different nature. It contains a collection of Meinecke's political writings. Born in 1862, he started his political career rather late; the first of these essays dates from 1910. The collection shows the gradual liberalization and democratization of Meinecke's political thinking. From the position of a national-liberal he moved into the forefront of the defenders of the Weimar Republic. He was not inspired, as were so many others, by a desire to vindicate the status quo, but he had come to a realization of the necessity of grappling with the democratic tendencies of the age.

Meinecke possessed an uncanny gift to draw politicians and statesmen to his side. Bethmann Hollweg, Kühlmann, Eugen Fischer, Groener, and Beck are only a few of those who were attracted into the circle of friendship by the keenness of Meinecke's mind. In return, he received from them inside information that the merely academic historian rarely acquires. These political writings are also an important contribution to the history of the German middle class in its desperate struggle to avoid being crushed between the upper millstone of the great cartels and the nether millstone of union power. The articles written between 1931 and January, 1933, show a great deal of civil courage, besides a never failing talent to view the daily occurrences *sub specie historiae*. Unfortunately, they were not heeded by the gravediggers of German democracy: Hugenberg, von Papen, Schleicher, and others. It is astonishing that Meinecke was spared the vengeance of Nazi officials who dealt so mercilessly with Hermann Oncken. He had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing his fears and apprehensions become realities, and his latest contributions are attempts to instill new faith in the twice defeated Germans. Much of his "idealism" will strike the reader of today as old-fashioned,

but the volume of his political writings remains a great testimony to the civic and moral obligation under which the historian lives and works. It is indeed remarkable that this man, so frail in physique and so clearly marked for the *summum bonum* of historical contemplation, never ceased to devote a large part of his energy to the fight for good government. The significance of the edition which gets under way with the publication of these two volumes is not confined to the realm of historical scholarship. Through the personal example of Friedrich Meinecke Germany's progress toward democracy is given further impetus.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

REVOLUTIONÄRE EREIGNISSE UND PROBLEME IN DEUTSCHLAND
WÄHREND DER PERIODE DER GROSSEN SOZIALISTISCHEN OKTOBERREVOLUTION 1917/1918: BEITRÄGE ZUM 40. JAHRESTAG
DER GROSSEN SOZIALISTISCHEN OKTOBERREVOLUTION. Edited by *Albert Schreiner*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,
Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche
Geschichte, Band 6.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 1957. Pp. xiv, 353. DM
11.50.)

Two features of this symposium recommend it to scholars less doctrinaire than the East German historians who authored it. First, the essays are on subjects which have not been exhausted by earlier writers. Heinrich Scheel's essay on the strikes of April, 1917, in Berlin and Walter Bartel's treatment of the strikes of January, 1918, break newer ground than do the others. The growth of revolutionary unrest and organization in the German fleet in 1917 and in 1918 have been treated earlier, but merit restudy. Other essays in this volume on the origins and development of the idea of workers' and soldiers' councils in Germany and on the attitude of the German left toward the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the treaties of Brest-Litovsk, and Lenin's "dictatorship of the proletariat" in 1918 also treat topics which have been too little studied by Western scholars. (One serious post-1945 American volume on German Social Democracy in the period 1914-1921 scarcely mentions that there were revolutions in Russia.) This volume goes too far in the reverse direction, treating the response of the German Socialists to the revolutions of 1917 with almost no regard for the complex social, political, and ideological context within which German Socialists lived in 1917-1918. But the subjects treated here are important ones, and Western scholars should welcome such lengthy examinations of them.

A second positive feature of this volume is its presentation of new material. East German readers may here learn of no American studies of the German Socialists in 1917-1918, but they are offered summaries—if unflattering ones—of non-Communist German scholarly works. In turn, Western scholars are offered carefully documented new details from East German archives. But readers

of Arthur Rosenberg's book of 1928-1931 will find few factual surprises in this volume, for its new material is relatively unimportant. The interpretation it offers is far narrower than was Rosenberg's and lacks his honesty. Each essay presents three basic arguments: first, real revolutionary potentialities existed in the German working class before and during 1917-1918; second, this potential was frustrated by Social Democratic and Independent Social Democratic leaders, who sometimes deliberately and sometimes unconsciously betrayed the revolutionary workers; third, a minority of German Socialists, the Spartacists and their associates, were inspired by the Leninist example to undertake revolutionary action in Germany but lacked the organizational apparatus to achieve success. Rosa Luxemburg is reprimanded for her 1918 criticisms of Bolshevik tyranny. In short, this volume is a documented elaboration of theses laid down forty years ago by Lenin, modified occasionally by a Stalinist correction. The authors do not ask how Lenin, who knew German Socialism so well, could have been so wrong as to predict to his Russian colleagues in October, 1917, that Germany would soon be torn by revolution.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

GUTACHTEN DES INSTITUTS FÜR ZEITGESCHICHTE. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte.] (Munich: the Institute. 1958. Pp. 439.)

THE origin and scope of the sixty-eight expert opinions on National Socialist policies, prepared by five staff members of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, are defined in the preface. Government agency requests were the immediate cause for writing these memoranda and determined the range of topics in this volume. As a rule, statements of facts and historical evaluation are offered in order to facilitate legal proceedings, especially in matters of compensation and pensions; in one case, dealing with the deportation of Tsygans in 1940, the Institute's findings basically contradict a high law court's opinion.

The memoranda differ greatly in length, running from half a page in one instance to sixty pages, as in the memorandum on the Third Reich and Romanian anti-Jewish policy (by Dr. Martin Broszat). Forty pages are devoted to the legal position and organization of the resettlement agency RKFDV, the Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums, written in 1954 (now partly superseded by the book of Robert L. Koehl, *RKFDV* [Cambridge, Mass., 1957]). Thirty pages are given to the attitude of National Socialism toward Catholicism. Both the last two studies were prepared by Dr. Hans Buchheim. All the contributors show an intimate knowledge of the printed sources of the Hitler period, including the printed and mimeographed Nuremberg trial materials; they display great skill in assembling relevant information; and they are cautious in drawing conclusions if their sources seem to be insufficient. The

authors are conscious of the fact that additional information, made available when the German government and NSDAP archives are opened, may alter the picture offered. The basic considerations that prompted the decision to undertake such assignments; in spite of the odds, are convincingly summarized as follows by Dr. Paul Kluge, until recently the secretary general of the Institute: "The contention cannot be adopted that judgments regarding events of the most recent history have to wait until *all* the sources have been tapped and thus the absolutely best basis for research has been created. Sometimes one must not refrain from trying to find primary solutions of certain problems by making use only of such information as is already available, applying the necessary critical reservations. For a number of detailed questions, pioneer work has to be done, so to speak, in order to obtain at least provisional results which can become the preconditions for arriving at more complete results."

The sections of the book and the principal questions treated are as follows: Section I deals with persecution in general—the relations of the NS regime to the Catholic Church, the suppression of religious sects, the deportation of Tsygans, and the "Euthanasia" program. Sections II and III concern persecution of the Jews in Germany and abroad; special studies prove the pressure brought by the Germans on the governments of their satellites, Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia, to adopt and slavishly apply the German anti-Semitic legislation. Section IV on agencies and organizations of the Third Reich includes brief information on the Wirtschaftsstab Ost, the Einsatzstab Rosenberg, the Reichssippenamt, the Akademie für Landesforschung und Reichsplanung, and the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage. Sections V, VI, and VII deal with the police, the party as such, and para-military organizations; among other themes the legal status of the "Adolf Hitler-Schulen," the NS-Reichsbund Deutscher Schwestern, the NS-Fliegerkorps, and the "Werwolf" organization are discussed. Section VIII clears up the relationship of National Socialism to the Ludendorff movement, the Stahlhelm and the veterans' organization, and the Kyffhäuserbund. In sections IX and X problems of Poland under German occupation and the political role of the Volksdeutsche as instruments of National Socialist policy in peace and wartime are taken up.

The memoranda in the collection are only a small part of the Institute's output. According to the preface, the Institute has provided "during the last years" an annual average of about 150 memoranda and shorter replies. A list of the inquiries of possible general interest answered by the Institute would have provided a highly useful indication of the range of information obtainable from the Institute's files. But even as it stands now, a nineteen-page index makes the volume an indispensable reference work on a number of aspects of the Hitler period for which reliable information cannot be found in print elsewhere.

SPECTRUM AUSTRIAЕ. Edited by Otto Schulmeister. (Vienna: Verlag Herder. 1957. Pp. 735. Sch. 330.)

THIS study, monumental in its size and comprehensiveness, is the post-World War II counterpart of Josef Nadler's and Heinrich von Srbik's *Österreich. Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum* (Salzburg, 1936). It reflects the pro-Austrian predilections of postwar Austrian historians, just as Nadler's and Srbik's book mirrored the Pan-German convictions of so many Austrian historians in the 1930's. The volume grew out of a conference shortly after the end of World War II between Schulmeister and the editor of *Wort und Wahrheit* at which they discussed the need for a comprehensive work in which the main political, economic, cultural, and social ties between the present and the past would be pointed out in such a manner that the inner nature of Austria would become discernible to the reader. Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck and Adam Wandruszka assisted Schulmeister in editing the work. Heinrich Drimmel, the Austrian minister of education, also lent his hand in furthering the progress of the study.

Twenty-two different authors, two of whom (Friedrich Engel-Janosi and Robert Kann) are Americans, have contributed to the book. After an initial chapter in which Schulmeister points out the historical roots of many contemporary Austrian problems, Hans Babek, Hans Koren, and Willy Lorenz discuss Austria's geographical situation and folk art and the history of the Austrian Catholic Church. Heinrich Benedikt, Hugo Hantsch, and Walter Goldinger ably summarize the main phases of Austrian history before 1945. For the years after 1945 only a chronology of events is given. Robert Kann has written on the nationality problem; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, on diplomatic relations between the Habsburg monarchy and foreign powers; Johann Allmayer-Beck, on the class composition of the Austrian ruling groups; and Adam Wandruszka, on the evolution of political parties and political ideologies. After a brief discussion of the succession states by Eugen Lemberg, there are excellent chapters on the Austrian economy, by Hans Seidel, and on the social structure of present-day Austria, by Erich Bodzenta and Linus Grond. Friedrich Heer depicts the spirit of Austrian humanism. Viktor Zuckerkandl has written the chapter on Austrian music; Hans Sedlmayr, on architecture, sculpture, and painting; Gerhart Baumann, on poetry; and Friedrich Torberg, on literature. In the concluding chapter, Anton Böhm takes up the special role played by the city of Vienna in Austrian history. In the book there are 105 different illustrations, most of them excellent. The bibliography and index are adequate.

In many ways this volume, which is one of the best of its kind that this reviewer has seen, represents the spirit of the Austrian people since the Second World War. In sharp contrast to the book edited in 1936 by Nadler and Srbik, which reflected the spirit of hopelessness of a people lacking even the will to exist and seeking to find spiritual values for themselves by attempting to dis-

cover a special *German* mission for the Austrians, an awareness of a specific *Austrian* culture and mission runs through many pages of the volume reviewed here. Schulmeister's *Spectrum Austriae* gives evidence that since the war the Austro-Germans have developed real pride in their own cultural accomplishments and a real determination to shape their future destiny as a separate people.

University of Texas

R. JOHN RATH

FELDMARSCHALL RADETZKY: LEBEN, LEISTUNG, ERBE. By *Oskar Regele*. (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1957. Pp. xv, 555. Sch. 198.)

JANUARY 5, 1958, marked the centenary of the death of Field Marshal Count Joseph Radetzky. He was at the time of his death ninety-two years old. Seventy-two of these years he spent in active service in the Austrian army. He played an important role in 1813, when he was chief of staff to Prince Charles Schwarzenberg, the commander in chief of the allied armies in the Battle of Leipzig. More conspicuously, Radetzky entered the limelight of history when, in 1849, at the age of eighty-three, he defeated the Sardinian army and was hailed by Franz Grillparzer, Austria's greatest poet, as Austria's savior. Until 1857 the aged field marshal remained governor general of Lombardy and Venetia.

In honor of the centennial, Oskar Regele, an Austrian military historian, has written a new biography of Radetzky. In 1955 he published a detailed study of the activities of Austrian Field Marshal Conrad von Hötzendorf from 1906 when he became chief of staff to 1918. Both Conrad and Radetzky were skillful strategists, personally respected, and devoted servants of the maintenance of the power of the Habsburg dynasty. Both books are not biographies in the usual sense of the word. They are primarily studies in military strategy and history. The author, who is president of the Austrian Commission for Military History, is understandably devoted to the Austrian military tradition and to the dynasty, which the army faithfully served. This devotion sometimes goes too far, as when he speaks of Ferdinand I as a ruler who "for reasons of health could not develop that strength in governing which Radetzky expected of everyone."

The fact that the author avoids, on principle, any of the more personal or intimate aspects of Radetzky's life does not enhance the book's readability. The general historian will note with interest Radetzky's struggle for greater military efficiency and the resistance to it by the cumbersome Austrian bureaucracy. Then, as now, the relationship between economic considerations and what was militarily desirable played a great role, and Radetzky was well ahead of many of his contemporaries in understanding the economic factor and its role in the efficiency of civilian and military administration alike.

In the field of foreign policy Radetzky saw the future of Austria in the expansion of its influence in the southeastern direction. Sometimes he desired for Austria the control of the Danube to its mouth, later on he insisted on the necessity of

annexing Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Belgrade. Like most Europeans of the post-Napoleonic period he dreaded Russian expansion. In 1829, after the peace of Adrianople, he deplored the fact that "nothing is being done to safeguard Europe against Russia. Europe is more disunited than ever and this situation allows Russia freedom to expand. From now on Russia can only fall by its own mistakes." One year later Radetzky feared that the United States would "subjugate Europe in the course of time," and he urged the formation of a European federation to prevent it. On the fundamental questions of domestic and foreign policy Radetzky agreed on the whole with Metternich. Regele calls these two typical old Austrians "kongeniale Männer."

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

EUROPAS WEG NACH POTSDAM: SCHULD UND SCHICKSAL IM DONAURAUM. By *Wenzel Jaksch*. (Stuttgart; Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1958. Pp. 522. DM 15.80.)

THE author was the last leader of the German Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia prior to the surrender of Munich. This party undoubtedly established a fine record of resistance to Nazism. Its members were persecuted by Hitler for their democratic convictions before the war. Afterwards, a Communist-dominated government brutally expelled them, along with most other Sudeten Germans, from their native land, allegedly as Nazis but actually many of them simply as Germans. Yet, whether the majority of the Sudeten Germans, the followers of Henlein, were Nazis or, as the author thinks, not—mass expulsion of people should be condemned in any case. Thus the representative of a democratic party, mistreated by otherwise diametrically opposed ideological and ethnic camps, may certainly feel bitter. This must be remembered not only as justification but also as excuse for many of Jaksch's statements.

His book is essentially a study of the problem of conflicting nationalisms in Europe from 1848 to the Potsdam Agreement of 1945, exemplified chiefly by the Czech-German conflict observed and actively joined by the author for many years. The thesis—not exactly new—is more or less that the Habsburg empire, in addition to its defensive function against Russian-directed Pan-Slavism, handled the national problems in a masterly fashion. The Czechoslovakia of Masaryk and Beneš, on the other hand, by forcing the principle of the national state on an artificial multinational contraption, was largely coresponsible for the Munich crisis and also indirectly for the outbreak of the Second World War. By the Moscow agreements with Russia, Beneš, who is pictured more as the villain than the victim of the Eastern Central European tragedy, has helped to lead the postwar world to the brink of disaster. The concept of a future supranational reorganization of Europe, sketched in vague outline, is to bring salvation.

It would not be fair to expect from a man of practical politics an exhaustive,

learned apparatus to bolster up his arguments. Still it is regrettable that Jaksch frequently overstates his case and sometimes resorts to radical charges without sufficient evidence. True, the supranational character of the Habsburg empire is partly due to laudable reforms from the Marie Theresan era to 1914, but essentially it is the product of organic growth in time measured in centuries. This decisive element could never have been reproduced by any Czechoslovak federalization and autonomy schemes recommended by Jaksch. This difference of fact rather than intent between what happened in the Danube area before and after 1918 is not brought out clearly. Yet, such lack of understanding is typical for the author's otherwise frequently justified criticism. The assumption, for instance, that during the First World War the Czechs should have settled for Naumann's Middle Europe project seems to be based on the subconscious premise that they should have been aware then of the coming terrors of Nazism and Communism. Much more serious is the charge that Hodža and Beneš, on September 20, 1938, had asked for the French repudiation of the alliance to cover their own retreat and fix the blame on others. This interpretation is based solely on the doubtful authority of Bonnet. Here Jaksch's opinion runs counter to the generally recognized primary and secondary sources, summarized for instance by Wheeler-Bennet and Ripka. But both belong probably to the "Anglo-Czechoslovakism, this conspiracy to forge European history which has lied whole peoples into misery." Another charge cannot even refer to the kind of authority which Bonnet represents. "The causal nexus between the onslaught against the 'Reichsprotector' [sic] Heydrich and the tactical needs of the Czech exile policy is suggestive. The London headquarters needed an increase of the Gestapo terror at home. . . . The victims which such an action would take from the ranks of the Czechs at home were undoubtedly weighed against the propaganda advantages hoped for abroad." No shred of evidence is presented for the charge that the massacre of Lidice was the calculated consequence of a slick émigré trick!

Some other examples of the author's argumentation and lack of proper documentation are the following. The Czech share in civil service positions in Bohemia and Moravia before 1918 is approved as compared to their share in the total population of Austria rather than correctly to that of the two crownlands. Contrary to the author's opinion the Magyarization process in Hungary was hardly confined to the era between 1867 and 1918 and old Austria did not have a federalist structure. Unlike Jaksch, many of the best Austrians, such as Grabmayr, Lammash, Redlich, Polzer, Spitzmüller, and by implication the Emperor Charles, believed that high treason on the part of Kramář was, to say the least, not proved. Harry Dexter White was not convicted as a Soviet spy, and "Roosevelt's sliding into a pathological hatred of the Germans" is questionable. Thus the over-all impression remains that with a more judicial approach in regard to historical evidence the author could have served his good cause of supranational conciliation better.

REBIRTH OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC: A STUDY IN THE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF EUROPE, 1914-1920. By *Titus Komarnicki*. (London: William Heinemann Ltd. [1957.] Pp. xiii, 776. £ 3 3s.)

The object of this volume is "to ascertain the role played by Polish problems" in the policies of the Entente and the Central Powers during and immediately after World War I. It is based on a quite thorough examination of available sources and on critical reevaluation of numerous studies pertinent to the problem. The work consists of two parts, somewhat uneven in length. In Part I, subtitled "War and Armistice," Professor Komarnicki deals briefly with the origin, aims, and phases of the war as well as events leading to the armistice negotiations. Here too can be found an abundance of information on the emergence of the question of national self-determination and the attitudes toward it taken by responsible government spokesmen.

Part II of the study, subtitled "Struggle for the Frontiers of the Restored Polish State," (almost twice as long as Part I) examines two basic problems: the attitudes of the Allied powers (England, France, and the United States) toward new conditions in Eastern Europe in general, in particular toward Polish attempts to solve a number of issues, and the Soviet-Polish War of 1919-1920 with all its far-reaching implications. Both parts of the volume are amply documented and liberally sprinkled with pertinent quotations.

While this study contains much that is to be found in other major works, it, being a product of deep understanding and exhaustive research, also possesses a wealth of material that is original and unique. Excellent examples of this uniqueness are Komarnicki's treatment of the highly complex but extremely vital and always explosive issue of national self-determination in Eastern Europe, his exhaustive analysis of the many sided nature of the Soviet-Polish conflict of 1919-1920, and his constructive criticism of the expedient and unimaginative policies of the major powers toward Eastern Europe (in particular those of Lloyd George and the British Labour party) before, during, and especially after World War I. Throughout, the author underlines again and again that the major powers, because they lacked understanding of the real situation and because they based their policies on either deliberately distorted or obsolete information, were unable to adjust themselves to the new realities. According to the author, an exception to this rule was the realistic and far-sighted policy of the United States toward the Polish question following American entry into the war. This he attributes mainly to the clear understanding by American statesmen, scholars, and other observers of the changes that were taking place.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that a more unified arrangement of the vast amount of material would have given this study added strength. It also seems a bit unfortunate that Komarnicki failed to provide the reader with a conclusion to his lengthy work. Such a recapitulation of the trials and errors, efforts and sac-

rifaces, hopes and frustrations, drawn from the depth of the author's evident knowledge, would have been welcome. Despite these shortcomings, this study represents a valuable contribution to the voluminous literature on a crucial period in European history, both in the material it presents and in its interpretation.

Portland State College, Oregon

BASIL DMYTRYSHYN

POLEN UND EUROPA: STUDIEN ZUR POLNISCHEN AUSSENPOLITIK, 1931-1939. By *Hans Roos*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 7.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1957. Pp. xi, 421. DM 29.40.)

In this admirably objective study, Dr. Roos examines Polish foreign policy during the highly controversial 1931-1939 period and makes a valuable and factual contribution to the study of German-Polish affairs. The author has organized the material in two major sections: Pilsudski's last years, 1931-1935, and the era of the Epigoni, 1935-1939.

Pilsudski's policies were based, as Roos explains, on his mistrust of parliamentary government. His attitude toward the democracies extended to the League of Nations. Furthermore, he feared and distrusted the Soviet Union. Nationalist to the core, Pilsudski strove toward an independent Polish foreign policy. The result was what he described as a policy essentially based on Poland's own resources or, as Roos terms it, *Eigene Kraft*. Poland, however, was greatly indebted to the major Versailles powers. Pilsudski failed to understand that Versailles provided only an opportunity to strengthen the nation's institutions, economy, and political life. The Polish position was predicated to a certain extent on the status of two great powers—Germany and the Soviet Union. The latter, although temporarily weak, could be expected to assume a dominant position in Polish affairs unless Poland made enormous, perhaps unattainable, strides in her development. Only a highly dynamic internal policy designed to raise the status of the nation as a whole and close cooperation with the League of Nations and the democratic powers could keep Poland alive. The Polish foreign policy may have suffered from disorienting tendencies arising from a lack of a definite anti-Hitler policy in the democratic West. Germany herself failed to establish an Ostpolitik which would take German interests into account, be other than a catastrophe to Germany's eastern neighbors, or be compatible with the basic security of the Soviet Union. This lack was the great German tragedy of our times.

On Pilsudski's death in 1935, the mantle of power passed to a semimilitary group of advisers, whom Roos calls the Epigoni. Colonel Beck carried Pilsudski's policies to dangerous extremes. The *Eigene Kraft* policy became a gross exaggeration of Polish capabilities. Pilsudski's antipathy toward democracy was developed by Beck until it culminated in an alliance with Hitler. Whereas Pilsudski

could candidly discuss the situation developing in Germany with France and the West, Beck failed to keep the West informed of the Nazi threat. Roos's analysis of the Beck era is not quite correctly divided into two parts, the policy of maintaining a balance and the concept of a Third Europe. Unfortunately, this organization of the material is based on trivial considerations. Beck, despite some diplomatic angling with France, was committed to Germany. The concept of a Third Europe was always obscure. To some it merely meant a third force between Germany and the USSR, without further implications. To others it meant the promise of a more significant role in European affairs for Poland, which was to emerge as a prominent or determining European force. The last concept was frequently criticized in Poland as a misguided ambition based on an exaggeration of the national capabilities. To Germany, the Third Europe was to serve as bait which would keep Beck and Poland as a force capable of disrupting Eastern Europe and a means of preserving a military vacuum in this area.

The author notes that Germany had failed to take seriously the Polish-German alliance. This was due to Poland's inherent inner weakness. Beck, like many other ministers of foreign affairs, could balance with agility and weave through the loose fabric of a facile policy. But he could not carry his nation with him. In August, 1939, he confided: "I thought Hitler was a real partner, not one who would jump through the window in the course of negotiations." Hitler was rather inclined to cash in on his Polish pawn. Beck failed to realize that with the opportunity for a Polish-Czech (or even broader) military alliance gone, the viability of the Republic of Poland would be highly questionable. Beck's interpretation of the term "real partners" almost warrants a lecture on the realities of power. There are no real partners in the international assembly of totalitarians of which Beck believed himself a member.

Roos's study affords valuable insights into the Polish chapter of Germany's eastern policies. The subject is best examined within the latter frame of reference.

Library of Congress

JANINA WOJCICKA

STUDIES IN REBELLION. By E. Lampert. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. xi, 295. \$6.00.)

This, the first volume of a planned trilogy on the history of revolutionary thought in Russia in the nineteenth century, is composed of four sections: the first describes and analyzes the principal issues and schools of thought in Russia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the other three are brief but detailed studies of the lives and ideas of Belinsky, Bakunin, and Herzen. *Studies in Rebellion* is, in a sense, a glorification of rebellion, and these three Russians are treated as leading examples of the rebellious spirit in man.

Lampert was born in Russia, was educated in Germany and France, and now resides and works in Oxford. He is a student of Russian religious thought, especially that of Berdyaev, and has obviously been influenced deeply by Berdyaev and by recent French and other existentialist thought. *Studies in Rebellion* is a study of the origins of Russian revolutionary thought, especially the attitudes, ethos, or world-view of three representatives, from the point of view of an existentialist who shows little sympathy for religion and for the Russian Orthodox Church. Consequently, the volume has a flavor—a sympathy for Belinsky, Bakunin, and Herzen—which is quite striking and even refreshing. While Lampert wisely makes no effort to establish parallels or contrasts between nineteenth-century ideas and twentieth-century facts, his book illuminates some of the main differences between the attitudes of Russians and Westerners, then and now, on basic issues such as freedom and order, the individual and society, and progress through violence and through evolution. I know of no book which more clearly explains the dichotomy between the tradition created among the revolutionary wing of Russian thought in the nineteenth century and the pragmatic and conservative approach which then prevailed generally in Western Europe and the United States.

With minor exceptions, such as in the analysis of Bakunin's Pan-Slavism, this book provides an accurate description of the views of the men analyzed. The contribution on Belinsky is quite clearly the most original and significant of the three. Lampert's sympathy for his subjects is so powerful and his point of view is so clear that the entire volume has a liveliness and verve usually lacking in such ventures.

At the same time, Lampert errs quite grievously in treating Herzen as though he were as nihilistic or rebellious as were Bakunin and Belinsky. The differences among these three men were often as great as the similarities, but the differences are blurred in this volume. Moreover, while the book purportedly concentrates upon the second quarter of the nineteenth century, many of the principal works of both Bakunin and Herzen were produced and published in the third quarter of the century. One wonders whether or not Lampert has organized the research and writing of his second and third volumes and how he can deal with the 1850's and 1860's without repeating what he has already written concerning these two major figures.

In the important introductory section on Russia and the West, and throughout the volume when he raises the issue of whether or not Russia was European, Lampert fails to define what he means by Europe. He generates more passion than light on this issue, and his most ungenerous comment on Professor Halecki is unworthy of the volume as a whole. While *Studies in Rebellion* has several profound passages and flashes of brilliance, the style of the volume is prolix. This is unfortunate in a book which has much to offer the American reader.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET BUDGETARY SYSTEM. By R. W. Davies. With a foreword by Alexander Baykov. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. xxi, 372. \$8.50.)

The Development of the Soviet Budgetary System is a remarkable history of learning by doing. At the inception of the Soviet regime, in 1917, few, if any, Bolsheviks knew much about financial policy or had any experience in its operation. After learning the inevitable lesson (well told in chapter II) that brave new worlds cannot be financed indefinitely simply by taking from the rich and from one's enemies—if one exterminates them in the process—Soviet experts gradually developed a budgetary system adapted, by 1941, to the conditions of Soviet direct planning.

One of the significant contributions of this book is the emphasis put on the way in which financing of capital investment is done when there are no private sources of funds. Soviet planning is in physical terms, and the money economy is used primarily for wages and retail circulation rather than to determine allocation of resources; therefore accumulation is from current account. "It [accumulation] must come from taxes, the internal profits of industry (and increases in them through reductions in costs), or from inflationary spending. It cannot come from personal savings to any appreciable extent." In the section on "The Planned Economy, 1930-41" the author defines "two systems by which the raising and issue of money for investment (the key problems of financial planning) could be carried out." The first method provides for setting prices of industrial goods sufficiently above cost so that the desired investment funds will be accumulated by each industry from its own profits. The second method provides that prices would approximately equal costs, so far as the producing industry is concerned; when the goods passed to consumers the price to the consumer would be increased by a tax. Under the second method accumulation for investment would thus be transferred to the budget, which would play a major role in financing planned capital investment, and little direct accumulation would occur within the industry. Although both methods were followed in the period to 1941, generally the emphasis was on the second.

Davies' work is based on an extensive use of the available sources, including the theoretical and analytical writings of Soviet economists as well as the legal and administrative enactments of the government. There are occasional allusions to the often overlooked factor of real or potential popular resistance and its effect on decision making (e.g., in the period 1925-1929 "actual wage-cuts were so politically unacceptable that they were not even discussed"). The final chapter on "The Budgetary System in Perspective" develops an interesting discussion of the extent to which the features of Soviet budgetary practice are inherent in direct planning or were determined from a particular Russian environment. The direction of changes in the budgetary system since the war and the relative importance of the two methods of capital accumulation are analyzed.

Davies' book invites comparison with Franklyn D. Holzman's *Soviet Taxation: The Fiscal and Monetary Problems of a Planned Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955). The organization and point of view are quite different, Davies approaching the subject from above as a problem in financial planning, Holzman attempting to concentrate on the effect of taxation policy in the household (broadly conceived as consumer) budget. It would be unkind to say that the reader of Davies has less feeling of newness because of the prior publication of Holzman, but inevitably some of the same questions arise in the works of both. In a note, Davies refers to Holzman's "valuable work" as "published too late to be used here." Both authors break new ground, and Davies' work is a desirable and important contribution, basic for future studies in the field.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE BARR CARSON, JR.

Far Eastern History

THE SMALLER DRAGON: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF VIETNAM. By Joseph Buttinger. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. 535. \$6.00.)

UNDER the attractive title of *The Smaller Dragon*, Joseph Buttinger has written a history of Vietnam that lays claim to being the only one in existence in English. Surprisingly, in view of the author's original intention, as indicated in the foreword, to write about the political situation of contemporary Vietnam, the book which he has actually written concentrates on the history of the country from pre-history to 1900. The twentieth century is given only some forty-five pages, and even these pages, appearing under the heading "Chronology," consist of relatively brief entries presented on a year-by-year basis but becoming somewhat more elaborate for the period since 1945. It is fortunate that the decision turned this way; another study of today's politics would no doubt be valuable, but it could not have the lasting value of this solidly based study of the long road the Vietnamese people have taken to arrive at the partition now inflicted on them by world discord.

In surveying this road, the one theme which Buttinger most heavily stresses is the unity and continuity of Vietnamese history for over two thousand years, from its pre-Chinese past to the present day. The survival of the Vietnamese people as a unit in their long thin homeland he attributes in part to the peculiarities of the rice culture on which their economy rests but even more to their social organization whose "rapid emergence and continuing stability are unthinkable without the impact of Chinese technical civilization and Chinese civil and moral law." The thousand years of Chinese rule made an immense contribution to the shaping of Vietnamese culture, including the establishment of mandarin rule, but the people were never absorbed into China and maintained a struggle which brought them ultimate independence.

Although he tells his story primarily from the standpoint of the Vietnamese rather than from that of the conquering West, the author necessarily devotes much time to the series of European encroachments. The long and intricate history of the French missionaries, merchants, and adventurers—one category often running indistinguishably into another—is explored in detail from its starting point in the seventeenth century to the complete taking over in the latter part of the nineteenth. It is Buttinger's contention that the people's attitude toward the French was shaped in the four decades following Napoleon III's first imperial intervention in the country, four decades in which the new conquerors brought to Vietnam only "death and destruction."

Buttinger writes with skill and vitality as well as with learning. He has covered a vast terrain of French and other Western-language literature on Vietnam and related areas and supplements his book with a bibliography of fifty pages. Several maps contribute to the usefulness of the volume. Special attention deserves to be called to the notes, which themselves cover a very wide range of history, literature, and opinion. Indeed, it may be that they sometimes cover too wide a range, as when Hong Kong is spoken of as a Chinese city prior to its being taken by the British or when two notes give different versions of the British seizure of Singapore, one of them specifying conquest during the Napoleonic wars.

Harvard University

RUPERT EMERSON

American History

AMERICA AS A CIVILIZATION: LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY. By Max Lerner. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1957. Pp. xiii, 1036. \$10.00.)

MAX LERNER has here given us a massive summary of the findings of social scientists about contemporary society in the United States. He groups his materials into twelve long chapters: Heritage, The Idea of American Civilization, People and Place, The Culture of Science and the Machine, Capitalist Economy and Business Civilization, The Political System, Class and Status in America, Life Cycle of the American, Character and Society, Belief and Opinion, The Arts and Popular Culture, and America as a World Power. Each chapter is preceded by a short summary and is broken into from five to eleven sections. Rounding out the book is a forty-four-page "Notes for Further Reading," to which the reader may turn for most of the apparent sources. The few footnotes are chiefly cross references.

Lerner is frankly pluralistic: "I can offer the reader no single talisman to the secret of American civilization." In spite of several passing references to the tragic sense, he seems himself to be a very happy person, blissfully in love with his subject. He seems to be little impressed with the importance of religion in Ameri-

can civilization, as he devotes little space to it and manages to come remarkably close to dismissing it as somewhat un-American: "Prophecy is the product and sign of social failure, and in the American myths there is no room for failure." While Lerner sees room for improvement in the areas of civil liberties and civil rights, he seems to have no real doubt that the improvement will come, and soon. He does not seem seriously disturbed about the dangers of conformity, believing that American society "allows ample room at the joints for individual development." He looks at American civilization from an unmistakably urban position: "With all the marvels of science in increasing energy sources and food abundance it is easy to forget that the final source of food is the land, and that the way of life on the land is the way of the farmer."

Repeatedly Lerner examines the analyses and predictions of Thorstein Veblen and finds them wanting, a process that must be somewhat painful to one who has long been identified with Veblen's thought. He takes issue with the basic interpretation in the last of the major summary books about the United States, Harold J. Laski's *The American Democracy* (1948): "While Laski's theme is democracy, as with De Tocqueville and Bryce, it is the subject of the book only as a corpse is the subject of a murder mystery."

Historians will wonder at some of Lerner's glib remarks, such as his pronouncement on the question of the position of women: "During the first quarter of the present century the American woman strove for equal rights with men: having achieved them, she has spent the second quarter wondering about the result." They will surely wince at his oversimplifications of complex historical situations, as when he says of American leaders: "When they felt themselves strong enough in 1823 they announced the bold proposition that the European powers were to stay out of the whole American hemisphere, which was to be the special preserve of America as a great power."

Lerner has a gift for epitomizing and his style is generally graceful. In spite of his professed modesty about this work ("trial essay," indeed), he has produced a book which will cause many of his readers to want to read more deeply in the many areas he touches lightly. Ironically, the chief value of the work to the historian of the future will probably be as evidence of how a leading social critic of the 1930's had become a calm and complacent observer by 1957.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

Edited by *Alfred H. Kelly*. [Published under the auspices of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xviii, 299. \$3.50.)

THE essays in this volume grew out of the Freedom Agenda program launched in 1954 and constitute, in the words of the introduction published with them, "a

permanent addition to the literature on the Bill of Rights." The virtue of this volume is not in original research or new explorations in government and philosophy but in an application of first principles to contemporary problems—a most useful service in a time of confusion and uncertainty such as that which existed in 1954 when these studies first were presented.

T. V. Smith's first chapter sounds the keynote for what follows in its discussion of what liberty means to free men. Alfred Kelly's discussion of where constitutional liberty came from is a first-rate review of the historical origins of our rights. He correctly says that the most important thing about the Bill of Rights is the concept of individual liberty and an open society for which it stands. He acknowledges, as others do, the gulf between the world of 1800 and that of today—"There were, after all, no Communists in 1800 and no grand conspiracy to destroy the free world"—and sets forth the conflict between liberty and security.

Zechariah Chafee's contribution adds to our debt to that late, great champion of freedom of the press and of speech. How strangely persistent is the Blackstonian notion that freedom of the press means only exemption from prior restraint and how frequently Chafee has done battle with this concept. Jack W. Peltason's chapter on "Constitutional Liberty and the Communist Problem" is a first-rate short summary of the evolution that has taken place in our laws and court opinions on this subject. Robert K. Carr surveys congressional investigations and concludes with the remedy that courts and others have so often advanced for the excesses of House and Senate committees—congressional restraint.

The most controversial contribution is that of Alan F. Westin on "Constitutional Liberty and Loyalty Programs." Not everyone will admit that "most informed persons presently came to agree that there has been a planned and systematic penetration of the government by Communist Party members and through Communist sympathizers and that these actions pose a direct threat to our national security." Some still do not believe the situation was that dangerous and therefore will not concede that a remedy fraught with danger to individual liberty was justified by the risks. Westin's point that an effort to reach loyalty cases with legislation of 1939 might have been more dangerous than the programs that were inaugurated is an interesting one, but history does not disclose its alternatives and this remains an interesting but unsupported opinion. The reference to Henry Wallace is curiously in error. The speech that got him into trouble was not made abroad and, objectionable as it was, was not as indefensible as such a speech made out of the country would have been. The acknowledgment that the fidelity programs have turned up no spies seems at war with Westin's philosophical justification for them. Still, the essay does point up the terrible risks and hazards of the loyalty programs in terms of individual liberty and justice. It seems to end a little weakly in broad generalizations about the dual values involved.

Such essays as these should keep people thinking about our fundamental liberties. If they do that they justify themselves and the program of which they are a part.

Washington, D. C.

J. R. WIGGINS

AMERICAN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY. Volume I, BACKGROUND AND BEGINNINGS; Volume V, DECADE OF NEW PRODUCTS. By *Williams Haynes*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1954. Pp. lxxvii, 512; li, 622. \$15.00; \$15.00.)

HERE is a dramatic illustration of the wedding between scientists and historians, and it makes a happy union. Dr. Williams Haynes, dean of the historians of chemistry, has given us in a monumental six-volume work, a storehouse of scientific data which we dare not overlook. The work begins with the first chemical products in the early colonial period and continues down to 1940. Each volume covers a particular chronological period in the nation's history, including chemical products, processes, methods, and the men and companies instrumental in developing them. This review is concerned only with Volumes I (1608-1911) and V (1912-1939), as the other volumes take up company histories that are important to specialists in their related fields but relatively unimportant to others.

In Volume I the historian will discover such a wealth of new material that he may be compelled to reappraise his views of the industrial, economic, perhaps even the social and political, history of the United States down to 1911. The contributions of chemistry during the early years of the Republic and throughout the middle period down to the Civil War were phenomenal. For the New England textile mills chemical products in bleaching and calico printing were as important as the power looms and the steam power needed to operate them. The same was true in paper making, in tanning, in glass manufacturing, the production of salt, and scores of other products. Joseph Priestley, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Cooper, John Maclean, Robert Hare, *et al.*, developed the strength of the young nation more than some of the political and military leaders whose names now clutter up present texts. The same can be said for a new generation of chemists throughout the middle period, down to the Civil War.

But it was during the period from the Civil War to 1910-1912 that chemistry came to play its greatest role. Large chemical companies, privately owned and financed, became major factors in the nation's economy. This was the era when petroleum products, the rubber industry, and fertilizers turned to chemistry for help. It was around the turn of the century that chemistry invaded *materia medica*. The part played by a chemist of the United States Department of Agriculture, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, in the formulation of the first federal pure food and drug act is well known.

The role of chemistry in World War I and on through the depression era is

dramatically described. Chemistry was among the top "depression-proof" industries. Chemurgy may have done more to revive the nation's economy during the 1930's than all the formulas pronounced by politicians and economists combined. Chemical technology gave rise to hundreds, even thousands, of new products. By 1939, the end of the depression decade, chemistry and its products had come to have a value of "three billion dollars, plus." This writer, for one, hopes that Haynes is already at work on another volume, covering the major chemical developments that occurred during the 1940's and 1950's. No one else is qualified to do the task as well.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

GIVE ME LIBERTY: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA. By *Thomas J. Wertenbaker*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLVI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. ix, 275. \$3.00.)

THROUGHOUT this book Professor Wertenbaker adds new materials and new points of view to his earlier works on Virginia. I have often thought that the story of the long struggle of Virginians to secure and keep their liberty should be written. Now we have that story. It is the product of mature scholarship based almost entirely on a wide knowledge and use of first-hand records, and it is written clearly and interestingly.

The main theme giving continuity to the story is the growth in maturity and in power of the House of Burgesses. No one else has treated this subject with equal fullness, insight, and literary skill. Parallel with this is the shifting of the center of political gravity from governor and Council to the House. The fascinating story is given against the background of British history.

The colonists everywhere throughout the colonial period struggled for the liberty of levying their own taxes and making their own laws. It is not true, as a recent writer would have us believe, that "resistance to autocratic rule was born" in Virginia after 1676. Wertenbaker's treatment of the tyrants involved is for the most part judicious. The colonists were not always without blame, and the oppressing governors were often in a difficult position, as he points out. He also gives credit for the good that they accomplished, and he does not conceal the fact that the motives of their opponents were sometimes mercenary. He describes Governor Harvey as the villain that he was; for a man accustomed to command, the bold and independent Councilors, including the genial scamp, Dr. Pott, must have tried his patience, but this did not excuse his knocking out a Councilor's teeth with a cudgel.

After a thorough study of the materials relating to Bacon's Rebellion, including the Bath Papers, which Wertenbaker has used, I am convinced that his main conclusions regarding this tragic affair are correct. Berkeley, during a large part of

his two administrations, was one of Virginia's best governors. During his second administration, however, as he grew older he grew crabbed and tyrannical, and abuses undermined his administration. There is overwhelming evidence to prove that the people resented the "Long Assembly," the heavy taxes with no accounting to the people, and lack of participation in and even lack of knowledge of the work of their local governing bodies. Wertenbaker is right in his opinion that it is quibbling to say that the laws passed by Bacon's Assembly were not the work of Bacon or of his followers. The act repealing them states that they were, and other proof is evident. To think of Berkeley as an innocent hero at the time of the Rebellion and afterwards is fantastic. The Rebellion was not sudden in origin or caused by a dispute between two individuals but the result of long accumulated grievances. The Indian war on top of many grievances set off the explosion. That "Bacon's Rebellion had a lasting influence on American history," however, may be questioned.

The treatment of Governor Andros is less severe than usual. Though admitting the ability and achievements of Governor Nicholson, the author gives the most devastating account to be found of him. Even so, the title of the chapter, "The Virginia Hitler," seems inappropriate.

The account of the eighteenth-century period is the book's greatest contribution. Especially helpful is the clear account of Virginia's fiscal operations during the French and Indian War. Typographical errors in the book are few. Notes are kept brief and are properly placed. The essay on sources is useful. Illustrations and general format are pleasing.

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE: THE NEWSPAPER WAR ON BRITAIN, 1764-1776. By Arthur M. Schlesinger. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. ix, 318, xvi. \$6.00.)

THE subject of this study is an essential part of that "real American Revolution," the "radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people," which, according to John Adams in his reminiscent old age, preceded the War of Independence. After a brief general discussion of this "real American Revolution," with various aspects of which Professor Schlesinger has dealt in his previously published writings, he here shows in detail the great part played in it by the colonial press.

A marked characteristic of the journalism which nourished the patriot cause during the years of controversy leading up to the Declaration of Independence was its continental point of view, especially important at a time when so many factors in colonial life were making for colonial particularism. This continentalism Schlesinger attributes partly to the fact that many of the colonial newspapermen, who combined the functions of printer, publisher, and editor, had lived in dif-

ferent colonies, partly to kinship ties that connected many of them with other colonies, and partly to their knowledge of what was going on in other colonies, derived from exchange copies of newspapers received from fellow editors. "In-sensibly they came to think of America as a single country rather than as thirteen disparate societies." And it was during the period of the great controversy that colonial journalists began to think of themselves as molders of public opinion as well as purveyors of news.

The parliamentary taxes that aroused such furor in the colonies could hardly have been more skillfully designed if their object had been to inflame the newspapermen. The Stamp Act, had it been possible to enforce it, would have imposed crushing burdens on them. Franklin, who had done his utmost to prevent its passage, wrote in a private letter: "I think it will affect the Printers more than anybody." Virtually annulled by civil disobedience and other means, its repeal was a tremendous and unforgettable victory for the American press. The journalists would no doubt in most cases have opposed the next instalment of attempted reconstruction of the colonial system by Parliament, the Townshend legislation of 1767, even without any particular reason of their own for doing so. But here too, as in the Stamp Act crisis, such a reason was not lacking, for the Revenue Act of that year laid heavy import duties on paper imported into the colonies from Great Britain, and the colonial printers had been dependent on this for all branches of their trade. John Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*, spread far and wide by the press, became the most celebrated of the many publications against the Townshend Acts.

With the repeal of the Townshend duties in 1770 (except the duty on tea), the influence of the Boston journalists, who had been the leaders in what Schlesinger calls the "Foundry of Propaganda," entered on a decline, from which it was rescued by the consequences of another act of Parliament, the Tea Act of 1773. This in itself caused no excitement in the colonies, but when it was known that the East India Company intended to send cargoes of its tea to the principal colonial ports a roar of protest went up in the press, in which the cry of monopoly raised against the company's agents, who were to have the exclusive right of selling the tea, powerfully reinforced the slogan of "no taxation without representation," as Schlesinger showed years ago in his *Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*. From the patriot point of view the Boston Tea Party was a mistake; the reaction to it in other colonies, and among the friends of America in England, was distinctly unfavorable. But again Parliament, this time with its notorious Intolerable Acts, came to the aid of the Boston radicals. No reader of this book is likely to question the author's opinion that the movement for independence could hardly have succeeded "without an ever alert and dedicated press." Without this, would there indeed have been any such "movement"?

Schlesinger's name, even without the abundant evidences of scholarship given in his footnotes, would be a sufficient guarantee of the extent and soundness of his

research. His book is an important contribution both to the history of the Revolution and to the history of American journalism.

Pacific Palisades, California

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XIV, 8 OCTOBER 1788
TO 26 MARCH 1789. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. William H. Gaines, Jr., and
Joseph H. Harrison, Jr., Associate Editors. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Uni-
versity Press. 1958. Pp. xliv, 708. \$10.00.)

"THE Last Time I Saw Paris," Thomas Jefferson might have written, was September 26, 1789. This volume of Boyd's well-known series (the first to appear without the name of Mina R. Bryan, to whose long services tribute is paid in a foreword) brings the Virginia statesman up to within six months before his return to the United States. Soon after arriving home, he became secretary of state, subsequently vice-president and President. But as letters in this volume show, Jefferson expected his stay in America to be brief. After settling certain financial affairs and bringing his young daughters to a more suitable environment in their own country, he hoped to resume his diplomatic post in Paris. He even contemplated taking passage from New York during the serene month of October in company with the charming Angelica Schuyler Church, a sister-in-law of Alexander Hamilton. But "God had foreseen something better" for him (Heb. 11:40 R.S.V.), at least from the standpoint of rank in the American official bureaucracy.

Jefferson's chief diplomatic task during the period here covered was negotiation of the Consular Convention of November 14, 1788, with France. This was the last treaty signed by authority of the Continental Congress and the first to be ratified under the new Constitution. The various drafts and comments leading up to this instrument are printed in detail. Another touchy question was the admission of American whale oil to the French market. A decree of September 28, 1788, on this subject had curtailed the privileges previously accorded to American trade by the decree of December 29, 1787. As a result of Jefferson's efforts, a supplemental decree of December 7, 1788, excluded American products (imported in French or American ships) from the operation of the September prohibition. In connection with this issue Jefferson had his *Observations on the Whale-Fishery* issued both in English and French by the king's printer Clousier. "Tho' printed for the purpose of facilitating the reading, they are intended for the perusal of his majesty's ministers only, the matter they contain being improper to be communicated further." His experience in the whale oil negotiation led Jefferson to favor proposals for constitutional reform in France, so that assent by the States General would be required for the exercise of legislative power. Then it would not be so easy for a subordinate clerk in a ministry to modify legislation surreptitiously. The scope of the constitutional reforms which he expected to be

won at the forthcoming meeting of the States General was another favorite topic in the American minister's correspondence. "Everybody here is trying their hands at forming declarations of rights," he wrote to Madison early in 1789.

Another significant theme was Jefferson's controversy with the Dutch bankers who refused to apply proceeds of the loan which Jefferson had negotiated to any purpose other than payment of interest on the loan itself. He suspected them of failing to push the sale of the bond issue, except enough to pay the interest.

Gouverneur Morris arrived in Paris at this time, bearing letters of introduction from Washington and Madison. He and Jefferson were congenial companions, though antagonistic in their political sentiments and commercial policies. Jefferson likewise continued his efforts to untangle the financial affairs of the Paradise family and to settle litigation involving attachment of American military supplies by a French court. He derived pleasure from reports of the travels of his secretary William Short through southern France and Italy, in company with Shippen and Rutledge.

It was on March 24, 1789, that Jefferson acknowledged his LL.D. from Harvard College, writing in typical vein to its president of the students there: "We have spent the prime of our lives in procuring them the precious blessing of liberty. Let them spend theirs in shewing [sic] that it is the great parent of science and of virtue; and that a nation will be great in both always in proportion as it is free."

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

ENTANGLING ALLIANCE: POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY UNDER GEORGE WASHINGTON. By *Alexander DeConde*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 536. \$7.50.)

THE purpose of this study is to take up where Professor Edward S. Corwin's *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778* left off at the close of the American Revolution in 1783 and especially to explain the "interaction of politics and diplomacy" caused by that international commitment during Washington's administration from 1789 to 1797. The author does not wish to have his work considered another diplomatic history in the traditional sense. Rather, it is a "synthesis of domestic political history and diplomatic history."

Professor DeConde is more concerned with changing moods and opposing convictions than with the intricacies of the legal, economic, and territorial matters which were at issue between the young republic on the North American continent and the old monarchies of Europe. He has gathered a tremendous amount of material for his purpose both from the writings of others who have worked in the field and from the records of the time, which he has searched for obscure

prejudice as well as for eminent judgment, greatly to the interest of his reader.

His method is best described in his own words as the analysis of attitudes and ideas, "conflicting ideas" in the "evolving Franco-American rupture." Through this approach, "foreign policy" appears to be something apart from the course of events; it is a sort of dynamic entity born of established principles and determining the events, rather than an instrument of government fashioned by statesmen who were striving to guard the interests of their country in the particular situations and peculiar circumstances of international conflicts. The author does yield some ground to the latter concept when he speaks of the application of principle "ad hoc"; that is, "if the principle appears the determining factor" in a particular situation. He is devoted to his method of "problem analysis," and he feels that he could not confine his narrative within "straight chronological treatment."

While no one who has attempted to write history will contend that the historian is merely an annalist, it would seem that the author's method led him astray in the handling of a major episode under his scrutiny. The Jay Treaty of 1795 had, in his thinking, to be approached on three different avenues—the British, the French, and the American. He chose accordingly to develop, and virtually to complete, his account of that settlement with Britain in three successive chapters at the beginning of his book, before he undertook to elaborate for his reader those preceding events in Franco-American relations which had much to do with the determination of that vital settlement: the frightening revolution in France and the consequent Franco-British struggle, President Washington's proclamation of 1793 warning his fellow citizens not to take part, Genet's mission to this country, the plans of the French revolutionaries to regain Louisiana, and the involvement of American shipping in the war on the seas.

In the opinion of this reviewer, DeConde removed his analysis of ideas too far from the sequence of determining events in Europe, in the West Indies, and in the Mississippi Valley. His reader should know of them before he is brought to conclusions on the truce of 1795 with Britain. Those prior events had marked influence upon President Washington as he decided to abandon the economic reprisals of Congress against Britain for raiding American commerce and sent Chief Justice Jay, the most experienced of American diplomats, on an extraordinary mission to London for peace with Britain.

Since the author set himself to the task of carrying the story of the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 to its death, this reader for one would have liked him to continue his narration into the time of President Adams. It was then that Congress declared the alliance void and American warships fought French; that General Washington, called back to military service for his country, began preparations to meet a French invasion and General Hamilton had visions of seizing New Orleans before France could recover it from Spain; and that Napoleon not only accomplished the recovery but, in the Convention of 1800, gave

to the old alliance with the United States, together with American claims against France for spoliations, the *coup de grâce*.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR B. DARLING

ALWAYS YOUNG FOR LIBERTY: A BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. By Arthur W. Brown. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 268. \$4.50.)

THIS is the third book about Channing to be published in recent years. The other two were studies of particular aspects of his life and thought, and so this is the first narrative biography to appear in more than half a century. Unfortunately, the first sentence of the first chapter gives the date of Channing's birth incorrectly. Elsewhere on the same page his grandmother and his great-grandmother are confused. While this devastating pace of two mistakes per page is not maintained, there are enough comparable errors scattered throughout the book to undermine confidence in its accuracy on matters of detail. The reader is not encouraged when he suddenly realizes that in a number of places the text is no more than a mosaic of words and phrases from secondary sources. Detailed documentation of this point cannot be given in a brief review; for a typical example one may note the third paragraph on page 5 and compare it with the *Memoir* by W. H. Channing, Volume I, pages 35-36. While it is admittedly impossible to write on Channing's life without relying on the *Memoir*, it is surely not necessary to use this and other secondary materials in such a derivative way. Finally, the treatment of ideas in the book lacks clarity and seems to be based far too much on inadequately assimilated expositions by other scholars. Thus it is a bit difficult to grasp what is meant by this characterization of Ezra Stiles: "However faith was finally won, he became firmly convinced that the reasonableness of religious doctrines was to be deduced from God's revelations rather than inferred from man's reason." All in all, this is a disappointing piece of work.

Harvard Divinity School

CONRAD WRIGHT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume I, THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1858-1886. By Carleton Putnam. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. xiii, 626. \$10.00.)

PUTNAM has an interesting, readable style and makes his people come alive. He has done the hunting and ranching and Alice Lee especially well. He has used the Roosevelt family papers and Theodore's diaries and has employed them intelligently. Scribner's claim that "no one before this has had access to family papers released for Putnam's use" is incorrect, for the present reviewer has used them in two articles and a book, except for the manuscript diary covering the period 1878-1884. Putnam has found rewarding this diary that others have not

seen. He stresses the influence of the elder Roosevelt on his son, Roosevelt's high social position and culture, his sense of *noblesse oblige*, his knowledge of politics, his keen sense of right and wrong and intolerance of wrong, his early comprehension of the tie-up between business and politics, his lack of understanding of labor. Putnam analyzes his attitude toward the state and toward poverty, his belief that success comes from ability and endeavor, his lack of understanding of the lot of the poor, his chauvinism, his faith in America, his respect for law. The main theme, however, is the development of a vigorous, hardy man out of a sickly boy through sheer courage and determination. Except for an index so inadequate as to be useless, the book is a workmanlike job.

Some questions involve matters of interpretation. The picture of Theodore's mother seems unduly unflattering. Thoroughly impractical, as Putnam points out, the lady possessed attractions in addition to her beauty that impressed her generation. Contrariwise, Putnam like Pringle in describing the storybook romance with Alice overlooks the fact that the inadequacies, helplessness, and lack of ideas of the lady he describes might have made a vast difference in her husband's career had she not been replaced by the strong-minded, capable Edith Carow. By the standards of most men, the wealth of the Roosevelts was great. Putnam accepts Roosevelt's own estimate of the modesty of his means and overlooks the importance of the economic security, the opportunities, and the outlook on life that Theodore's wealth gave him. One wonders, too, whether labor could possibly have acted more class consciously than did Roosevelt and his friends. It is strange to write so much of the West without use of Webb's *Great Plains*. And the "escape valve" theory of Turner is used in its worst form, in a way that Turner himself would repudiate, without any indication of the controversy over it.

At points Putnam exercises sound critical judgment in using sources and shows skill in weighing conflicting ones. Yet many times, particularly when it serves his main thesis, he accepts gossip and rumors without question, on the testimony of old men remembering things that happened long before. The memory of Theodore himself, thirty-five years later, without supporting evidence, is scarcely good documentation for the story of his defying medical advice about a dangerously bad heart. Similarly the evidence for parts of the Western life, for details of the engagement to Alice, and for most of the story of his engagement to Edith is of the slimmest. In regard to Edith, much of the story told is sheer speculation.

Many matters that seem important are overlooked: among them, Theodore's own financial naïveté that could lead him to write a sizeable check that "bounced" because his sister was away and he did not know which bank the money was in; the tremendous influence of his older sister Bamie and of his handsome, talented, and beloved younger brother Elliott, who went hunting big game thirty years before Theodore and fought Indians with the United States Army twenty years before Theodore got to fight; the helpfulness of a father who dined with the

Lincolns in the White House, counted the great of the political and business worlds his friends, and could give a son entree to exclusive homes in Boston, New York, Washington, and London. Omitted, too, are some of the important insights of young Theodore and his preoccupation with the sources of power. Then, also, Putnam accepts the too easy traditional explanation of Roosevelt's voluntary retirement from the legislature and ignores the significance of Theodore's despair from 1884 to 1886 about his political future. Missed, too, is Roosevelt's mending of his political fences and reestablishment in politics in 1885-1886, while Putnam is telling of social life and a new romance.

Putnam's emphasis is strange. He devotes twenty-six pages to the formative four years at Harvard, half of these to physical exploits and social life, and forty-nine to Alice Lee; hence he gives an inadequate account of Theodore's intellectual development at Harvard. He treats the legislative experience in 109 pages and the campaign of 1884 in 55 and devotes 184 pages to hunting and ranching. Putnam makes the development of his personal hero more important than that of the public leader. He exaggerates the obvious importance of Theodore's battle with ill health. This in turn leads him to overemphasize Theodore's conversation with his father in 1870 about his health, to interpret his mother's dyspepsia as invalidism, to credit his strenuous exercise after a night of asthma to courage rather than to the doctor's prescription of hard exercise as the cure for asthma. Putnam even explains a typical teen-ager's boredom with a Vienna art gallery as a longing for horseback riding across Syria in open spaces. This struggle for health is made, too, the cause of Roosevelt's dislike of Jefferson. Nowhere does Putnam show how, under this same regimen prescribed by the same father as a cure for equally bad health, brother Elliott developed so different a character. Roosevelt was much more complex a person than the constant repetition of the theme of strenuousness as a remedy for childish frailty makes him. Yet Putnam has written an interesting and important book that any professionally trained historian could be proud of.

University of Wisconsin

HOWARD K. BEALE

THE AF OF L IN THE TIME OF GOMPERS. By Philip Taft. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. xx, 508. \$6.75.)

THE dust jacket claims that "Philip Taft's *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* is a most important contribution to the history of American labor." Certainly Mr. Taft, professor of economics in Brown University, brought to this task an impressive background of study and reflection on American labor problems and was already revered by historians for his coauthorship with Selig Perlman of that standard work, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*.

In the present book, Taft has attempted to describe in twenty-nine chapters the

history of the AF of L under Samuel Gompers from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twenties. Most of his material is drawn from AF of L records and proceedings, the minutes of Executive Council meetings, labor journals, and such manuscript collections as those of Powderly, Mitchell, and Gompers. Taking the 1886 AF of L convention as his point of departure, he tells a story not of uninterrupted progress but one wherein, despite reverses, the AF of L became firmly established as "the indestructible-rallying center for the workers of the United States and Canada."

There is some material here which will not interest the general reader—how the AF of L helped organize and build national unions, how it sometimes intervened in the affairs of its affiliates, how it handled innumerable jurisdictional disputes, and how it evolved its own internal structure. Yet such detailed coverage is meat and drink to the specialist and illustrates the depth of Taft's research and his skill as a technician.

Undoubtedly of much greater interest to the reader, and to the general historian, is his handling of the role of the AF of L in such major strikes as Homestead, Pullman, the coal strike of 1902, and the steel strike of 1919. Taft is near his best in describing the relationship of the AF of L to the National Civic Federation, the AF of L's attitude toward immigration and the Negro, its relationship with the Church, and its stand on government ownership, radicalism, and war.

Taft overturns a few earlier conceptions and throws light on others. He claims, for example, that the heads of the Federation were not, on principle, opposed to industrial unionism or the organizing of the unskilled, that the AF of L was not as lacking in power as the constitution of the organization might seem to imply, and that down to World War I the AF of L remained consistently suspicious of government and was not willing to make it a full partner in remedying social and economic ills. Taft makes one further interesting point when he shows that the origin of the AF of L stemmed as much from a desire to protect trade unionism from the inroads of the Knights of Labor as from a desire to gain specific benefits for trade craftsmen.

At no time does the reader doubt that Taft favors the AF of L. He takes its side on virtually every issue and too glibly passes over or dismisses altogether the organization's faults—its tendency to see problems in the light of its own self-interest rather than that of the working class as a whole, its self-perpetuating and acquisitive nature, its extreme caution and conservatism, and its lack of adaptability to changing conditions. If clearly recognized, however, such partisanship does not spoil the total effort.

Most claims made on dust jackets are misleading. Happily, in this case, no contradictions are necessary.

Pennsylvania State University

ROBERT K. MURRAY

THE GREAT CRISIS IN AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY, 1895-1900.

By Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1957.
Pp. xi, 402. \$6.00.)

This volume, the fruit of a dozen years of interest and research, is the most thorough study of the question of theological Americanism yet to appear. It will not be replaced probably until the documentation from Roman archives becomes available in fifty years or more. Father McAvoy, archivist and head of the history department at the University of Notre Dame, tells this story of domestic warfare in an attempt to explain what Americanism was and how anything with that name could have been condemned by the Holy See.

Particularly in the first two of seven chapters the author covers ground well traversed before in biographies and institutional and topical studies of late nineteenth-century American Catholicism. The picture of the division of the American hierarchy into "progressives" under John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, and "conservatives" under Michael A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, had already become quite marked as the Americanism story proper opens with Ireland's 1892 speaking jaunt through France. Certain Catholic circles there began to embrace with enthusiasm well-publicized opinions of Ireland, Bishop John J. Keane, and Monsignor Denis O'Connell about adapting the Church to the new age. At the same time, in the United States these ideas seemed to smack of dangerous minimism and even Syllabus-condemned "liberalism" to some Catholics, including the majority of the German members of the American Church. The European phase began with the publication of an adaption in French of Walter Elliott's life of Isaac Hecker, convert founder of the Paulists. It carried an enthusiastic introduction by Ireland and a special French preface prepared by Abbé Felix Klein of the Institut Catholique of Paris. Hecker became the prophet for the French progressives, but certainly Father McAvoy has established once and for all that whatever doctrinal errors were advanced under the name of Americanism (as for example, the direct action of the Holy Spirit without need of spiritual direction, the lessened importance of religious vows, the doctrinally softened approach to those outside the Church, the universal desirability of separation of church and state) were all European elaborations. While the question was hardly debated in America, an amazing public war of periodical literature ensued in France and with less force in Italy and Germany. The publication in book form of one series constituted the fountainhead for what continued to be the European version of theological Americanism. This was Charles Maignen's *Études sur L'Americanisme. Le Père Hecker est-il un Saint?* The present study uses the available manuscript sources to trace the evolution of the apostolic letter *Testem benevolentiae* of January 22, 1899, which condemned Americanism without locating it. The author then returns mostly to periodical materials for the story of the aftermath. In a final section, which is probably his best, are found the author's well-balanced conclusions.

The quiet ending is surprising since the study is belligerently mid-western and lyrically pro-Ireland. McAvoy pays his respects to almost all who have published in the field before him with footnote critiques. Strange omissions in the references are the articles of Farrell on Ireland as a diplomat and the Roohan thesis done at Yale on American social Catholicism. A certain cracker-barrel ease of narration and generalization will bother those who have been through the sources: for example, T. V. Powderly's being hounded out of the Church by reactionary churchmen, the American bishops' being strait-jacketed by Roman officials concerning the agenda for the council of 1884, Father McGlynn's being backed by the New York clergy against his archbishop. The really new contribution to the Americanism story—the French chapter—is somewhat heavily and confusedly presented since it is a series of paraphrases of press articles from scrapbooks. One indirect consequence of this dependence is that no American Protestant reaction is used at all. The Americanist sentiments or tendencies, at least in rhetoric, on which the Europeans built their ideological structure might have been made clearer if some examples even of Ireland on "midnight flagellations" had been cited. St. Paul is heard, however, only for the best, New York and Milwaukee (Archbishop Messmer) only for the worst, when at all. This account, though partial, is enlightening; the battle has yet to be seen from both sides.

Cathedral College, New York

HENRY J. BROWNE

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM AND SOCIAL ISSUES, 1919-1939. By *Robert Moats Miller*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 385. \$6.00.)

HERE is a worthy contribution to the rapidly growing historical literature with religion and society in America as its theme. Taking account of the best of this literature, Professor Miller goes behind it for an exhaustive—and, one suspects, exhausting—plunge into the primary sources. (He tells us that he has examined almost twenty thousand issues of church periodicals alone. The present reviewer, who has also labored in this vineyard, can only marvel and sympathetically quote Timothy L. Smith: "The problem is to avoid spending the flower of one's youth in those dark and dusty places where university librarians shelve religious books.") The massive documentation is lucidly set forth and classified in the bibliography, and the very titles invite one to further research.

"The social attitudes of the Protestant churches," Miller writes in his preface, "are an important and integral part of modern American society"—an assumption he does "not pause to defend," citing rather the many prior studies such as those of Abell, May, Hopkins, Liston Pope, and Anson Phelps Stokes. Yet when he comes to discuss just what those social attitudes are, Miller takes on a curiously defensive tone. The text abounds in references to "the old clichés about the reactionary nature of organized religion," to denominational resolutions which

"were not always vague and meaningless," to Protestant attitudes which were "not quite as reprehensible as some commentators . . . later insisted," and the like. I am sure Miller does not wish the implication drawn that such resolutions were *usually* (though not always) vague and meaningless or such attitudes *almost* (though not quite) as reprehensible as they have been represented; but this is the impression he inadvertently gives the reader. This reviewer shares Miller's impatience with religious illiterates who still simple-mindedly equate "religion" and "reaction," but surely the fifty-eight doctoral dissertations in this field which he cites in his bibliography would indicate that the time for this kind of special pleading among secular scholars is long past.

Apart from this occasional tendency, Miller's book is excellent. He has a real knack for the vivid and apposite quotation, comparable to Eric Goldman's; for this reason, the book will undoubtedly be plundered by hard-pressed instructors in lecture courses. His judgments are always well documented, though not always well argued; I question for example whether the fact that millions of Protestants who were never members of the Klan opposed Al Smith *proves* that "the influence of the Klan in shaping Protestant opinion against Smith was negligible." On the other hand, his three chapters titled "The Churches Move to the Left" seem to me sound, balanced, and rational—perhaps a sign that we are at long last shaking off the stigmata of cold war scholarship.

Montana State University

PAUL A. CARTER

THE ORDEAL OF WOODROW WILSON. By *Herbert Hoover*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1958. Pp. xiii, 318. \$6.00.)

THIS is a work of rare importance. It serves the interest of student and scholar and offers the American public an invaluable introduction to the problems and responsibilities of the United States as a world power. President Hoover's qualifications as author are not to be matched. He participated as an active protagonist in the Peace Conference of 1919 and understands, none better, the issues fought out there, upon which the future of the New Europe depended. As a cabinet officer and President of the United States in the postwar years he personally handled at the top level the problems that emerged from the failure to settle those issues. He is an unremitting collector and student of documentary sources, a historian of distinction who knows how to bring the results of his study into a carefully proportioned and coherent narrative. Our expectations of an authoritative contribution to historical scholarship are naturally high, and they are not disappointed.

President Hoover's book, which covers his contacts with Woodrow Wilson from 1915 through the election of 1920, is historical rather than autobiographical in quality. But its value is enhanced by the fact that every page is enlivened by the author's personal convictions. His treatment of Wilson's war administration,

the pre-armistice negotiations, and his program for the Peace Conference is necessarily brief, but it serves admirably as background for the main portion of the book, which deals with Wilson's idealistic crusade at Paris. The final chapters on the failure to win ratification of the treaty from the Senate lead to a well-balanced estimate of Wilson's political tragedy and moral triumph.

The outstanding significance of this volume lies in the chapters dealing with the economic problems of the Peace Conference, the relief and reconstruction of Europe, and the difficulties that arose from the continuation of the blockade. In these matters Hoover was a pivotal figure; he writes with unquestioned personal authority and rich documentation. In brief compass he brings home to the reader the industrial chaos into which the Continent had fallen and the appalling results of the collapse of the administrative fabric of central and eastern Europe. Such conditions must be clearly appreciated if the processes of peacemaking are fairly to be evaluated.

The author's unyielding personal loyalty to Woodrow Wilson is clear cut. So also is his admiration for the latter's idealistic struggle to establish a new and better foundation for international relations. This is a noteworthy aspect of the book, since President Hoover's stalwart Americanism is as well recognized as his sense of practical values. His estimate of Wilson is not blinded by emotion. He notes the naïveté of the latter in his approach to European problems and believes that he was "fooled" in the setting up of mandates. But he insists that the President's failures were of slight importance compared with the "lasting upsurging toward freedom and the world organization for enduring peace which Woodrow Wilson brought to a distraught world."

Chatham, Massachusetts

CHARLES SEYMOUR

THE SUPREME COURT IN MODERN ROLE. By *Carl Brent Swisher*. [James Stokes Lectureship on Politics, New York University.] (New York: New York University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 214. \$4.95.)

IN 1945 Carl Brent Swisher delivered the Walgreen Lectures of the University of Chicago, pointing up the pressing constitutional problems of the day and setting them in brief historical perspective. In delivering the James Stokes Lectures at New York University in 1957, Professor Swisher accepted a similar responsibility. Both the earlier and later assignments attest on one hand to Swisher's consistent role as a strong sympathizer of the Court as its difficult tasks have mounted in crisis times and on the other to the changing nature of the crisis situations which the Court has been forced to adjudicate in more recent years. Whereas the earlier volume, *The Growth of Constitutional Power in the United States*, dealt with subjects such as the shifting boundaries of federalism, permissible areas of commerce regulation and federal taxing power, and the increased authority of federal regulatory agencies, the latter focuses upon judicial restraints on govern-

ment, the constitutional place of the military, problems of subversion, and the race issue. In narrating the factual development in these areas, Swisher is at his best. In his felt role as an apologist for the Court's actions, however, he finds himself in some difficulties.

Taking his general text from Cardozo, that diligence and memory and normal powers of reasoning may suffice where the judicial function is imitative or static but that "the travail comes when the judicial function is dynamic or creative," Swisher argues that recent situations have all required judicial dynamism and creativity. Further, he finds these qualities present in most recent decisions, or if not present, justifiably absent. In acting as an agency to check the excesses of big government, for example, the Court, although hampered by changing public concepts of the legitimate areas of governmental restraint, has performed admirably and has demonstrated that owing to its "greater degree of aloofness, greater opportunity for achieving objectivity," and its "tradition of the unity of the law" it "more than the other branches of the government . . . is in a position to explain and justify, and thereby to promote, the cohesiveness of our people under our constitutional system." In handling the question of subversion, on the other hand, the blame for the uncertainty of the law in recent years is attributed to the absence of any general philosophy regarding internal coercion in the American tradition which might guide the Court, plus changing concepts of what patriotism is. "With such instability in our conceptions of loyalty and subversion it is only natural that courts should be hesitant and should be in conflict in working out the pattern of law." Yet, on the other hand, the Court has accepted, and by implication will accept, such challenging responsibilities as "civilizing the military and bringing it more effectively within the restrictions of the Constitution."

But if Swisher demonstrates sanguineness toward the Court in these areas, despite its somewhat fluctuating positions, when it comes to the segregation issue he alters his theme. The Brown case is in the tradition of Dred Scott, "rigidifying into fundamental law positions on which both public opinion and public law may and perhaps ought to change." The Court here has gone beyond "the strict necessities of the case to a disastrous attempt at settlement of issues more properly left to the working out of the political process, which has greater flexibility." Such a view possibly stems from the fact that the lecture on "Race and the Constitution" was originally delivered before the Southern Political Science Association and left virtually unaltered here. As such its argument that public opinion, as in Dred Scott, "had not yet arrived at the degree of unanimity that permits of settlement in terms of principles of higher law" is understandable. But when attempt is made to synthesize this view with those of the last lecture, that on occasion the Court should be indifferent to public temper and popular wishes and that on others it must respect public opinion but at the same time must shape it and mold it dynamically and creatively, certain inconsistencies would seem to exist.

Putting aside lapses of interpretation, however, Swisher shows his usual

propensity for reciting and arranging well-known facts in an effective and understandable way. If the work in this area occasionally oversimplifies a series of complex topics, in such a highly technical field as recent constitutional development this may well constitute more of a virtue than a shortcoming.

University of Minnesota

PAUL L. MURPHY

ESSAYS IN MEXICAN HISTORY: THE CHARLES WILSON HACKETT MEMORIAL VOLUME. *Thomas E. Cotner, Editor. Carlos E. Castañeda, Co-editor.* (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas. 1958. Pp. xvi, 309. \$4.50.)

FIFTEEN of the thirty-six doctoral candidates who successfully completed their degrees with the late Charles Wilson Hackett have contributed brief scholarly essays in Mexican history to form this volume. Thomas E. Cotner, editor of the memorial, has also contributed a sympathetic biographical sketch. Appendixes include a list of Professor Hackett's published writings and a list of graduate students who worked under him at the University of Texas, where he taught from 1918 until his death in 1951. During that span of thirty-three years Hackett emphasized colonial New Spain and modern Mexico, which form the main themes of this collection.

Two essays deal with the borderlands in the eighteenth century. Eight are listed for a section on "The Struggle for Independence and the First Empire," but by a curious editorial oversight the essay by Jack Dabbs on the Indian policy of Maximilian was included. For the national period, there are three contributions for the nineteenth century and two related to the first half of the present century. With the exception of one of the latter, a survey of the Mexican oil industry, all are relatively narrowly political in subject matter, and the majority are based on printed materials. One would guess that in a fair number of instances the articles are excerpted chapters of unpublished dissertations.

With this as a background, it is scarcely surprising to note that in general the new contributions to knowledge are in the direction of extending and rectifying detail rather than in reinterpretations or the opening up of hitherto neglected major aspects or unsuspected or unusual sources. Exceptions prove the rule. There is an excellent essay by Frank Knapp, Jr. His documented revisionist view, "Mexican Fear of Manifest Destiny in California," is a significant contribution of interest both to United States historians and Mexicanists. The late Charmion Shelby provides a sketchy but useful exploration of a relatively unworn topic, Mexican attitudes toward the Spanish-American War, using hitherto untapped periodical materials. In general, the specialist finds relatively thin pickings in this handsomely made book, and it is too specialized for a general public.

Hispanic Foundation

HOWARD F. CLINE

THE EMERGENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA. By *Charles W. Arnade*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 269. \$6.50.)

THE history of the independence movement in Upper Peru is frequently dealt with in bits and pieces as it relates from time to time to the course of the revolution in the Río de la Plata region, or to Peru, or to the Bolivarian epic. Even the national historians of Bolivia have been handicapped by the scattered and fragmentary sources available and by the many ramifications of the story that lead into other countries. Arnade's volume, the first study of this subject in English, is a welcome addition to the literature. It bears witness to the diligence of the author in archival research in Bolivia and to his thorough acquaintance with the country and makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the independence movement in Spanish South America.

The book gives a brief but vivid account of the 1809 uprising in Upper Peru, then covers the military campaigns of Castelli, Belgrano, and Rondeau, chiefly from the point of view of their effect on political attitudes in the area. An interesting chapter follows on the activities of the patriot guerrilla forces, which continued the war after the failure of the patriot invasions from the south. Arnade here makes good use of a recently discovered diary of a soldier in one of these groups. From this point, the central figure in Arnade's story is Casimiro de Olañeta, a creole lawyer who was involved in a series of intrigues in which one side was played off against the other and in the course of which he always managed to keep a foot in both camps until the outcome became clear. He played a part, for example, in the feud which developed between General Pedro de Olañeta, the royalist commander and uncle of the conspirator, and the more liberal high command of the Spanish forces in Peru. This conflict led to fighting among the royalists and contributed to the subsequent victory of Sucre at Ayacucho in 1824. The volume ends with an account of the political maneuvers which resulted in the declaration of Bolivian independence in 1825 by the constituent assembly convened by Sucre.

Casimiro de Olañeta has been eulogized as the civilian hero of Bolivian independence, but some Bolivian historians, including Gabriel René-Moreno and Humberto Vázquez Machicado, have adopted a more critical attitude. Arnade follows this tendency and succeeds in documenting Olañeta's devious path. He seems to have become convinced early in his career that duplicity and treachery were justifiable means to further his aims of self-advancement. As matters turned out, some of his schemes did contribute to the success of the patriots, and he was an important member of the political group which resisted annexation to the United Provinces, or to Peru, and put through the decision for separate independence. Arnade, though he recognizes these facts, believes that Olañeta's motives, and those of the group of politicians associated with him whom he refers to as "dos caras," were unworthy. They were a dishonest group which usurped the ideas of the patriots and turned them to its own advantage. Arnade brings much evi-

dence to bear in support of this conclusion, but he may be applying too rigid a moral standard to a revolutionary age in which varying degrees of expedient behavior were widely manifest.

Arnade's search for unpublished materials in Bolivia has been unusually thorough, covering not only the national library and archive but the records of the university, various societies, local repositories, and private collections. He has made no attempt to push his inquiry into other countries where it is likely that additional material exists beyond the printed sources which the author has thoroughly combed. This is to be explained by the fact that Arnade's interest throughout his book is focused on events in Bolivia and on the activities of Bolivians. The interplay of Argentine, Peruvian, and Colombian policies as they impinged on Upper Peru are largely excluded from his work.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

MEXICAN POLITICS DURING THE JUÁREZ REGIME, 1855-1872. By *Walter V. Scholes*. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXX.] (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies. 1957. Pp. 190. \$4.00.)

THE title given this monograph by Professor Scholes precisely defines its content. To stress his major concern with the factionalisms that passed for politics in mid-century Mexico, he forewarns the reader by a special note: "This is not the story of Maximilian but rather a consideration of the Mexican national political scene from 1855 through 1872 and of the influence of the Reform Program." The period is a complicated one. New groups of Mexican nationalists were attempting to break the cycles of poverty, political instability, civil strife, and other endemic ills inherited from the wars for independence. In so doing they divided among themselves as to goals and means, but they also evoked strong domestic counterresponses and international action, culminating in intervention and the ephemeral empire under Maximilian.

The author treats these various developments in chronological order, moving through the two decades almost year by year. The treatment is primarily narrative, with a minimum of analysis. Without major effort to sort out the strands (or their development) which made up the program of the Reforma, Scholes summarizes it as "the attempt to introduce democratic capitalism. . . . In short, this was to be the Mexican middle class revolution." Scholes selects equality before the law, republican institutions, and laissez faire as the three key concepts around which most of the domestic political activity of the period clustered.

The great bulk of sources employed are orthodox published materials. Congressional debates, memoirs, and a fair array of Mexico City newspapers are among the primary sources, with later monographic and secondary items selectively represented. There is scattered use of unpublished source materials, most of them original and transcript documents in the University of Texas collections,

United States consular despatches, and the Archivo Juárez in the National Library of Mexico. Considerable use of unpublished dissertations has been made. No new or major documentary finds are noted. There remain unexploited numerous such collections. The harvest of new data seems rather thin. The main results of this monograph have been to shade and provide minor correctives rather than to change very markedly the general picture. Comparison, for instance, with H. H. Bancroft's treatment of the same period (*History of Mexico*, V, 646-812; VI, 333-89), shows that Bancroft used a considerably wider base of similar contemporary published data and came to about the same conclusions reached in the present monograph.

These conclusions are curiously inconclusive. Scholes states that his study indicated that certain aspects of the Reforma were successful, but that other and equally fundamental political theses failed to take root: equality before the law, capitalism, free elections, eradication of personalism in politics. The major question as to why some seemingly unrelated elements of the overelaborate program could be established and others could not still remains unanswered.

Though by no means definitive, Scholes's volume joins a growing body of current professional literature on this fascinating epoch in Mexican development, the period which essentially marks the beginnings of modern Mexico. It overlaps and in part complements Frank Knapp's 1951 biography of Lerdo de Tejada and the first volume of the massive six (*Historia Moderna de México*) which Daniel Cosío Villegas and his group are publishing in Mexico. Despite several limitations, the Scholes treatment should prove useful, perhaps more to the nonspecialist in Mexican affairs than to the professional Mexicanist.

Hispanic Foundation

HOWARD F. CLINE

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

Books

General History

EUROPE: THE EMERGENCE OF AN IDEA. By *Denys Hay*. [Edinburgh University Publications, History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 7.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 1957. Pp. xi, 132. 12s.6d.) This scholarly little book is at once a study in historical semantics and an essay in the history of ideas. Specifically, it deals with the emergence of "the idea of Europe" in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In order to illuminate the historical antecedents of the term "Europe," however, Professor Hay goes back, indeed he spends almost half of the book describing early usages by the writers and mapmakers of classical antiquity and the early Middle Ages. How widely was the term used and how was it understood? Do the documents reveal a consciousness of "Europe" as something more than a mere geographical expression, as a cultural entity, different from "Asia" and "Africa"? These are the questions to which the author addresses himself, and they are important questions—important not only for revealing the mental climate of past ages but also because of their obvious relevance to contemporary history and politics. Hay's findings, based on a study of maps and descriptive geographical works as well as chronicles and literature, are, briefly, as follows: prior to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Europeans had little or no conception of a "Europe" distinct from "Christendom," or of a "Christendom" distinct from the rest of the world (for "Christendom" was a global concept). There was the tradition, derived from Genesis and elaborated on by St. Augustine and others, of a tripartite division of the world among the sons of Noah, with Europe assigned to Japheth, but this had largely evaporated. In proportion as Christianity declined in the Near East and as Europe itself was increasingly bound together by trade and religious ties, "Christendom" came to be more and more identified with "Europe" alone. This process continued during the Renaissance when, owing to overseas expansion, Europeans became aware as never before of the differences between themselves and the peoples of other continents. Finally, in consequence of the Reformation and the growing power of the secular princes, "Christendom" became an archaic word and "Europe emerged as the unchallenged symbol of the largest human loyalty." The story Hay tells is not exactly new, but for the period with which he deals he has documented it more fully than any other writer. One of the excellencies of the book is that the subject is not treated *in vacuo* but is related throughout to the major political and cultural events.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION By *John U. Nef*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University, Belfast, 1956.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 163. \$4.00.) In this small, charming, and erudite book John Nef interprets the interplay of forces in the evolution of modern European culture. "Industrial" is used in the title not to emphasize economic history but to characterize present Western civilization as a whole. These chapters present

the main outlines or hypotheses of an approach that Professor Nef plans to elaborate subsequently in greater detail. The major thesis of the Nef interpretation is the temporal primacy of ideas in the process of historical change. According to his view the development of mass production industry in England followed, rather than caused, the rise of an interest in physical science and quantification. On the Continent, a growing interest in material things came from admiration of the beautiful creations of handi-craft artists and more secure and humane ways of life. Elaboration of this latter hypothesis forms the main body of the book and its chief claim to novelty. The roots of a society suited to the institutions of industrial civilization are discovered in ideas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that led to profound changes in human personality. Catholics of the Counter-Reformation such as François de Sales preached a new understanding of charity and a religious humanism that could make peace with the world. "The discovery of woman" and the "invention" of spiritual love introduced elements of gentleness and affection into daily life. These higher ethical standards were merged in succeeding generations with a conscious search for beauty. The quest for beauty extended beyond fine arts to patterns of living, culminating in the brilliant salons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In sum: "It is neither in the rise of modern science nor in the rise of modern economics that the *cultural* foundations of 'civilization' can mainly be found. Their principle sources were the partially successful efforts to practise a Christian life in the temporal world and to bring about an alliance between the quest for beauty and the quest for virtue in a society dedicated to delight." Inevitably Nef's skeletal synthesis raises a host of questions. How accurately can one interrelate movements continuing over three or four centuries in a score of countries? What empirical evidence is there of the social force of the ideas advanced by historically important thinkers? Does praise of spiritual love in the literature of a certain generation, for example, deny or affirm its existence in nonverbalized form at an earlier time? How much are movements in the subculture of the aristocratic elite reflected in other parts of the culture? Was beauty "an important incentive for the later expansion of production"? Satisfactory answers to these and other such questions would have been impossible in six lectures, and surely a learned scholar has the right to present a provocative argument based on his own conclusions. Other European historians should be inspired to work with some of these hypotheses.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

DICTIONNAIRE DES BIOGRAPHIES. Volume I, A à J; Volume II, K à Z. Edited under the direction of *Pierre Grimal*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. xii, 804, iii; 806-1563, iii. 3,600 fr.; 3,600 fr.) The biographical sketches in these two fat volumes describe the "personality of men who have contributed to the formation of occidental thought and civilization" or in any manner affected their development. Occidental thought for the editor begins with the Greeks, and he gives Frenchmen and individuals who have had close relationships with them most attention. The sketches give the usual and essential vital statistics and comment briefly on the life and work of the subjects. They run upward from about one hundred words and some exceed three hundred. They are succinctly done, and often a bibliographical reference is added. The occasional black and white illustrations are well chosen. Professor Grimal of the Sorbonne has compiled a useful reference work.

B. C. S.

BARBARY LEGEND: WAR, TRADE AND PIRACY IN NORTH AFRICA, 1415-1830. By *Sir Godfrey Fisher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 349.

\$8.00.) The title of this work is both revealing and misleading. The author, a retired consul himself, apparently set out to write a conventional account of English relations with the regencies of Turkish Barbary during the three centuries preceding the French occupation of Algiers, as reflected in the contemporary writings of English consuls. He found so many discrepancies between these writings and current ideas of what the Barbary states were like in those days that his interest broadened and shifted. Instead of a history, which he does not pretend his work to be, he has written a commentary on the distortions of early Algerian and Tunisian history in modern English and other works, brought about by undue reliance on biased and bigoted French and Spanish sources. Far from supporting a "Barbary Legend" of piracy, widespread Christian slavery, and general barbarity, the author's research indicates that the Turkish regencies were probably more sinned against than sinful on these scores. His view is that Europeans, by their intolerance, selfish rivalry, piracy, and faithlessness, were responsible for most of the trouble in the western Mediterranean after the fifteenth century. While very English in his point of view, Sir Godfrey does not try to condone the excesses of his own countrymen. Indeed, it struck this reviewer that in his effort to be fair the author may have gone too far in applying whitewash to the "Barbaresques." It appears that their civilization did tend to decline after the early seventeenth century, whereas the European, at least in some respects, improved. The scope of the volume is really much narrower than its subtitle suggests. It deals principally with Algiers, to a much smaller extent with Tunis, and with Morocco and Tripoli scarcely at all. English consular relations and related matters of "war, trade and piracy" are covered in detail only for the seventeenth century, there being but a brief epilogue about what happened after the Treaties of Utrecht. The introductory chapters ostensibly describe the rise of Algiers and Tunis in the sixteenth century but in fact are primarily a commentary on inconsistencies in French and Spanish writings on the subject. The most interesting and the most nearly historical of these is a chapter on life in the city of Algiers during the age of Elizabeth I. Actually the value of the volume as a whole derives not from its historical content but from its challenge to historians. With the focus of world attention again on North Africa, it behooves the Western world to be rid of the "Barbary pirate" tradition and to be informed of what North Africa and its people were really like before French chauvinism began to engulf them in 1830. As a first literary venture, *Barbary Legend* is not a very well organized book nor is it an easy one to read. Both footnotes and bibliography attest the painstaking research that went into it, but they also illustrate the difficulty of getting at the truth of non-European history through exclusively European sources. Wisely, Sir Godfrey has confined his aim to an indication of the "difficulties, inconsistencies, and contradictions likely to be encountered" by the student of Barbary and Mediterranean history.

Department of the Army

STETSON CONN

THE MEDICAL WORLD OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *Lester S. King*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xix, 346. \$5.75.) Dr. Ilza Veith, in the foreword to Dr. King's study, states aptly: "This is not a medical history of the century; it is, instead, a series of loosely related essays dealing with phases of the medical scene that are generally neglected in the formal histories." These phases include guild divisions among British practitioners and their medical ethics, British medical practice, especially in relation to the predominating "fevers," developments in nosology and pathology, and papers on two outstanding figures of the century—Boerhaave and Hahnemann. The volume does not provide a history in the conventional sense; continuity in developments is implied but does not emerge clearly. No attempt is made to

Other Recent Publications

cover all aspects of the story, although those selected are among the most significant. Though much has been written on the subjects presented, the secondary works are rarely cited. One gets the impression that the author has based his work primarily on a fresh examination of the sources. Such procedure has limitations from a historian's viewpoint but also has obvious merits. By concentrating on limited themes, by providing ample quotations, and by a combination of sympathy and technical understanding, King makes the thought and practice of the eighteenth century unusually clear and meaningful. Anyone who wishes insights into the history of that confusing but pregnant period in modern medicine will find this work illuminating.

Johns Hopkins University

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL: MINUTES OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF 1872, WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS. Edited and translated by *Hans Gerth*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Pp. xx, 315. \$6.00.) The volume under review contains three accounts by participants of the Fifth General Congress of the International Workingmen's Association at The Hague, September, 1872. Two are minutes, one by R. A. Sorge, a delegate to the Congress from New York, the other of unknown authorship but possibly also written by Sorge. Both accounts are reproduced in the original German by photographic process, and both are carefully translated by Professor Gerth. The originals were found as manuscripts in the library of Hermann Schlüter, which was purchased and presented to the University of Wisconsin by William E. Walling. The third report, that by Maltman Barry, was published in 1872 as a series of articles in the *Standard*, a British journal, and again in 1873 as a pamphlet. It is reprinted here because of its scarcity. The report by Barry is by far the most interesting and enlightening, but the student of the labor movement will find in each account some information that the others do not possess. The story has to do almost entirely with in-group fighting, especially with that between the Marxians and the Anarchists. The Congress is most famous for the expulsion of the latter and the transfer of the seat of the International to New York. The volume will be useful only to the specialist.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

QUELLEN UND STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES BERLINER KONGRESSES 1878. I. Band, ÖSTERREICH, DIE TÜRKEI UND DAS BALKANPROBLEM IM JAHR DES BERLINER KONGRESSES. By *Alexander Novotny*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Band 44.] (Vienna: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1957. Pp. 376. DM 28.) In recent years a half-dozen historians have worked over important aspects of the crisis of 1875-1878, using various Western archives. Significant new materials, one might expect, would probably come from the Turkish or Russian sides. It may therefore seem surprising that a new study should again approach this classic crisis of the old diplomacy from the Austrian archives. The author, while giving credit to earlier writers, particularly to Medlicott, explains his purpose as a desire to lay bare the roots of a situation so complex that further meticulous spadework must be undertaken. Novotny seems to have in mind particularly conditions and events within the Balkan peninsula and the problems faced by the Ottoman government, though his central points of reference are the Berlin Congress and the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He does not explain why he chose to investigate exactly one calendar year. Most of the volume consists of three methodical lists of documents in the Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna: Berlin Congress documents, communications from Andrássy in the Foreign

Ministry to Ambassador Zichy in Constantinople, and Zichy's despatches to Andrassy. Each series is chronological, with a brief description and précis of each item and indication of the nature of all enclosures. Some two thousand documents are thus represented. When an occasional piece could not be located in the archives, this is noted. No one will read this volume straight through, though it is not so dry as it sounds. Along with Andrassy's reports from Berlin to Francis Joseph and other familiar matters of high politics are items indicating the complexities of the year—petitions from Albanians, Armenians, Jews, residents of Batum; reports on refugees, uprisings, St. Clair's "Polish legion," sessions of the Ottoman parliament, and so on ad infinitum. Any scholar who wants to use the Austrian archives for Balkan, Ottoman, or diplomatic history in 1878 will certainly find this a valuable guide. The whole is prefaced by a sixty-page essay depicting Turkey, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Balkan peoples, Austrian policy, the events of 1875-1878, the aims of the powers, the origins of the Congress, and its procedure and decisions. A fairly good bibliography and careful indexes are included.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

FOUR-POWER CONTROL IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA, 1945-1946. By *Michael Balfour* and *John Mair*. [Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xii, 390. \$7.70.) It would be unfortunate if a casual glance led one to judge this excellent volume by the historical blooper introducing Mr. Balfour's preface, which describes the Nazis as emerging as the strongest German party from the election of 1930. Its authors completely, and in some ways brilliantly, succeed in achieving what they set out to do. If anyone feels that the assignment was somewhat rigidly conceived, Balfour disarmingly indicates the restrictions that space and the choice of period and emphasis entailed. For a volume dealing only with the first stages of the occupation, there is much to say for December 31, 1946, as a terminal date. This was a period of painful awakenings. Illusions were being shed—about former enemies, about our ally by grace of Hitler in the east, and occasionally even about ourselves. Gradually the issues evaded before and at Potsdam had to be faced. When the financial arrangements for Bizonia went into effect on January 1, 1947, it marked a phase in the occupation when such realities as effective German partition were increasingly recognized. Inevitably the author of the German section encountered problems more bitterly controversial than those covered by his colleague responsible for the Austrian section. In threading his way over the debris of years of argumentation, Balfour deals fairly with positions with which he does not agree. Some quarters may murmur about a British viewpoint in the manifest leaning toward Churchillian concepts when they clashed with those of Roosevelt. Yet there will be no lack of Americans to perceive here less of a national bias than a hardening verdict of history. Altogether this is an extremely fair, concise, and interesting story of the early occupation. Written without access to official papers, it evidences intimate knowledge of published materials and a thorough sophistication, gained in personal experience in the field, with respect to occupation problems in Germany and Austria. The book is written with considerable stylistic vigor, notably in the case of Balfour, who need not have apologized at having had to put the text together "in odd moments."

University of Minnesota

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

NATIONALISM IN COLONIAL AFRICA. By *Thomas Hodgkin*. (New York: New York University Press, 1957. Pp. 216. \$3.75.) The term "nationalist" as defined

by Hodgkin applies to any group that explicitly asserts the aspirations of a given African society in opposition to European authority. Institutional forms may vary from a tribal association, separatist church, or labor union to "Pan-Africa," but Hodgkin regards them all as linked by a single theme, nationalist awakening. Excluding North Africa and South Africa and concentrating on selected aspects of African nationalism in areas under British, French, and Belgian influence, the author modestly claims that his book is merely a prolegomenon presenting the results of other men's work supplemented by a limited amount of personal inquiry of his own. In fact, while the book is based largely on materials available in widely-scattered French, Belgian, Italian, German, and English publications, Hodgkin adds a great deal to the other men's work through his clear and enlightening organization, interpretation, and suggestions. For a historian interested in a long-range view, whose expectations may have been raised by the frontispiece map of "pre-European historic kingdoms" and by the jacket statement that in explaining existing relationships, Hodgkin "takes up historical ones—not only of the colonial past, but also of the pre-colonial past," the book may be disappointing. Actually, the study is almost entirely limited to the period since World War II, and while there are frequent comparisons with earlier European experiences, the author himself says that "the important prehistory and early history of African national movements are referred to only in passing." References to early African kingdoms appear in a chapter headed "Theories and Myths." The author treats his subject objectively, factually, and unemotionally. Within the limits that he clearly indicates, dealing with selected contemporary expressions of African "nationalism" as he defines the term, the book is excellent.

University of Kansas

CHARLES B. REALEY

Ancient and Medieval History

DER STAAT DER GRIECHEN. Teil II, DER HELLENISTISCHE STAAT. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. (2d ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1957. Pp. vi, 102. DM 7.90.) With this excellent volume on the Hellenistic state, Professor Ehrenberg concludes his study of the Greek state. He begins by pointing out that the first half of the three centuries between Alexander and Augustus was the truly creative Hellenistic period, especially in the political sphere. Then inner decline and external forces undermined the state and finally destroyed it. Its form lived on, however, under Rome and Byzantium. In his picture of the Hellenistic world, Ehrenberg suggests the areas of various states and even population figures. He also has much to say about monarchy—an accepted institution, which was the creation, he argues, not of Greek theoreticians and publicists, but of Alexander and the next two generations—about the varied methods of administration, and about the role of the city. He then turns to the interaction of Greek and Oriental in the realms of religion and law, to military and economic affairs; perhaps Hellenistic economy is too big a subject for a brief treatment. The final pages, "Zur Forschung," summarize well the ancient and modern literature. In my notice of the first volume, *Der hellenische Staat* (*AHR*, LXIII [April, 1958], 714), I remarked that its projected translation into English would be particularly welcomed by the American undergraduate. Until a few years ago, to be sure, the crying need was for a short and authoritative handbook on the Hellenistic, and not the Hellenic, state. But this is no longer so, with the publication in 1952 of Tarn and Griffith's *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3d ed.); indeed, the far wider scope of their book makes it much more useful to the American student.

than Ehrenberg's Volume II can be. Still, his narrower political emphasis has its obvious advantage, and he is to be warmly congratulated on a learned and stimulating work.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

OPUSCULA. Volume II; Volume III, Part 1, TESTO; Part 2, TAVOLE. By *Plinio Fraccaro*. Edited by *A. Bernardi, G. Forni, et al.* (Pavia: Presso La Rivista "Athenaeum," 1957. Pp. 380; 302; 50 plates.) With these volumes the collection of Fraccaro's papers (see *AHR*, LXIII [October, 1957], 168) is now complete. Volume II, entitled *Scritti sull'età della rivoluzione romana, scritti di diritto pubblico, militaria*, contains the author's more specialized historical papers, including the significant constitutional studies "Tribules ed aerarii," in which Fraccaro disproved Mommsen's interpretation of the censorship of Appius Claudius, the two discussions of the centuriate assembly in relation to the Roman army, and the illuminating investigation of the voting procedure in the tribal assembly. For this reviewer, the third volume, entitled *Scritti di topografia e di epigrafia*, is even more welcome because the material, gathered largely from inaccessible Italian publications, was unfamiliar. These papers show Fraccaro not in his library but in the field, mainly in his native North Italy, which he has been exploring for years, sometimes alone, sometimes on expeditions with his students. His greatest interest is in Roman roads and survivals of Roman surveys (centuriation) for the various settlements of the region. These papers are on the whole of more recent date than the historical papers and have undergone more revision, with comments on the air photographs taken during the war supplementing the evidence in Fraccaro's great collection of old and new maps. It is delightful to journey with Fraccaro along the Venetian section of the Via Postumia, built in 148 B.C. between Genoa and Aquileia. There is a vigorous protest against the neglect of Roman roads on the part of the Italian Department of Antiquities. Among the six papers on centuriation, the one on the colony Dertona, published here for the first time, is an important contribution to the study of colonization at the end of the second century B.C. These papers are clearly the work of a geographer who is a great historian. One could wish that the editors had found space to reproduce, among the maps in the volume of plates, Fraccaro's wall maps of Italy before the Social War and in the empire (Istituto Geografico De Agostini, Novara, 1935). They are the best maps of ancient Italy in existence, but though widely used in Italy, they are little known elsewhere.

Bryn Mawr College

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

TACITUS: THE MAN AND HIS WORK. By *Clarence W. Mendell*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. vii, 397. \$6.00.) The year 1958 has been distinguished by the appearance of two significant studies of Tacitus, that of Professor Syme, published by Oxford, and this. While there is not space here to compare them, each makes its own valuable contribution. That of Syme, much the longer, works out from Tacitus into many aspects of the history of the early empire. Professor Mendell sticks closely to "Tacitus, the Man and His Work." Indeed, he devotes his second part, about two fifths of the whole, to the tradition of the text in the manuscripts and printed editions. Suffice it to indicate that this part offers two significant revisions of prevalent views. First, Mendell argues that Renaissance Italy had not one but three manuscripts for some or all of the minor works. The presence of a manuscript of the *Agricola* seems attested at Monte Cassino in the twelfth century; this, not the *Hersfeldensis*, is probably that of which part is incorporated in the surviving *Aesinas*. Moreover, besides the *Hersfeldensis* (or a copy thereof) which Decembrio saw in Rome in 1455, Enoch of Ascoli seems to have brought to Italy a copy of the *Germania*, *Dialogus*, and Suetonius'

de Vir. Ill., which he may have made in Germany from the *Hersfeldensis*. Thus the existing manuscripts, apart from the *Aesinas* and its copy the *Toletanus*, descend not solely from Decembrio's manuscript but also in large part from Enoch's. Secondly, Mendell holds that for *Annals XI-XVI* and the surviving *Histories*, *Leidensis B.P.L.16.B* and some related manuscripts preserve a text independent of and sometimes superior to that generally accepted as unique from the second Medicean (*Laur. 68.2*). It should be noted in passing that Mendell agrees with the prevalent modern view that the *Dialogus* is by Tacitus. But he would date it early, around the accession of Domitian, rather than contemporary with the other minor works, so different in style and tone. Mendell's more general first part provides an excellent introduction to the life of Tacitus, to his historiographical, philosophical, and literary background and views, and to his techniques of historical composition. He defends Tacitus as a military historian and generally commends him for use of sources and credibility. This conservative and sympathetic interpretation reflects a lifetime of study of Tacitus and of the intellectual and stylistic aspects of the early empire. Mendell is neither so wordy nor so perverse as Professor Ettore Paratore in his *Tacito* (1951), a work which seems not to figure in the selective bibliography. He bases his conclusions on style and method on all of Tacitus' work and therefore gives a fuller picture than did Bessie Walker in her attractive and lengthier study of only *The Annals of Tacitus* (1952). In short, Mendell presents both an admirable general introduction to Tacitus and in addition a thorough and provocative analysis of the manuscripts and their relationships.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

LUKIANS SCHRIFT ZUR GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG. By *Gert Aenarius*. (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain KG. 1956. Pp. 183. DM 14.50.) The general student of historiography will draw profit from the opening and concluding sections of this study, which show the main pattern of ancient reflection on the writing of history. To some extent this pattern was manifested in the comments of historians themselves, such as Thucydides and Polybius; much more, however, it derived from a variety of rhetorical schools. The bulk of the present work considers in detail the specific points in Lucian's program, "How to Write History," with the objective of showing his sources. Hunting parallels is always a fascinating game in the history of ideas, and Aenarius has searched diligently. Anyone who has his Greek and Latin in hand will find this a useful collection of passages from ancient literature. Such an approach, however, is all too likely to prove that there is nothing new under the sun. In the present study Lucian becomes a mere manipulator of inherited ideas rather than, as he actually was, a fiery defender of the duty of the historian to find the truth and to express that truth despite outside political and social pressures. The historian must always have trouble in fulfilling this duty and may be comforted to realize that men in other times faced the same problem. Lucian's essay, written against the background of political autocracy and aristocratic social domination, still repays modern reading.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

PRINCEPS IVDEX: EINE UNTERSUCHUNG ZUR ENTWICKLUNG UND ZU DEN GRUNDLAGEN DER KAISERLICHEN GERICHTSBARKEIT. By *John Maurice Kelly*. [Forschungen zum römischen Recht, 9. Abhandlung.] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1957. Pp. 107. DM 6.45.) This Heidelberg dissertation written by a junior member of the faculty of law of University College, Dublin, concerns itself with a much debated problem: the origin and growth of the judicial powers of the Roman emperors. After a short introduction, the author traces separately the rise of the

imperial criminal and civil jurisdiction up to the end of the Flavians. A short résumé of the writer's thesis, a select bibliography, and a list of passages cited complete the work. For both civil and criminal jurisdiction, Dr. Kelly examines the activities of the successive emperors, in relation to established legal institutions and in *cognitiones extra ordinem*, often presenting new and challenging interpretations of the sources that lead him to conclusions at variance with prevailing modern concepts. Denying the emperors any imperium within the city of Rome, Kelly can find no basis for their jurisdiction in any of their magisterial powers. In criminal law he holds that it arose from political factors, especially in cases of *lese majesty*, through the exercise of an unprecedented *coercitio*, ultimately derived from the emperor's *auctoritas*. In civil law, however, it grew out of appeals to this *auctoritas* to supplement or correct deficiencies in the regular system. In both areas, the imperial jurisdiction, originally narrowly restricted, expanded through the zeal of individual rulers and the ever growing centralization of the government. Clearly and cogently argued, Kelly's thesis demands serious consideration.

University of Michigan

A. E. R. BOAK

STUDIEN ZUR LATEINISCHEN WELTCHRONISTIK BIS IN DAS ZEITALTER OTTOS VON FREISING. By *Anna-Dorothee v. den Brincken*. (Düsseldorf: Michael Triltsch Verlag, 1957. Pp. 248. DM 12.80.) This is a useful compilation, but it contains little that is new. The author begins with Julius Africanus and Eusebius and then passes to the adaptation of Eusebius by Jerome. The term chronicle is broadly interpreted so as to include Orosius and Gregory of Tours, but one could well have been spared a three-page discussion of the worthless *De actibus mundi et hominis* going under the name of Fulgentius. The author then goes on to the various continuations of Jerome down to the eighth century. Bede's work is rightly treated with some fullness, and she emphasizes that for several centuries his chronological reconstructions almost superseded those of Jerome. Only in the twelfth century did Jerome regain his old popularity. It is a merit of the book that in the later parts, where the complete chronicles are not available in print, the author has had recourse to the manuscripts. She has done this for the *Chronicles of St. Vaast*, Heimo of Bamberg, Hugh of St. Victor, and Honorius of "Autun." The *ordinatione feriarum* is not by Bede but was used by him (cf. C. W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudopigrapha*, 44). It might have been well to point out that both in his *Martyrology* and in his *Breviarium chronicorum*, where he deals with events of his own time, Ado of Vienne was guilty of deliberate falsifications. There is a very full bibliography, but for some authors the edition in Migne's *Patrology* is indicated when there are better and more up-to-date texts. The printing of the book is abominable.

Cornell University

M. L. W. LAISTNER

LA NAISSANCE DE L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE AU DÉCLIN DU MOYEN ÂGE. Volume I, BILAN DU XII^e SIÈCLE. By *Georges de Lagarde*. (3d ed.; Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts, 1956. Pp. xi, 217. 180 fr. B.) Twenty-two years after the publication of the first volume of *La naissance de l'esprit laïque* comes the third edition. Is the new edition worth while? In some ways it is not. Apart from a little reorganization of the subject matter, there is no new interpretation, no change of the old; the author has not taken advantage of a great deal of scholarship that has been published since 1934. One finds no reference to the studies of Kantorowicz, Schramm, Wieruszowski, Mochi Honory, Powicke, Strayer, Keeney, and Riesenberg on subjects relating to kingship, public law, and the state. One finds no correction of old generalizations. For example, there is little recognition of the *communitas* or *universitas regni* of England, or of the

feeling of a national unity that was superior to *un nombre infini d'authorités collectives*, such as magnates, cities and boroughs, churches, and the community of the *bachellerie*. In all western Europe, the *Ständestaaten* and corporations and estates of nobles, clergy, and townsmen were too powerful for the modern kind of state to exist, although signs of the development of certain kingdoms into states were beginning to appear. There is the customary emphasis on the revival of Aristotle's *Politics* as the source of the idea of the naturalness of the state. Yet the new edition is worth while and not merely because of the more handsome format. It is valuable because the book is on the whole an excellent survey of the many signs of the encroachment, from the thirteenth century on, of secular interests, of the state itself, on religion and the church. After giving a general history of the relations of church and state according to the Augustinian theory of the duty of the state to help the church and submit to its authority in the ultimate, spiritual matters, M. de Lagarde shows how the rise of monarchic states and the revival of the Roman law led to an emphasis on the value of the secular life in the state for its own sake. In this volume the story leads up to the assertion of the secular spirit by Nogaret and Philip IV against Boniface VIII. It is a good introduction, this account of the rising spirit of secularism, to the later volumes on Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham. Except for the failure to keep up with recent scholarship, the author has a fine knowledge of the literature in general and gives a good idea of the development of "modern" ideas of the superiority of the state and secular interests over the church—and this in the "Age of Faith."

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND 1216-1399. Volume III, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION 1216-1399. By B. Wilkinson. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. viii, 421.) This is the third of three volumes: the first (1948) was *Politics and the Constitution, 1216-1307*, the second (1952), *Politics and the Constitution, 1307-1399*. The author's basic interest is well stated in the preface: "The constitutional history of medieval England has, indeed, never been more significant as a subject of study, or more interesting. It is in a fascinating period of transition, when the certainties and systems of Stubbs and Maitland are dissolving but when nothing equally authoritative and comprehensive has been produced to take their place. . . . Nothing so ambitious has been attempted in these volumes as to rival the spaciousness and authority of Maitland and Stubbs; but an attempt has been made to suggest that vigorous diversity of opinion and search for new understanding out of which the synthesis of tomorrow will arise." As readers familiar with Volumes I and II will recall, there is a special emphasis: "The greatest theme of history still is, and perhaps always will be, the unending story of men's efforts to reconcile order and liberty, the two essential ingredients of a truly great civilization." Like the others, this is a source book, with selections in excellent English translation, which may challenge the student to make up his mind for himself. "The translations are there to help him, though nobody, perhaps least of all the present writer, thinks that they should be used as a substitute for the original documents." There are eight chapters: Kingship; The King's Administration; The King's Justice; King and Community: Local Affairs, Military Service and "Bastard Feudalism"; King and Community: Representation and Consent and the Beginning of Parliament; Parliament to the Death of Edward I; Parliament in the Fourteenth Century; Church and State. Each chapter is prefaced with a list of "Some Recent Works"—treatises and essays in reviews, followed by an "Introduction to the Documents," which also plays up the topics the sources are to illustrate. To this reviewer, a valuable service of the book is its attractive method of

acquainting the student with the many sources of English constitutional history. Wilkinson's introduction (seventy-one pages) affords a good background, as it covers in the same sequence the themes of the eight chapters and presents some correctives to misconceptions. The reader is introduced to the monarch, the expansion of government from a feudal to a national state, officials and departments, and, of course, parliament. There is emphasis on early "modern" tendencies: to mention only a few, nationalism, secularism and anticlericalism, the growing importance of public opinion, "a modern commercial economy," and evidence that "rustication began to turn the knightly class into country gentlemen."

University of Minnesota

FARTH THOMPSON

THE BLACK PRINCE'S EXPEDITION OF 1351-1357. By *H. J. Hewitt*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1958. Pp. ix, 226. \$6.50.) This careful study of the two extensive raids by the Black Prince into Guienne that culminated in the battle of Poitiers is noteworthy for the freshness of its approach, its ability to see the raids in the full context of contemporary politics, military science, and economic conditions, and the thoroughness of its use of relevant sources, printed and unprinted, English, French, and Gascon. These raids were models of their kind by fourteenth-century standards, although the details here presented of their preparation, organization, direction, and lack of known objective will amaze the modern reader. There is new material on the supply of troops on the march, on the crossing of rivers, on military passes, and on the respective roles of a number of well-known individuals, including would-be papal mediators. The battle of Poitiers is not dealt with in detail, but there are interesting and informing remarks both explaining its results and comparing the English and French resources and exploits. The celebrations at Bordeaux following the battle are vividly described; the problems involved in the disposal of the prisoners are more fully set forth, thereby both clarifying and illustrating basic economic factors of fourteenth-century feudalism. The dispersion of the expeditionary force is not presented as adequately as its assembly, since it left little trace in extant records. The text is exceptionally readable for a study of this kind. There are three helpful maps and a useful bibliography. Three appendixes, one giving a considerable but still partial list of the men serving on the expedition, attest the author's meticulous scholarship and may perhaps be of some use to specialists in this field.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

BAYBARS I OF EGYPT. By *Syedah Fatima Sadeque*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 379. \$8.10.) The core of this volume is the work not of the nominal "author" but of al-Qādī Muḥī-ad-Dīn Ibn-'Abd-az-Zāhir (1223-1292). Dr. Sadeque has edited the Arabic text of the extant portion of the qādī's biography of the Mamluk sultan Baybars I (ruled 1260-1277), entitled *Ar-raud az-zāhir fi sirat al-malik az-Zāhir*; she has translated it into adequate but awkward English, has furnished an excellent survey of the Arabic sources for Baybars' life, and has written a competent biography of the sultan. The whole "comprises the thesis on which a Ph.D. Degree was awarded to the author [sic] by the London University in 1949 and . . . is now being published exactly in that form except that the title of the thesis 'Some Unpublished Arabic Texts Relating to the Reign of Baybars I of Egypt' has been shortened . . ." (and thereby deprived of its original accuracy). Two additional volumes are promised, to comprise the Arabic text, English translation, and editorial supplementation of another contemporary life of Baybars I, the work of Ibn-Shaddād (1216-1285), likewise entitled *Sirat al-malik az-Zāhir*. The extant portion of Ibn-'Abd-az-Zāhir covers only

the first five years of Baybars' reign; that of Ibn-Shaddād, the last five; the gap for the intervening seven must be filled by culling quotations from these contemporaries embedded in later works. The composite whole, although excessively adulatory, forms a splendid counterweight, as Dr. Sadeque emphasizes, to the antagonistic accounts of chroniclers employed by Baybars' jealous successor, an-Nāṣir, and of the rabidly partisan al-Maqrīzī, heretofore the principal source utilized by modern historians, Arab as well as Western. In contrast to the uneven but undeniable value of its contents, this volume, printed in Pakistan, is unattractively bound, poorly printed, and incompetently proofread and indexed. It is also burdened with defective citations, an inept map full of misspellings, and a preface full of historical errors, the most grotesque of which attributes the religious wars of western Europe to sectarian armies and states modeled on Mamluk Egypt. It is to be hoped that in succeeding volumes Dr. Sadeque will restrict her historical speculations to her own field and will be better served by her editors, typesetters, and proofreaders, for it is unfortunate that a welcome scholarly work should be diminished by so many needless flaws.

Princeton, New Jersey

HARRY W. HAZARD

PISA IN THE EARLY RENAISSANCE: A STUDY OF URBAN GROWTH. By David Herlihy. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 68.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 229. \$4.50.) The word "exciting" is rarely used by a reviewer to describe a scholarly inquiry. Professor Herlihy's effort, however, fully justifies itself on this score since it is replete with hypotheses, suggestions, and conjectures that act to stimulate the mind of the reader and to encourage him to make comparisons and generalizations of his own. The intent of the author is to make vulnerable statements, that is, to advance hypotheses that are capable of proof or disproof. Coming, as this book does, between Volpe's brilliant, but difficult to follow, researches into Pisan history and Emilio Cristiani's soon-to-be-published work, it fills an important gap in our knowledge concerning the socio-economic factors that animated the urban development of that most important of all Tuscan maritime cities during the last half of the Ducento. Herlihy's treatment of the various facets of Pisan economic life is forged with great insight from the sparse materials that survive in the notarial archives. Rarely has scattered documentation cast so much light upon obscure but important questions. A particular case in point is the discussion of the cattle industry—a vital but neglected problem in Italian economic history. In this serious work where a plethora of theoretical explanations are advanced in such an aesthetic and symmetrical form, there are a few points that this reviewer must question. Is the author justified in establishing such a close connection between the stability of urban rents and the incidence of direct taxation? Saporì has demonstrated that rents were constant in Florence, despite the absence of an *estimo*. The author's use of the fraction one-third to designate the number of adult males who figured in public life is at the base of certain of his demographical calculations. This is an extremely hazardous procedure since, under political pressures, this base may expand or contract. The treatment of currency depreciation is oversimplified in that it does not give sufficient stress to the possible influences of communal fiscal policy, the vested interests of international traders and their gold receipts, or the relationship between real and nominal wages. The author's rejection of Ottokar's judicious consideration of the grain question places upon him a burden of proof that cannot be satisfied by citing studies by Peyer or Fiumi. Finally, it may well be true that the swamps of Pisa imposed Malthusian limits upon the city's growth and that neighboring Florence had outdistanced her rival by the early Trecento, but the citizens of the City

of the Baptist were hardly aware of this fact when their armies were repeatedly defeated by the faltering Pisans.

Western Reserve University

MARVIN B. BECKER

THE COMMENTARIES OF PIUS II, BOOKS X-XIII. Translation by *Florence Alden Gragg*. Introduction and historical notes by *Leona C. Gabel*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XLIII.] (Northampton, Mass.: Department of History of Smith College. 1957. Pp. xxxviii, 621-883. \$3.00.) This fifth installment, including Books X to XIII, completes the publication of *The Commentaries of Pius II* in the Smith College Studies in History, which was begun with Book I in 1937. The earlier installments were reviewed in this journal as they appeared and are now familiar to all students of the period. There seems little left to say, except to note that the translator and editor have maintained the high standard that has characterized their work throughout and to congratulate them on the completion of an arduous but extremely worthwhile task. The *Commentaries* form a unique and invaluable fund of source material for the political, ecclesiastical, and cultural history, not only of Quattrocento Italy, but also, if in lesser degree, of the whole of Western Christendom. They also present a candid and engaging self-portrait of one of the most representative, because most many-sided, figures of that transitional age. One may doubt whether such a thing as a typical man of the Italian Renaissance ever existed, but one may feel reasonably sure that Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini could not have been the man he was in any other place or time. To the end he maintained a lively, if somewhat superficial, interest in everything that went on around him or in the world at large. It is to be noted with regret that the publication of the Latin text of the original manuscript, optimistically promised in earlier installments, has proved impractical. The translation, however, has undoubtedly greater utility, if we adopt the formula of the greatest good for the greatest number. I would like to express the hope that the five installments, now that they are completed with index and bibliography and with Miss Gable's lengthy introduction—a brilliantly incisive essay on the man and his work—might be gathered together and published as an independent volume, thereby making the *Commentaries* more easily available to students.

University of Western Ontario

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE ADDLED PARLIAMENT OF 1614. By *Thomas L. Moir*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 212. \$4.80.) That the parliament of 1614 was addled, not in the sense of muddled or rotten but in that of unproductive or barren, has been known for centuries. Now in this scholarly work by Professor Moir we are shown why and how it was addled. In two months or forty-four working days, excluding a ten-day Easter recess, both Lords and Commons indulged in a great deal of heated, undirected, and often irresponsible talk. After examining the background of his subject the author carefully analyzes the elections for this parliament and is unable to find a single case in which there was an obvious contest between the court and popular factions. Furthermore, he shows that "the election was not a defeat for the Crown." In fact, the Addled Parliament in its composition followed the Elizabethan pattern and displayed no con-

trast to earlier or later parliaments. Here Moir is upsetting tradition, which was never too firmly rooted in the sources. In his excellent description of the debates in this parliament, taken from all the best available sources, the author deals with the right of Francis Bacon as attorney-general to sit in the House, the bill to naturalize the Count Palatine, the expulsion of Sir Thomas Perry for his electioneering practices, and above all with the four crucial topics of undertakers, supply, impositions, and the insults cast upon the Commons by Bishop Neile in the House of Lords. To complete the account of the debates in this parliament Moir might have said more about monopolies, and he should have said something about the discussion over the elections of sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, the attack on the new company of Merchant Adventurers, and the debates on the troubles of the Virginia Company. In a book dealing with a single parliament no problem or inquiry of any importance should be omitted. The use of modern terminology in describing the politics of 1614 is most unfortunate but possibly necessary. Moir apologizes for employing such terms as "leaders of the opposition," "the opposition," "parties" etc. Even so his continual use of these appellations confuses the reader, especially when the author rightly points out that an outstanding characteristic of this parliament—its greatest weakness—was the absence of any kind of leadership. Then there is the word "undertakers," which King James thrust upon the Commons in his speech from the throne; to have clarified the different usages of this term would have been a boon to scholars. But these criticisms must not detract from a most valuable and well-produced study of the Addled Parliament.

New York University

HAROLD HULME

PURITANS, LAWYERS, AND POLITICS IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By John Dykstra Eusden. [Yale Studies in Religious Education, Volume 23.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 238. \$4.50.) The theme of Mr. Eusden's book is set forth with admirable clarity. Did Puritanism and common law have an influence upon each other in early seventeenth-century England? The relationship was one not of direct influence but of ideological parallelism. In order to demonstrate such affinity, Eusden first discusses Puritanism, then the common lawyers, and subsequently the "Puritan common law" opposition to the Stuarts. Finally, he deals with the thought of Puritans and lawyers on political authority, parliament, and sovereignty. The ideological parallelism is seen primarily in the Puritan concept of the Divine sovereignty of God and in the legal concept of fundamental law. "The Puritans held that divine sovereignty manifested its authority through particular laws. This also the lawyers believed about fundamental law." In contrast to natural law ideas, there was nothing inflexible about these higher laws, and this enabled the issues of the day to be argued within the traditional framework of English law. Puritans and lawyers also shared the belief in the separate and limited functions of all governmental authority. Eusden traces this idea forward, showing that such concept of "societal pluralism" acted as a check on the supreme parliament of postrevolutionary times. The author analyzes the ideas of Puritans and lawyers with clarity and precision. In retelling much that is familiar, the book forms a useful introduction to the period as a whole, but its strength also raises problems of complexity, despite Eusden's cautious tone. His discussion of Puritanism directs us to the Calvinistic core of the movement and redresses recent excessive emphases on other continental sources. Yet the emphasis on Divine sovereignty tends to slight other elements in Puritanism. Natural law is believed to play little part in the Puritan thought of this particular period, for it was taking on a secular rather than Christian and Stoic form. The very deemphasis on theology which Eusden notes, and with it the deemphasis on revelation, made many Puritans receptive

to both Christian Stoicism and Platonism. God's mysteries could be elucidated through logic, and here again a certain rationalism modified Divine sovereignty. In spite of Calvin's condemnation of the Stoic idea of destiny, the line between that concept and Christian providence became ever more narrowly drawn. There is at least one parallelism between the Puritan common lawyers and James I which could have been pointed out. James considered himself an "unlimited monarch" but also one responsible to God. That responsibility meant recognizing local custom, and he never claimed to make laws without the "advice" of parliament. Eusden draws the line too clearly. Not only James but parliament also had a concept of emergency powers. The "modern medievalism" of the common lawyers must not be made to exclude new revolutionary and absolutist assertions made by parliament itself. Perhaps it is not the idea of sovereignty but the idea of reason of state which is important here. In spite of these caveats, Eusden has presented in excellent fashion the main thesis of the book. The first-rate forty-page bibliography shows complete familiarity with the secondary and primary sources.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

ESSAYS ON THE LATER STUARTS. By *Godfrey Davies*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1958. Pp. viii, 133. \$4.00.). The death last year of Godfrey Davies, so long a member of the staff of the Huntington Library, was a blow to his many students and friends. This slim volume contains three of his most recent studies: "Charles II in 1660," published in 1956 in the *Bulletin*; "Tory Churchmen and James II" and "The Control of Foreign Policy by William III," now appearing for the first time. To these have been added three delightful reproductions of mezzotints of the monarchs discussed in the text and a most useful bibliography of Davies' works compiled by Dr. Paul Hardacre. Davies shared almost none of that nostalgic sympathy for the Stuarts which some historians have displayed. He was a dispassionate student of what actually happened, and coolly assessed the veracity of tributes to Charles II by contemporaries in the light of the record. Praise and blame are both dispensed without prejudice. A rarely quoted confession by one of the Scottish commissioners, Alexander Jaffray, reveals the pressure brought upon the young Charles to sign a covenant he so obviously did not like. The king's interest in ships and science is attested, and his talent as a letter writer remarked. Charles' conversation was brilliant though repetitious at times, but his public speaking was poor. Charming manners brought him a real popularity, but reports of clemency and generosity cannot be taken too seriously in the light of the evidence. A Catholic at heart perhaps as early as 1660, Charles' religion made singularly little difference to his morals. As a king he was lazy, with no philosophy about his role except regarding his own amusement. James II relied too much on the loyalty in all circumstances of the Anglican churchmen. These professed a belief in divine right and in the evil of resistance, but they balked at attacks on Protestant privilege and on rules established by law. Conversations with Oxonians, with the bishops in 1688, and with courtiers as the crowd cheered acquittal reveal James' naïve surprise at the churchmen's resentment and defense of their establishment. As always, Davies' most casual asides reveal complete command of printed material, but in neither this nor the essay on Charles does he do more than underline theories already generally held about the brothers. On the other hand, in a penetrating summary of William the Third's control of foreign policy, Davies illuminates more vividly than heretofore William's impatience at the restraints of constitutional monarchy and the length to which he went in ignoring parliament's desire to understand the policies for which it was paying. News of the Grand Alliance was withheld in 1692. As William traveled and negotiated abroad he took with him only men like Blathwayt, who could be relied on to do as he was

bidden, or Shrewsbury, who knew little of European affairs. In the last critical months of the reign William did take parliament into his confidence, but by then Louis' action with respect to the death of the Spanish king and of James II had roused English public opinion in favor of vigorous action abroad. Davies was determined to know what happened. He was seldom the partisan or the interpreter. He had an encyclopedic knowledge of the literature of his chosen field. The Huntington Library and its many readers gained enormously from his aid and counsel and will long remember gratefully his ever ready kindness to all students.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

EDMUND BURKE AND THE NATURAL LAW. By *Peter J. Stanlis*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 311. \$5.75.) It is increasingly fashionable to emphasize the orthodoxy of Burke's thought. His conservatism consisted not only in defending old institutions but also in taking up old principles as weapons against the new. Peter J. Stanlis systematically argues such a case. He has marshaled abundant evidence of explicit and implicit appeals by Burke to God-given Natural Law, a traditional concept passed down to him from Aristotelians, Stoics, Scholastics, and Anglican divines. With Natural Law as central principle, Stanlis has delicately constructed from Burke's scattered pronouncements a coherent philosophical system that is "essentially Thomist." Burke's rhetorical wrath, it appears, was aimed at enemies of Natural Law, especially at the victims of a Natural Law "parody" (based on man instead of God) that began in nominalism and passed from Hobbes and Locke into Enlightenment rationalism. Stanlis also shows how nineteenth-century Utilitarians misread Burke's attacks on the parody as attacks upon true Natural Law; they adopted him at the cost of contradicting his own words, and Stanlis has caught them in their biases. Having presented, "at last," Burke's "true position" and having rescued him from misinterpreters, Stanlis compellingly urges Natural Law philosophy—in Burke's complex version—upon a world bewildered and bedeviled by totalitarianism and attendant philosophies. This ultimate purpose of the book accounts for the polemical tone that may distract or annoy some readers. But concentration upon the argument itself will reveal a convincing analysis; Natural Law is indeed a "most fruitful frame for an understanding of Burke's political philosophy." Moreover, the difficulty of the intricate argument is considerably eased by smooth and sometimes beautiful prose. Historians will surely frown upon some simplifications of the events and issues that were the subjects of Burke's philosophizing, and they may well wonder at some extravagant estimates of his influence upon the course of events. But the soundness of the interpretation in this book does not depend upon Burke's own political success or failure. As Stanlis demonstrates, his conception of statesmanship as "moral prudence" meant that constitutions, international law, and all enduring institutions in churches and states, as well as "prescriptive" decisions and actions by politicians, were simply an array of precious instruments with which men must try to approximate their lives and organizations to the absolutes of Natural Law. Burke took his standards from Natural Law, but his conception of the profound complexity of life and human nature prevented him from expecting perfect harmony with it. His speeches and pamphlets asked repeatedly for recognition of the standards, but they never offered infallible methods to realize them on this earth.

Emory University

WALTER D. LOVE

PORTRAIT OF A GOLDEN AGE: INTIMATE PAPERS OF THE SECOND VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, COURTIER UNDER GEORGE III. Compiled and edited by *Brian Connell*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1957. Pp. 488. \$6.50.)

The second viscount Palmerston, father of the famous Victorian prime minister, left posterity approximately fourteen hundred letters and one hundred travel journals and diaries. Mr. Brian Connell has now edited the most interesting parts, under a somewhat extravagant title. The letters and journals, which run from 1760 to 1802, do tell us much of aristocratic life of late eighteenth-century England, but they lack the art and brilliance of a portrait. The second viscount was a chronicler, not a portraitist, and Connell has chosen to be an editor, not a biographer. The diary is nevertheless of interest. It reveals the intimate activities and observations of a very typical Whig nobleman. The second viscount came from an old family, the Temples, enjoyed £12,000 a year from landed estates, and spent a busy life in travel, politics, and society. He was a man of intelligence, cultivation, and sociability. He composed indifferent verse, collected Roman marbles, joined the right clubs, and sat in parliament from a Cornish pocket borough. He served both Rockingham and North as a loyal Whig placeman but found Pitt's views of the French Revolution more satisfactory than Fox's. He considered French revolutionists "wild barbarians" and discontented Irish as "desperate men." He opposed the abolition of the slave trade and ejected unenterprising tenants from his Irish estates. Yet in his private relations he was tolerant, generous, and kind, a man of honor, taste, and reason. These virtues, the conventional virtues of the eighteenth-century governing class, he taught to his young son, the future prime minister. The second viscount was indeed in every way conventional. It is for this reason that his diary, so tantalizingly full of important events and personages, is disappointing. Like Pepys he sat at the Admiralty, like Boswell he met Voltaire, and like Horace Walpole he knew Charles James Fox. But instead of Pepys's sprightly observations, Boswell's spirited interview, and Walpole's polished portrait, nothing is said of the Admiralty or Fox's character and the comments on Voltaire are most conventional. The letters and journals of the second viscount should prove of some value to historians of that period and to those who, like Connell, consider that period "the summit of civilized existence," but the book will not constitute a portrait of the age.

Hanover, New Hampshire

DAVID ROBERTS

JOWETT: A PORTRAIT WITH BACKGROUND. By *Geoffrey Faber*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. 456. \$6.00.) English classical education, in and after Benjamin Jowett's time, was an extraordinary cultural accomplishment. Intended for a limited social class and rigorously applied to it as a test of inherent aptitude, it fitted the civil servants, administrators, and intellectual rulers of the British Empire with nothing more precise than an awakened intelligence and a keen sense for traditional values. Such an equipment, if challenged, might have broken down badly; certainly it would have betrayed very glaring deficiencies. Its great strength was precisely that it was never challenged. Jowett's ambitions for his young Balliol classicists merely put into practice his sanguine conviction that an "innate sense of effortless superiority" (that irritating quality for which Balliol men were long derided) could be bred into the bone and marrow of England's dominant class. In Sir Geoffrey Faber's extremely accurate, detailed, and obstinately sympathetic re-creation of a not very lovable character (who somewhere in his make-up must have been compensating for some deeply resented inferiority), the cultural historian will be interested not so much in the biographical detail of an individual as in the extensive insights into those late Victorian modes and mentalities so succinctly epitomized by Jowett. The fact that Jowett was already a legend during his lifetime and left so persistent a tradition after him should be an indication of deep-seated cultural prejudices in that powerful stratum of the English castes, which nothing short of two catastrophic wars could overturn.

Jowett, and all that Jowett stood for, are gone from England forever. That is why he—and it—belong to history.

Downington, Pennsylvania

RHYS CARPENTER

THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM WHITE AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1886-1891. By *Colin L. Smith*. [Oxford Historical Series, British Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 183. \$4.00.) This is a careful, scholarly, and lucid study of Sir William White's mission, which coincided with important developments in the Near East that the British government viewed as requiring "a readjustment" of its diplomacy. Until about 1888 its policy there rested on "the traditional Palmerstonian and Disraelian formula for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire" through the defense of the Straits against Russia. This became untenable as the Egyptian question, the protection of India, and the rivalry of German economic interests in Turkey assumed greater urgency for Great Britain. The problem of an alternative conduct of the affairs generated differences in ideas between Lord Salisbury and White; only the latter's death prevented an open rift and his recall. White, one of the ablest and most colorful British ambassadors at the Porte, "created a precedent in Europe" by rising from the consular to the diplomatic service and earned "the distinction of being the first Roman Catholic since the Reformation to reach full ambassadorial rank in the service of Great Britain." His prodigious knowledge of Eastern European languages and Near Eastern affairs, his talent for "making the connexion," and his own charming personality had contributed to this unusual achievement. These qualities proved invaluable in his activities during the Pendjeh crisis, at the Ambassadors' Conference on the "big Bulgaria" question, and in other international negotiations, which Dr. Colin L. Smith examines in great detail. And yet, as the author shows, White failed in his mission. Concentration on Balkan politics and obsession with the Russian danger to the Straits had given him "a parochial outlook upon the Near Eastern question" and made him indifferent to the new problems confronting Great Britain. He believed that British influence at Constantinople could be saved only by some form of partnership with Germany and her Triple Alliance colleagues. Salisbury, however, considering the whole range of British foreign affairs, had by 1891 viewed the situation differently. He saw that the Balkans had become an Austro-Russian rather than an Anglo-Russian issue and that Great Britain's main interest centered on Egypt and the Suez Canal. He questioned the possibility or desirability of collaborating with the Triple Alliance or of committing Great Britain against the Franco-Russian entente. He doubted and disputed White's judgment; the ambassador's usefulness had ended. This first comprehensive analysis of Great Britain's diplomacy in the Near East between 1886 and 1891, based on the private papers of Lord Salisbury and on those of White in addition to exhaustive researches in unpublished archival source materials, makes a serious contribution to diplomatic history.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR LEON HORNICKER

CABINET GOVERNMENT AND WAR, 1890-1940. By *John Ehrman*. [The Lees Knowles Lectures, 1957.] (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. x, 137. \$3.00.) This rather short but significant book contributes a great deal to our understanding of one of the most discreet but important political institutions of our times—the British cabinet. It is discreet through the lack of records bearing directly upon its development—and the difficulty of coming by the more recent ones that do exist—as well as the conventions that seal the lips of former members on all but a few occasions. Its importance, of course, is all too manifest as the effective agency of decision and

policy in the British government. The author has set for himself the task of examining how this body adjusted itself to cope with the many and complex problems of war. The story is left dangling on the edge of the Second World War since much of an authoritative nature can still be expected to be revealed about the period 1940-1945. It is not an easy account to follow. Administrative history tends, on occasion, to become shadowy, and there are many reports and committees to contend with. The basic problem of adapting the cabinet for war was how to create a method of effective control whereby the service departments and the departments of government could be coordinated and dovetailed in activity to produce the concerted and concentrated effort needed for the sustained and unified purpose of war. The essential feature of the account is how this was accomplished without at the same time destroying the cabinet as a familiar and enduring landmark of government. Mr. Ehrman has been deftly successful in this delicate purpose.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

BRITISH HUSTINGS, 1924-1950. By *A. H. Booth*. (London: Frederick Muller Ltd. 1956. Pp. 292. 21s.) Thirty years a reporter for the Press Association (United Kingdom), A. H. Booth has studied most of the leading British politicians from the Westminster press gallery and toured with them during the six election campaigns fought between 1924 and 1950. Concentrating alternately on the actual campaigns and then on the interim periods when promises were tested and fresh issues joined, he offers an unbiased history of controversial issues and personages. Since it is his conviction that political personality, especially of the party leaders, greatly exceeds dogma in deciding elections, he enlarges on the qualities, attractive or unattractive from the electoral viewpoint, of this leadership. Besides much direct observation, sources of his narrative include the memoirs of the principal protagonists. In recounting many good stories of their careers, Booth uses a fine ironic sense to underline conscious (or unconscious) evasions and distortions. He also contrasts the undoubted intellectual and moral qualities of the majority with their performances on the hustings so tellingly that it is difficult not to agree with his view that "some of the politicians, whether Left or Right, suffer on occasions from a state of mind which fully deserves the description of intellectual corruption." In a period covering the eclipse of the Liberals, the arrival of Labour, and ending with an electorate almost evenly divided between non-Socialists and anti-Conservatives, Booth finds Earl Baldwin ("Honest Stan") to have been champion electioneer, Ramsay MacDonald ("The Lossie Loon") the most astonishing, Sir Winston the least predictable, and Earl Attlee ("Little Clem") the most acidulous. Some of his estimates are doubtless conditioned by hindsight, but he has written, within its self-imposed limitations, a thoughtful and most readable chronicle of a crucial period of British political history.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE CURRY

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *J. R. M. Butler*. THE WAR AT SEA, 1939-1945, Volume II, THE PERIOD OF BALANCE. By *Captain S. W. Roskill, R.N.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xvi, 523. \$7.82 postpaid.) *The Period of Balance* covers seventeen months of the war at sea beginning with January, 1942, and it is a worthy successor to the opening naval volume of this series. This is the story of Great Britain's part in the tense and eventful first year and a half after the entry of the United States into World War II. It covers the purely British activities in detail, but with brilliant clarity that will hold nonparticipating Americans.

Joint Allied efforts are treated with a candor and directness that command respect no matter how one may differ from the author's conclusions. Adequate coverage is given to the United States' actions in which Britain did not participate, and the reader is referred to appropriate sources for further detail. It is especially important that American readers see the British view, as given in this work, of wartime squabbles between the two leading allies of World War II. Extensive German records have been carefully combed and evaluated to provide detailed factual contributions to this writing. Japanese records—not so readily available—have understandably not played so large a part. The entire arrangement of the book bespeaks the same careful planning and presentation that established the first of this series. The quality of the charts is outstanding, and each one tips out for full viewing while the pages of accompanying texts are being read. Illustrations are of the first order. The appendixes and index are clear and comprehensive. The addition of a "Chronological Summary of Principal Events," which introduces each six-month period, is a helpful aid in keeping straight the often complex activities and actions covered.

Washington, D. C.

ROGER PINEAU

WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE SECOND FRONT, 1940-1943. By *Trumbull Higgins*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 281. \$6.00.) Proponents of the "direct approach" strategy in Europe in World War II gain a hard-hitting champion in Professor Higgins. He holds that Prime Minister Churchill, as a result of tradition, personality, and World War I experiences, prolonged the war by his opposition to American cross-Channel proposals in 1942 and by his subsequent involvement of Allied forces in Mediterranean "adventures." The book bristles with criticisms of the British leader as a strategist in both world wars. Even Churchill the biographer is cited in opposition to the indirection which the prime minister espoused. The following characterization by Churchill on opinions of strategy in Marlborough's day sums up Higgins' basic objection to British Mediterranean policy in 1942-1943: "Not merely the Tory Party, but on the whole the bulk of British opinion, preferred . . . an expedition to Spain to the grim ding-dong in Flanders. To Parliament Spain seemed the easy and clever road. It was, in fact, just an additional detour on a journey already too long." In attacking Churchill as "the architect of stalemate," Higgins attributes to the prime minister a predominance in British planning and a rigidity of mind that are open to question. Sir Arthur Bryant's *The Turn of the Tide*, which appeared after Higgins' book was virtually completed, holds that Field Marshal Alan Brooke not only was the main architect of British strategy but had great difficulties in holding Churchill to agreed upon plans. The intention, announced in Higgins' preface, of relating the differences between British and United States strategy to "the perennial conflict between an opportunist exercise of free-will and long-range determinist planning" is not effectively realized. Professor John Ehrman in his *Grand Strategy* seems more convincing with his suggestion that differences in manpower, geographical position, and military experience are responsible for the divergent viewpoints. Despite these strictures, one must say that the volume is a spirited and heavily documented defense of United States strategy in western Europe. It is a useful corrective to the thesis that the direct attack on northwest Europe was more costly and more helpful to the Russians than the Mediterranean approach would have been.

Washington, D. C.

FORREST C. POGUE

KEY TO VICTORY: THE TRIUMPH OF BRITISH SEA POWER IN WORLD WAR II. By *Lieutenant-Commander P. K. Kemp*. With a foreword by *Admiral of the*

Fleet Viscount Cunningham of Hyndhope. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. Pp. 382. \$6.00.) This is a comprehensive yet rapidly moving study of sea power and its influence on the formulation of grand strategy and the course of the land campaigns in World War II. Its author possesses unique qualifications: the disciplined judgment of the professional naval officer and the abilities and resources of an Admiralty archivist. Writing more than a decade after the war, Kemp had a rich store of source material. This included Admiralty documents, captured enemy records, and other references, which he lists to aid future historians in their examination of the mass of evidence. Skillfully presenting the modern combination of naval and air power for protecting the flow of shipping in the face of attack as a fundamental in the strategy of war, the author emphasizes important lessons of history gleaned from a vast experience in the second great war, without going into the details of campaigns or actions. For such particulars, including adequate maps and operational tracks, other sources must be consulted. Kemp's volume is logically organized. Its introductory chapter summarizes certain lessons of World War I and the steps by which the nations of Europe drifted into World War II, though it does not delve deeply into the basic causes of involvement. Intermediate chapters deal with key operations and show the interplay of sea, land, and air forces in their decisive roles. The last chapter covers the final victory in the Pacific. Writing in the simple and direct manner of a professional officer, Kemp captures the spirit of the war years and holds reader interest throughout. The author is remarkably objective in treating his many-sided and highly complicated subject and develops it with the perspective that comes only from extensive knowledge and understanding. He extends due credit for successes and criticism for failures, regardless of the nations or personalities involved. His writing is featured by quotable expressions that epitomize the lessons of war. As a whole, Kemp's volume is an important contribution. It deserves wide circulation not only among professional officers, statesmen, and teachers but also among all who wish to study the history of World War II and to understand the modern concept of sea power and its significance for the future.

Washington, D. C.

MILES P. DUVAL, JR.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW COMMONWEALTH. By Sir Ivor Jennings. [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 7.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Commonwealth-Studies Center, 1958. Pp. xi, 114. \$1.50.) The problems discussed in the three lectures published in this little volume are "Political Considerations," "Economic Considerations," and "Nationalism and Racialism." They concern principally Ceylon, India, Malaya, and Pakistan. Since the author participated in the drafting of constitutions for all except India and served as vice chancellor of the University of Ceylon from 1942 to 1945, he has firsthand knowledge of many of his topics. The lectures—clear, erudite, and sprinkled with illuminating observations, reflections, and reminiscences—present a great deal of information within a small compass. Sir Ivor Jennings stresses the emotional aspects in the national awakenings that he recounts. He notes without rancor the unfairness of much of the criticism that nationalist agitators levied against Britain and expresses the opinion that with the passage of time the new African and Asian nations will appreciate the benefits derived from British rule. Although temperate in his criticisms, he believes that in the case of India the transfer of power came too soon and states that if Burma had been allowed a cooling-off period, she might have remained within the Commonwealth, thus escaping some of the tribulations that have beset her as a sovereign state. Sir Ivor's account of the Kashmir problem is quite objective. His prediction for Singapore and Malaya is that union will not come in the near future. An excellent portrayer of the contemporary

scene, the author is less sure when he generalizes on Britain's past imperial policies. A careful examination of Colonial Office records will refute the assertion that colonial problems have been decided without "reference to formulated principles." Both the model codes of 120 years ago and actions taken by Joseph Chamberlain at the turn of the present century contradict the claim that "each country has developed in its own way." But this is a minor defect, and every student of the Commonwealth will welcome this volume.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY. By *Marjorie Wilkins Campbell*. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1957. Pp. xiv, 295. \$6.00.) Two companies have been of outstanding importance in the history of the fur trade of Canada: the Hudson's Bay Company, which was chartered in 1670 and is still a going concern, and the North West Company, which was organized in 1779 and was absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. The Hudson's Bay Company was organized as a corporation and confined its activities largely to Prince Rupert's land, which included the region drained by the waters flowing into Hudson Bay. The North West Company, on the other hand, was a partnership rather than a corporation and had its headquarters in Montreal, with subsidiary headquarters at Grand Portage and subsequently at Fort William, in the upper country. Whereas the story of the Hudson's Bay Company has often been told, that of the North West Company has not until recently received much attention, owing to the fact that documentary materials have been scattered, lost altogether, or else preserved in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and therefore not accessible until fairly recently. This volume by Mrs. Campbell represents the first attempt at a full-length account of the North West Company since the publication of the monograph by Gordon C. Davidson in 1918, the long chapter by Harold A. Innis in *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1930), and the historical introduction by W. Stewart Wallace that appeared in his *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (1934). The book deals largely with the various people who became partners of the North West Company under the agreements that formed the basis of the company at different times. Such episodes as Alexander Mackenzie's voyages to the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans, the explorations by David Thompson, and the bitter strife between the Northwesters and the Hudson's Bay Company over the Red River settlement are described in detail on the basis of both published and unpublished journals and other materials that the author has brought to light. Incidentally, she has included descriptive accounts of the life and manners of the fur traders, which will constitute for many readers the most interesting parts of the book. While the volume contains no footnote references to the sources used, there is an interesting and valuable section entitled "Notes on Authorities," which will serve as a guide to those who may wish to read further in the field.

Dartmouth College

WAYNE E. STEVENS

THUNDER IN THE NORTH: CONFLICT OVER THE RIEL risINGS, 1870-1885. By *R. E. Lamb*. (New York: Pageant Press, 1957. Pp. 354. \$5.00.) Americans are frequently admonished that Canada managed its frontier and Indian problems more satisfactorily than did the United States. After reading this book one may be permitted to be doubtful. Surely speculators and politicians in Ontario and Quebec were not any wiser or more ethical at the time of the two Riel rebellions than was their kind farther to the south at a comparable period in American development. Indeed, Father Lamb demonstrates by the almost too meticulous use of contemporary newspapers that both the Red River affair of 1870 and the Saskatchewan rising of 1885 were caused largely

by land hunger, venality of land speculators farther east, oppression of Indians and half-breeds, and political jockeying for power in Ontario and Quebec. "As a rule, those that opposed Riel in 1869-70 had to favor him in 1885 and vice versa," concludes the author. Louis Riel is considered as a person and as a leader of métis, French Canadians, and Indians and is judged to be insane by 1885, but the main emphasis is on the testing of the Confederation by the two uprisings on the frontier and on the political and social rivalry between predominantly French-Catholic Quebec and English-Protestant Ontario. The author, by and large, is dispassionate in the examination of his excellent source material and in the conclusions he reaches. There is an excellent bibliography but no index.

Hamline University

GRACE LEE NUTE

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD IRWIN, 1926-1931. By *S. Gopal*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 152. \$3.40.) Lord Irwin, better known to Americans as Lord Halifax, British wartime ambassador to the United States, was viceroy of India from 1926 to 1931. It was during this period that there took place some of the most significant developments in the progress of Indian nationalism, leading to the attainment of independence in 1947. When Lord Irwin reached India, Gandhi was the acknowledged leader of the Congress party, but he had suspended vigorous political activity, and nationalism was in a state of relative abeyance, which continued until November, 1927. At that time the Conservative government of Britain, soon to be superseded by the Labour government, appointed the Indian Statutory Commission, headed by Sir John Simon, which was composed wholly of members of parliament and therefore entirely British. Not a single Indian was on the Commission or put in a position to influence its conclusions except through advice. The Indian protest against the Commission and movements growing out of it dominated Indian affairs until Lord Irwin's departure. Congress boycotted the Commission, adopted a resolution declaring that the goal of the Indian people was complete independence, and led a number of campaigns against British rule, including one among the peasants in Bardoli of refusal to pay the land tax. Most important of all was the civil disobedience of 1930, which Gandhi inaugurated with his celebrated Salt March in March and April. Accompanying this were disturbances along the northwest frontier, in eastern Bengal, and in Burma, which was still a part of India. In that same year of 1930, the First Round Table on Indian constitutional change was called in London. The protagonists in India were Gandhi and Irwin, two men of great sincerity, strong religious conviction, and a desire to achieve peace, who respected and trusted each other. With a remarkable display of reasonableness, the two reached a settlement in March, 1931, under which the civil disobedience campaign was suspended. Irwin left India in April, 1931, with plans started for a Second Round Table Conference, destined to be a failure. The author has relied upon considerable official correspondence and other material not previously available to other students and has therefore told more and documented it better than his predecessors. He discusses the issues with great objectivity and balance. He is obviously an admirer of both Irwin and Gandhi. He is also one of the increasing number of Indians who are looking back upon the nationalist struggle with diminishing rancor against the British and instead with an appreciation of the many values India now cherishes that came to her from Britain.

University of Pennsylvania

W. NORMAN BROWN

MARCUS CLARKE. By *Brian Elliott*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 281. \$4.80.) It is doubtful whether Marcus Clarke realized that his astonish-

ingly gripping and vivid tale of Tasmanian convict life would one day become established as an Australian classic. But this it has, and two generations of readers and publishers have found *For the Term of His Natural Life* a profitable experience. That Clarke's success was posthumous need not surprise. Nobody would deny that his skills were insufficiently supported by his character, least of all Brian Elliott (of Adelaide University), who has drawn many years of research into a scholarly, full-length biography of the writer. In 1863, aged seventeen, Clarke left London to settle in Melbourne. There he died in 1881, leaving to posterity one masterpiece and a mass of inferior writing. His Australian career was largely that of a columnist and theater critic and, finally, that of a poor devil of a sublibrarian at the Melbourne Public Library. His chronic financial distress, his vanity, and his alcoholism (of which he died) have surrounded his life with myths, legends, and hostile recollections by publishers and creditors. With fine critical sense, unerring literary judgment, and much patient detective work, Elliott has severed fact from fiction and reconstructed the life of Marcus Clarke. His careful investigations, his judicious use of the letters to Cyril (brother of Gerard Manley) Hopkins, and the occasional asides on Melbourne life in the 1860's and 1870's add much to our knowledge of the problems besetting literary men in late colonial Australia. Yet Elliott is a better detective than judge. Clarke's personality, its unpleasant aspects decently played down, barely emerges; indeed, the author's own conclusion is that as "an individual he reveals himself very imperfectly." This is then a book without a hero; it is about Clarke's activities rather than about Clarke himself. Since there is much about the one activity for which Clarke deserves to be remembered—that of writing his great novel—that is perhaps just as well.

Harvard University

GEORGE NADEL

REFLECTIONS ON AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY. By F. W. Eggleston. Edited by Norman Harper. With a biographical sketch by Tristan Buesst. (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire for the Australian Institute of International Affairs; distrib. by Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 216. \$4.50.) Completed a few weeks before Sir Frederic Eggleston's death in 1954, this book has been unobtrusively edited by Norman Harper. It is an important statement on Australia's place in world affairs by a notably clear thinker. Some of the chapters were completed earlier than 1954, but freshness has not been lost. Eggleston deals with the general background of Australian foreign policy, the possibility of peace through international organizations, and the basic aspects of developments in Asia; finally, he gives an unusually challenging appreciation of Commonwealth relations. As the first Australian minister to China, Sir Frederic had unique opportunities to observe Asian development. Neither dogmatic nor doctrinaire, Sir Frederic has a passion for generalization, and his thinking is often original and always lucid. Among other things he vindicates the claim of the United States to be a friend of China. He vigorously contends that Asian countries cannot raise their standards of living just by receiving monetary aid from the West or by imitating Western methods. He stresses the problem that Asian countries, ruled as colonies for centuries, have, when they emerge from that rule without any sense of community, found it extremely difficult and painfully slow to achieve what more homogeneous Western nations achieved more rapidly. He is also well aware that only the most skillful diplomacy will control the dangers of expansive nationalism in Asia. To Sir Frederic (and to all Australians) the Far East is the Near North, and the greater part of his book is devoted to this area (pages 32-172). At all times he blends common sense with realism, and his analysis of the United Nations is excellent. Occasionally Sir Frederic is more interested in the "why" than the "how." He is not above being a

tractarian and a moralist if it suits his purpose, and there are times when his criticisms have a Coriolanus quality. Even so, Australia can be proud of the mature views so ably expressed by this devoted public servant.

Rutgers University

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series One (Army). Volume IV, THE JAPANESE THRUST. By *Lionel Wigmore*. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd. 1957. Pp. xvi, 715. 30s.) With the publication of this excellent volume in the official Australian series on World War II, the Allied story of the opening phase of the war against Japan is complete. Especial interest attaches to this period from December, 1941, through the first five months of 1942. It was the period of Allied defeat and disaster, of great Japanese victories that in five months made Japan master of an empire numbering 100,000,000 souls and stretching from Burma to the Gilbert and Marshall Islands. For the Australians this was the time of greatest danger, when their forces fought a losing battle in Malaya, in the Netherlands Indies, and in New Britain; for Americans, it was the darkest period of the war. The Australian contribution to the vain Allied effort to hold back the Japanese tide that engulfed Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific was a heavy one. No nation had a greater stake in this effort, and none was more directly threatened. Thus this volume is more than an account of the Australian contribution to the defense of Malaya and the Indies; it is also the story of Australia's efforts to bolster her defenses against the real threat of a Japanese invasion, told against the background of the events leading up to the war. What emerges is the story of the Australian role in the defense plan of the British Commonwealth and of Australia's dissatisfaction with that role when her security was threatened, a dissatisfaction that culminated in the refusal of the government to permit the diversion of its troops, en route from the Middle East, from defense of the homeland to the defense of Burma in February, 1942. The safety of Australia, the Australian government had apparently decided, could no longer be subordinated to the needs of the empire as viewed from London. The narrative presented here from the Australian point of view will interest students both of Southeast Asia and of the British Commonwealth. Though Australia's relationship to the Commonwealth is an underlying theme, the bulk of the book deals with the operations of Australian forces in the first ten weeks of the war. This story has been told before, notably in the British official history by General Kirby, but not with the fullness and detail on Australian activities that is provided by Mr. Wigmore. He has also given us for the first time an account of the fate that befell the small Australian garrisons in New Britain and in the Netherlands Indies early in 1942. The final portion of the volume, by A. J. Sweeting, recounts in detail the experiences of the Australian prisoners of war. Though written in a dispassionate, almost matter-of-fact manner, the impact of these chapters, with their stories of starvation, maltreatment, and mass brutality, is a fitting climax to this Australian record of Allied defeat in World War II.

Washington, D. C.

LOUIS MORTON

HISTORICAL STUDIES: PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SECOND IRISH CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS. Edited by *T. Desmond Williams*. (London: Bowes and Bowes. 1958. Pp. 99. 10s.6d.) In this volume's first essay, "The Activity of Being an Historian," Michael Oakeshott describes the historical attitude as a consideration of past events for their own sake, "or in respect of their independence of subsequent or present events." He cautions the historian to resist pressures to use history to illuminate the present (the "practical attitude") or as a medium for discovering general laws of human

conduct (the "scientific attitude"). Professor Oakeshott warns the historian of the pitfalls involved with contemporary history where it is difficult to avoid personal prejudices. T. Desmond Williams' paper on "The Historiography of World War II" lends support to Oakeshott's position. Williams protests against the apologetic and emotional character of World War II historiography. He accuses Sir Lewis Namier of using a narrow and journalistic approach in writing of the recent conflict and is critical of the omissions in the published documents of the British Foreign Office. In commenting on Oakeshott's paper, Williams points out that an interest in "pre-contemporary history provides no necessary or indefeatable insurance against the dangers which confront historians engaged in the most modern periods." B. H. G. Wormald, in his essay on "The Historiography of the English Reformation," indicates how religious and political bias has prevented an objective analysis of one remote period of history. Williams is to be congratulated for presenting the reader with a volume so rich in variety. In addition to the essays already mentioned, there are interesting discussions on the application of mercantilist theory to economic practice in seventeenth-century Ireland by H. F. Kearney, Gustavus Adolphus' contribution to military tactics by Michael Roberts, the influence of Spanish Indian policy on England's attitude toward the native Irish in the sixteenth century by D. B. Quinn, and medieval Anglo-Irish source materials by Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., and the late Eric St. John Brooks.

State University of Iowa

LAWRENCE J. McCAFFREY

EUROPE

AGRICOLA ON METALS. By Bern Dibner. (Norwalk, Conn.: Burndy Library, 1958. Pp. 128. \$2.50.) Bern Dibner, an engineer and industrialist whose remarkable personal library on the history of science and technology is open to scholars, has given us a volume on Agricola that contains nothing new but will prove very useful. Only the most esoteric specialist will go through *De re metallica* (1556), or even through the magisterial annotated translation by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover (London, 1912; 2d ed., New York, 1950). Anyone interested in the Renaissance, however, may be expected to peruse this accurate summary of the twelve books of Agricola's greatest work and to profit by its judicious selection from the extraordinary woodcuts of the original. If the volume has a defect, it lies in a certain hero worship that somewhat distorts Agricola's context. It is doubtful, for example, that Agricola coined in Latin "several hundred" mining and mineralogical terms. The fact that modern dictionaries are inadequate for technological words reflects the state of modern philological science rather than the Latin vocabulary of earlier times. Dr. A. R. Hall of Cambridge University, now working on the technological sections of Guido da Vigevano (1335), assures me that it is "like blacksmiths and shipwrights speaking Latin." Again, to imply that the flywheel on one of Agricola's hoists was a novelty overlooks the fact that for more than a century flywheels had been an accepted element in machine design. Agricola was neither infallible nor up to date in every detail; even Dibner (following the Hoovers) notes his failure to mention the extraction of silver by amalgamation (although the process had been described in 1540 by Biringuccio) and the fact that he copies from Pliny an error regarding the extraction of gold from an amalgam. Agricola's authentic merit, like that of his elder contemporary Leonardo, is such that he gains nothing from hagiology.

University of California, Los Angeles

LYNN WHITE, JR.

VADIAN UND SEINE STADT ST. GALLEN. Band I, BIS 1518, HUMANIST IN WIEN; Band II, 1518 BIS 1551, BÜRGERMEISTER UND REFORMATOR VON ST.

GALLEN. By *Werner Näf*. (St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung Verlag, 1944; 1957. Pp. 382; 552. DM 25; DM 35.) In these two substantial volumes Werner Näf, Nestor of Swiss historians, presents a masterful biography of the great reformer, Joachim von Watt, whose name is associated with St. Gall as Luther's is with Wittenberg or Calvin's with Geneva. The picture of Vadian emerges not as a mirror image or photograph but as a lively portrait done in Renaissance style against a detailed institutional and cultural landscape. The novelty of the first volume is that it portrays adequately for the first time Vadian's seventeen years in Vienna as the reincarnation, it was said, of Conrad Celtis, the German arch-humanist. In addition to a skillful analysis of Vadian the enthusiastic humanist, on whom one perceives an intriguing smile of self-irony, the volume offers a solid study of the whole republic of letters. But the real importance of Vadian the humanist is revealed only in the emergence of Vadian the reformer, as recounted in the second volume. Vadian's example demonstrates the relationship of humanism to the Reformation, not in terms of an abstract cultural-historical type but in a real person whose life embraced both foci within a single ellipse as complimentary, not antithetical forces. The theme of the second volume, thoroughly anticipated by the first, is clearly the way in which the religious power of the Reformation directed the strongly religious components of Vadian's humanism immediately to urgent Christian questions. To be sure, Luther's clear call awakened him, but Vadian's rediscovery of the Gospel was his own. The pages which trace the emergence of his evangelical insights during the course of presenting a humanistic exegesis of the Acts of the Apostles are among the finest in the volume. The rest is the story of how Vadian applied the power of his new faith in the subsequent course of the Swiss Reformation. Although some work on Vadian remains to be done, on his theological treatises, for example, Näf has given us the definitive biography and, more than that, he has given us a basic work on humanism and the Reformation.

University of Missouri

LEWIS W. SPITZ

THE ROYAL GENERAL FARMS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *George T. Matthews*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 318. \$5.50.) Students of the *ancien régime*, all of whom have had on occasion to puzzle over the realities behind the term "tax farming," have ample cause to welcome Mr. Matthews' new study. He has pored over an impressive array of printed materials and has produced a careful description of an important institution. This is not so much a history of development as a painstaking work of reference. True, the author includes a discussion of the founding of the general farms and devotes particular attention to Colbert's truncated work of reorganization and rationalization. It is characteristic of the volume, however, that it opens with an essay on definition of terms. Similarly, the brief epilogue on the Revolution, culminating in the execution of the last general farmers in 1794, scarcely alters the static nature of the central chapters on eighteenth-century conditions. Matthews rather dejectedly assigns his topic the designations "crabbed and unlovely." Such it is, by its nature, and one can probably not expect an account of it to be either lively or imaginative. If the author has defined his subject narrowly, vouchsafing his audience a minimum of suggestive reflections, he has nonetheless provided a useful guide through a particularly tangled bit of jungle. One thing that would have greatly improved both his bibliography and his text is some acknowledgment of the general works which obviously helped to influence his analysis, and even some of his specific formulations. Like too many other thesis writers, he seems to have assumed that only published documents and remote monographs deserve mention.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

FRANKLIN L. FORD

THE BACKGROUND OF NAPOLEONIC WARFARE: THE THEORY OF MILITARY TACTICS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Robert S. Quimby*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 596.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 385. \$6.75.) Mr. Quimby's rewarding military study, based on the major extant *instructions* and ordinances in the French National Archives and the archives of the Ministère de la Guerre, deals with the evolution of French military thought during the eighteenth century and the effect of this intellectual effort upon the great victories of 1792-1815. The author effectively explains the great tactical controversy of the period 1713-1791, that between the principle of slow, deliberate maneuvering into line, emphasizing fire power (the *ordre mince*), and the principle of sudden shock, with the massive infantry column as the essential formation on the battlefield (the *ordre profond*). In the doctrinaire spirit of the age, the sometimes quite extremist "military ideologues" of the opposing schools, especially Folard and Mesnil-Durand, battled for the domination of French military thought during the first half of the century. It fell to the great Comte de Guibert to synthesize the opposing theoretical points of view in his famous *Essai général de tactique* (1772) and *Défense du système de guerre moderne* (1779), where the "thin" fire line was combined with column attack under specified conditions (the *ordre mixte*). Quimby shows how this and other proposals of Guibert, dealing with grand tactics, artillery doctrine, and strategy, comprise a real military doctrine which, when combined with Griebeauval's reform of the artillery and with Bourcet's excursions into strategy, prefigures, in the 1770's, the era of Napoleon. Due to the fierce rear-guard action of the fanatical partisans of the *mince* and *profond* coteries, following Pirch and an unregenerate Mesnil-Durand respectively, Guibert's synthesis did not receive official sanction until Noailles' Ordinance of 1791. Quimby's last section, rivaling in interest that on Guibert, disposes of the various interpretations attempting to minimize the profound influence of this summation of the eighteenth-century revolution in military thought upon the wars that followed. These fables, created by the French themselves after 1815 and continued into the twentieth century by Sir Charles Oman's erroneous description of French tactics during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period (see his *Studies in the Napoleonic Wars*), are belied by the testimony of those present at the scene. The author clearly proves that Guibert's *ordre mixte*, the "favorite" tactical device of the emperor himself, was the fundamental principle throughout this period. Equipped with an excellent index and helpful diagrams, Quimby's study satisfies a long-felt need in military history, which was only partially filled by Colonel Robert Villate's article on eighteenth-century military thought twenty-eight years ago in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*. It is unfortunate, however, that the book should be characterized by a curious over-all heaviness and clumsiness of style, particularly noticeable in the difficult technical sections dealing with petty tactics. Finally, a more pointed and lengthy conclusion could be desired, as well as a real and instructive *bibliographie raisonnée*.

Trinity College

PHILIP C. F. BANKWITZ

PERSIGNY: UN MINISTRE DE NAPOLEON III, 1808-1872. By *Honoré Farat*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1957. Pp. 320. 750 fr.) M. Farat, a *conseiller d'état* in the French administration, has written a lively, anecdotal biography of the long-time intimate of Louis Napoleon. After an aimless career as soldier, revolutionary (1830), and journalist, Persigny was "converted" to Bonapartism and early attached himself to Prince Louis. Together they set about to overthrow the July Monarchy and reestablish the Napoleonic empire, first at Strasbourg (1836) and then at Boulogne (1840). Imprisoned, Persigny was released by the February Revolution and materially assisted his

master in the 1848 elections. After a brief period as minister in Berlin, he was back in Paris pushing his prince toward the *coup d'état*, yet he played only a minor role on December 2. Persigny persuaded Louis Napoleon to confiscate the Orleans property and thereby opened for himself the doors to the Ministry of the Interior. He was instrumental in creating the authoritarian regime with which his name is inevitably linked. Twice interior minister (1852-1854, 1860-1863), he was also a very unorthodox ambassador in London (1855-1858, 1859-1860). He was an ardent believer in the Anglo-French alliance and was, after the emperor, perhaps its principal architect. He was forced to withdraw from the government after his heavy-handed mismanagement of the 1863 elections. From then until the fall of the empire, his influence was generally considered to be great but actually it was intermittent and declining. His belief in order through authority was out of place in a liberal empire. This is the only biography that draws on both the family papers and archival material in Paris, but, as it lacks footnotes, the source of much new information is unclear. Furthermore, the author did not use any English sources, such as the Clarendon and Cowley papers, both of which must be considered in any evaluation of Persigny. For this reason several important episodes are either disregarded or inadequately covered, the international implications of his resignation as minister in 1854, his role in the Danubian principalities crisis of November, 1856, and the ministerial crisis of November, 1860, to mention only a few. The author has been justly wary of Persigny's *Mémoires*, yet he has used them without comment on those events for which the *Mémoires* are the only source. The author has produced a sympathetic yet reasonably faithful portrait of his subject.

Montana State University

STEPHEN B. BARNWELL

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BARON HAUSSMANN: PARIS IN THE SECOND EMPIRE. By J. M. and Brian Chapman. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1957. Pp. viii, 262. \$5.00.) In a time of colorful personalities in France George Eugène Haussmann, Napoleon III's prefect of the Seine, was one of the most colorful, and a century later he still stands out as a prototype of the dynamic man of action. Simply as an individual he is an attractive subject for a biography, and beyond that his career illuminates the history of the Second Empire and is important, too, in the history of city planning. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, who are lecturers at Manchester University, have attempted to present both the story of Haussmann's life and a picture of the city and the society in which he lived. It is the first biography of the prefect in English and the first in any language in the past quarter century. The book presents little on Haussmann's life that has not already been recounted in George Laronze's *Le Baron Haussmann* (Paris, 1932), but it covers the subject systematically and is well written. American readers will prefer the Chapmans' straightforward style to the impressionistic writing of Laronze. Parts of the subject are more adequately treated elsewhere (the "times" in Roger Williams' *Gaslight and Shadow* and the transformation of Paris in Morizet's *Du vieux Paris au Paris moderne* and my own book), but for a biography of the great prefect one should now turn to the Chapmans' volume. Nonetheless, their book demonstrates the difficulty, probably the impossibility, of writing a really first-rate biography of Haussmann. The sources that might have made it possible have disappeared. The municipal archives were lost in the burning of the Hôtel de Ville and the Prefecture of Police in 1871, and Haussmann's personal papers have vanished. Biographers must depend on printed municipal records, archives of the national government, newspapers, and memoirs, especially Haussmann's own three volumes of memoirs. Often the biographer has only Haussmann himself to turn to; if municipal archives and his personal letters were available, the story might frequently

emerge quite differently, and certainly it could be given greater depth. The Chapmans have used the printed sources and some but not all of the archives. Their book, although good reading, is overly dependent on Haussmann and occasionally unavoidably shallow.

University of Missouri

DAVID H. PINKNEY

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC. Volume I. By *Joseph Paul-Boncour*. Translated from the French by *George Marion, Jr.* [The Makers of History Series, Volume XII.] (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, Publishers. 1957. Pp. 269. \$6.00.) "These are not *Memoirs*," M. Paul-Boncour warns in his foreword. He has written, rather, a personal political history of the Third Republic. This first volume treats the period from his own entry into politics, in the 1890's, down to the end of the First World War. But it is overshadowed by the defeat of 1940. Writing during Nazi occupation of France, Paul-Boncour dwells on the weaknesses of the republican regime. He deplores the alienation of the royalists and Catholics from the Republic. Noting that the Church had "somewhat over-blessed the enterprise" of MacMahon and De Broglie, which resulted in the crisis of May 16, 1877, he laments the failure of the Ralliement. He criticizes, too, the intransigence of the Left—the rigid anticlericalism of the Combes ministry and the decision of the Amsterdam Congress that obliged the French Socialists to withhold their participation from "bourgeois" governments and that led the author to follow an independent course to the right of the Socialists. All this is a familiar story to students of the Third Republic. Although Paul-Boncour offers little new information, he retells the old tale in a sensible, balanced, and sometimes lively fashion. His best pages are his warm tribute to Waldeck-Rousseau, the mentor of his own political apprenticeship, and his vignettes of provincial politics. He demonstrates once again that the election of deputies depended not only on the great issues of the day but also on those small matters of local personalities and feuds that make French history so bewildering and so fascinating.

University of Rochester

JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871-1914). 1^{re} Série, 1871-1900, tome XIV (4 JANVIER-30 DÉCEMBRE 1898). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1957. Pp. ix, 957.) There is much that is new and interesting in these documents of 1898 when Hanotaux and Delcassé were ministers of foreign affairs for half a year each. The subjects dealt with are not so much the European alliances as various matters external to Europe—the Spanish-American War, imperialist aggression in China and Abyssinia, the problem of autonomy for Crete, and railway rivalries in Asia Minor. Portugal's dire financial needs and plans for safeguarding or mortgaging them, in which France was greatly interested, are ably reported by Jules Cambon, French ambassador at Madrid. Anglo-French relations naturally occupy the greatest space, for this was the year in which Hanotaux arranged the agreement concerning the Niger frontiers and in which Delcassé was faced with the bitter Fashoda crisis. In our own day of radio and wireless it is a little difficult to realize how much Delcassé was handicapped by lack of communications with the Marchand mission. On September 7, on learning of Kitchener's victory at Omdurman and wishing to avoid a clash with the British, he issued instructions that Marchand "was not to push on to Fashoda," that he must avoid making political claims, and that he must "be all the more prudent" since he was not likely to get the hoped for aid from the Abyssinians. But Marchand had already, more than two months earlier, on July 11, hoisted the tricolor at Fashoda and was actively making political treaties with the native chiefs.

On September 19, he found himself face to face with the Sirdar at Fashoda. Very interesting are Marchand's reports of his activities since July 11 and the letters he exchanged with Kitchener; these were unknown to Delcassé during the main period of the diplomatic crisis.

Harvard University

SIDNEY B. FAY

REARMING THE FRENCH. By *Marcel Vigneras*. [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1957. Pp. xviii, 444. \$4.25.) Holding political discussion to an essential minimum, Marcel Vigneras exposes command and decision problems as part of the combat history of the United States ground forces in World War II. Almost everyone, including General Marshall and President Roosevelt, supported the economies to American strength derived from reequipment of empty-handed French troops eager to fight. But the global demands of United Nations strategy dictated that guns, planes, ships, and tanks transferred to France be strictly limited by the comparative battle value of the French units thereby added to Allied forces in North Africa and Europe. In the transfer, American practices in delivery and use of arms had to mesh on a combat timetable with French receptivity governed by habits of honor and sovereignty. The gears sometimes made grinding noises but never stripped. Multitudes of problems arose daily and at all echelons. Old-fashioned patience on both sides succeeded in rearming eight French divisions in North Africa, putting nineteen squadrons of French planes back in the air, and reactivating strong components of the French navy. Allied gratitude as well as casualties and victories bear witness to the success of the project and the reinvigorated honor of the French army. Vigneras delineates this development with the sure touch of a long-time American citizen, first educated in his native France, equipped with a Ph.D. from Western Reserve, and made sensitive to basic undercurrents by his wartime service with the OSS. Since the author describes what did happen and not what might have happened, the weight of his material highlights successes of American policy. The study could not expose the case for de Gaulle or the desirability of equipping a large French army for postwar service, or excuse French disobedience to SHAEF commands as an avowed sit-down strike against threatened omission of France from the ranks of powers to occupy Germany. That these questions are suggested but not answered is no flaw in the author's determined objectivity. They simply demonstrate the total impossibility of divorcing military necessity from its political consequence. For this very reason, *Rearming the French* is of vital interest to more than the military specialist in liaison and supply.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR CLENDENIN ROBERTSON

CARLOS QUINTO, 1500-1558: SEU IMPÉRIO UNIVERSAL. By *Cecilia Maria Westphalen*. (Curitiba, Brazil: the Author, 1955. Pp. 308.) In an epigraph Cecilia Maria Westphalen declares that, undoubtedly, the sixteenth century is the base from which all modern history proceeds and the key to understanding the sixteenth century is the empire of Charles V. Therefore, she says, she has undertaken to write about the emperor and his empire, particularly since no one, so far "em nosso País," has done so. The argument of the book (conveniently summarized at the back in German, English, and French, presumably for reviewers whose Portuguese is shaky) expands the first pair of assertions. It describes how, just as the medieval unity of Christendom was disintegrating under the pressures of nationalism, Charles V attempted to revive the universal empire of Charlemagne and the Ottonian emperors. His efforts to do so provided the episodes of his reign, but however heroically he struggled, the forces of history

predestined him to tragic defeat. Meanwhile, almost inadvertently, he consolidated the Spanish empire overseas and founded Spanish preponderance in Europe. With his recognition of his failure and his acceptance of political reality came his abdication, and modern history was ready to begin. This is not a particularly novel idea, and perhaps not completely defensible, but it does make, as in this book, for brisk, dramatic, coherent narrative. It should be said further that the emperor's medievalism is not as much exaggerated here as it has sometimes been and that the view of the emperor's aims and character is, on the whole, rather closer to Karl Brandi's than to Menéndez Pidal's. If the first somewhat magniloquent reason for writing this book determines its organization and emphasis, the second, modest and realistic, determines its scope. As far as I know this is not just the first biography of Charles V by a Brazilian; it is the first of modern times in Portuguese, the reason for the gap being, of course, that every fairly well educated Lusitanian reads at least Spanish and French, and the literature about the emperor in those languages has long been considerable. So this is a popular biography. Its bibliography lists, besides the usual chroniclers, a wide range of secondary authorities from William Robertson to Carlo Coniglio; the English and Germans are usually in French or Spanish translation, and there are relatively few specialized monographs even in Portuguese. Scant attention is given in the text to matters of recent discovery and controversy, even when they are of direct interest for Portuguese history. This is not a book for scholars, but it is by no means an unscholarly book, and what it sets out to do it does very well indeed.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE STRUGGLE FOR MADRID: THE CENTRAL EPIC OF THE SPANISH CONFLICT (1936-37). By *Robert Garland Colodny*. (New York: Paine-Whitman Publishers. 1958. Pp. 256. \$6.00.) To the long list of episodic books on the Spanish civil war is now added this study, by a participant, of the defense of Madrid from the fall of 1936 to the Italian defeat at Guadalajara in March, 1937. It is primarily a military account, written on the basis of the author's personal knowledge of the campaign, an extensive study of the international literature on the war, and consultation with other participants. Much attention is given to the strategy and the detailed tactics of the battle for Madrid, with frequent citations of the order of battle of both the attacking and defending forces and the problems of terrain, supply, organization, and morale. Robert Colodny fought with the republican forces, and the study views the struggle from the angle of the defenders. There is much more information on the problems and aims of the forces that succeeded in holding Madrid than on those of the attackers. Extensive treatment is given such topics as organizing the defense of the city, the poor relations between the military command and the government after its departure for Valencia in November, the role of the International Brigades, the effects of the arrival of Russian matériel, officers, and technicians at the height of the crisis, mistakes in strategy on both sides, and the woeful inferiority of the republican forces in equipment and munitions. The book is patently partisan, a comment not intended to imply criticism of its value. There is an evident intent to narrate the details of the battle with accuracy. At the same time Colodny makes no effort to hide his sympathies with the cause of the republic, his disapproval of Largo Caballero, and his tribute to the Communist element, both Spanish and foreign, to which is credited a major role in the successful resistance of the city. He gives only that attention to political aspects of the war necessary to understand more fully their consequences on the field of battle, and much of this is confined to the footnotes. One anomaly occurs to this reviewer: in the text, the role of the International Brigades seems preponderant, in particular during the Guadalajara cam-

paign in March, but Colodny states specifically in a footnote that it is "incorrect to assert that the foreign volunteers of the Republic bore the weight of the Guadalajara campaign." My feeling is that in this, as in some other matters to which the author gave serious consideration, too much of value was relegated to footnotes (90 pages of which accompany a text of 138 pages) so that reading the text alone gives something of a false impression.

University of Toledo

WILLARD A. SMITH

STRATÉGIE DES AFFAIRES À LISBONNE ENTRE 1595 ET 1607: LETTRES MARCHANDS DES RODRIGUES D'EVORA ET VEIGA. By *J. Gentil da Silva*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, IX.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1956. Pp. xi, 442.) Some thirty years ago Earl J. Hamilton uncovered the business archive of Simón Ruiz, after it had slumbered for three centuries in the hospital founded by Ruiz in Medina del Campo, site of one of the greatest Spanish fairs. Now located in the Archivo Histórico Provincial of Valladolid, the archive has recently become the major source for a whole school of first-class French historians. Silva's present work offers 261 letters, 1595-1606, from the Lisbon house of Rodrigues d'Evora to their correspondents in Medina del Campo, plus subsidiary documents. The letters, in Spanish, have French descriptive headings. The 126-page introduction, using printed and manuscript sources from several countries, includes graphic presentations and a *Calendrier de la Conjunture* or chronology of related events. There is a glossary and an extensive index but no bibliography except in the footnotes through the index. Most of the letters (as distinct from the introductory material) deal only with international finance: reports of payments and debts, letters of exchange, and related matters. As such, they have enormous value for persons studying techniques in that field. Scraps of information also appear on such things as commodities, prices, bankruptcies, and movements of ships (including the East Indies and American fleets). A picture of Lisbon as one of the greatest trade centers emerges. There are no discernible faults. The work is narrower in its appeal than most of its predecessors but as valuable as any of them within that limit.

University of California, Los Angeles

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

DE JEZUIETEN EN HET SAMENHORIGHEIDSBESEF DER NEDERLANDEN, 1585-1648. By *J. Andriessen*, S.J. [Uitgegeven met Medewerking van de Universitaire Stichting van België.] (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel. 1957. Pp. xlvi, 351. Cloth 450 fr.B., paper 400 fr.B.) For the first time in more than three hundred years an adequate account of the attitude on the part of the Jesuits toward the problem of unification in the Low Countries from 1585 to 1648 has been published. The book by Andriessen is in fact more than adequate. He proves that even Henri Pirenne and L. van der Essen failed to indicate how the Jesuits were favoring to some extent the process of unification. Hitherto all Belgian scholars of note harped only on the subject of estrangement between north and south. They were correct in noting the tremendous antagonism between the Dutch Calvinists and the Jesuits in the Spanish Netherlands, but there was also the remarkable feeling of patriotism displayed by certain influential Jesuits. The pro-Spanish sentiment displayed by the Jesuits tended to alienate the inhabitants in the Dutch Republic, and it is not surprising that the Dutch leaders in 1612 signed an alliance with the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Many Dutch Calvinists were serious when they coined this well-known maxim: "Liever Turcsch dan Paeps." All of this goes to show that secularism was on the increase, contrary to the opinion of some historians in the United States. It seems strange, however, that the humanists

in the Low Countries encouraged the use of the vernacular, since humanism was characterized by excessive admiration for classical Latin and Greek. Perhaps Andriessen overlooked certain other causes which impelled a man like Hugo Grotius to write some of his best productions in Dutch. Grotius' changed attitude toward the Roman Catholics is very ably analyzed. Finally, we may note that both areas spoke of the Low Countries as Belgium. This is an extremely learned work. The documentation is enormous, while the bibliography and the index deserve the highest praise. Particularly valuable are the references to the numerous unpublished sources used by the author.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

PETER VEDEL, UDENRIGSMINISTERIETS DIREKTØR. Volume I, 1823-1864. By Viggo Sjøqvist. [Skrifter udgivet af Jysk Selskab for Historie, Sprog og Litteratur, Number 2.] (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1957. Pp. 286.) Further light on the notoriously complicated question of Schleswig-Holstein is always welcome, and this book will be of most interest to American historians in connection with that issue. Peter Vedel was an important man behind the scenes, if not quite a power behind the throne. After a few not too happy years as professor of administrative law at the University of Copenhagen, capped by the death of both son and wife, Vedel shifted career and became in 1858 director of the foreign office. He shunned the limelight and was too modest to aspire to the foreign ministry—a post which in later life he repeatedly refused. Instead he remained as director for forty years, to 1899, and his retention of the post through successive cabinets gave his opinions increasing strength. He was a man of unusual intelligence, highly cultivated and well traveled, but he lacked steady confidence in himself and his opinions vacillated—perhaps affecting adversely the tragic events of 1864. Previous evaluations of Vedel's role have depended largely on his own statements made from the vantage ground of old age. An example is that although in 1863 Vedel felt that Bismarck had tricked Denmark into a false sense of security with reference to the new Danish constitution, in 1902 he would not admit this. But Vedel was seldom fooled; in another case events proved that his skepticism regarding a possible Swedish alliance was thoroughly justified. This volume carries the story only through 1864; a complementary volume is promised to continue the account to Vedel's death in 1911. The book is not only well written but attractively made. It includes a number of photographs of the dramatis personae: family, foreign office personnel, and ministers such as Carl Christian Hall and Ditlev Gotthard Monrad. There is no index, but the fifteen-page English summary contains enough factual material to be really useful. The thirty pages of reference notes at the end of the volume indicate thorough use of the sources. Dr. Sjøqvist makes a contribution to the knowledge of the problems of Danish foreign policy and also of the processes of policy formation and the functioning of the foreign office, all centering around the thought and activities of one of those oft-forgotten, conscientious "minor prophets" who do the unspectacular work of the world.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

J. E. SARS: BREV, 1850-1915. Edited with introduction by Halvdan Koht. (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag. 1957. Pp. 285.) Johan Ernst Sars (1835-1917) was professor of history at the University of Oslo from 1874 to 1911. He is held by most authorities to have been the first and the greatest philosophical historian produced by Norway. Before his time Norwegian history had generally been looked upon as divided into several sharply contrasting periods, but he introduced the evolutionary concept and emphasized the unbroken continuity of the national development. His main work, *Survey of the History of the Norwegian People* (4 vols., 1873-91), has been declared "beyond

compare the most interesting work in Norwegian historical literature," and he has undoubtedly done more than any other writer to formulate the view which Norwegian people have of their own history. Through his historical writings, speeches, and numerous contributions to periodicals he became one of the great leaders of Norwegian liberalism and has been credited with being "the ideological creator of Norwegian democracy." In view of Sars's prominence as an intellectual and political leader, his letters are somewhat disappointing. He was not an enthusiastic correspondent. Frequently he apologized for the tardiness and brevity of his letters. No letters of any consequence are addressed to his fellow historians, so we learn nothing here about his problems and theories in the field of historiography. The most interesting letters are those sent to the great contemporary literary figures—Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Jonas Lie, and Alexander Kielland, and to Christian Collin, professor of literature at Oslo University. Of these the ones to Bjørnson easily take precedence; they are the fullest and the most personal, as well as the most numerous (36 out of the total collection of 204). Sars and Bjørnson were life-long friends and fellows-in-arms for numerous national-liberal causes. In these letters we do get a feeling of the temper of the hectic late nineteenth century when violent battles took place between "liberals" and "conservatives" over such issues as the royal veto, the parliamentary system of government, universal suffrage, women's rights, and the union question between Norway and Sweden. To the general reader, Professor Kohl's excellent introduction (eighty-two pages) will probably prove the most interesting part. It gives the necessary biographical and historical background for an understanding of Sars's letters and the age in which he did his work. The book is also supplied with good notes and an index.

St. Olaf College

C. A. CLAUSEN

SUOMEN KREIVI-JA VAPAAHERRAKUNNAT. I. By Mauno Jokipii. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, XLVIII.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1956. Pp. 447.) Two approaches have generally been used in the study of feudalism in Sweden-Finland. The first, exemplified by Robert Swedlund's *Grev- och friherreskapen i Sverige och Finland* (Uppsala, 1936), has focused on the origins and extent of the earldoms and baronies, the chief elements in northern feudalism, and their juridical relations with the crown. The second approach, pioneered by John Gardberg in his *Kimito friherreskap* (Helsinki, 1935), has emphasized the intensive internal examination of the fiefs themselves. *Suomen kreivi ja vapaaaherrakunnat*, a doctoral study of twenty-nine earldoms and baronies in Finland during the years 1569–1648, falls in this latter category. Based on extensive research in Finnish and Swedish public and private archives, perhaps the most significant new materials being the papers of the Oxenstierna family, Dr. Jokipii's work is an extremely detailed, yet fascinating and highly important contribution to the field. This first volume (a forthcoming one is to deal with the judicial, military, religious, and educational aspects) treats such problems as the contacts of the feudal lords, absentee for the most part, with their holdings in Finland, the officials and the internal organization of the fiefs, the tax structure, the varied agricultural and industrial enterprises, and transportation. A bibliography and a German-language summary enhance the volume's usefulness. Jokipii concludes that the revenues enjoyed by the lords were considerably less than generally assumed. Pietari Brahe, the Oxenstierna brothers, Klaus Fleming, and other feudal lords made their chief contribution not by establishing manors or in carrying out widely publicized economic experiments but by their efforts to maintain the taxpaying capacity of the peasants. In addition, the significance of feudalism in Finland was clearly more political than economic. Jokipii has succeeded in greatly enriching our understanding of how feudalism in Fin-

land was organized and how it operated. That there are minor shortcomings and errors in a work of this scope is perhaps inevitable. These were pointed out, as is the excellent custom of European universities, at the public disputation by Professor Eino Jutikkala and are reported in the *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* (Number 1, 1957).

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

ZWISCHEN REVOLUTION UND REAKTION: EIN LEBENSBILD DES REICHSFREIHERRN HANS CHRISTOPH VON GAGERN, 1766-1852. By Hellmuth Rössler. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau XIV.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1958. Pp. 321. DM 28.60.) Baron Gagern, like his better-known compatriots Metternich and Stein, was a Rhenish nobleman who participated in the great political transformation of Central Europe arising out of the French Revolution. But whereas they entered the service of the two leading states of Germany, he defended the interests of the petty principalities. While still a young man he had seen the troops of the French Republic overrun his native land. During the Napoleonic Era he represented the government of Nassau in Paris. When the War of Liberation came, he joined in the struggle against the foreign oppressor. At the Congress of Vienna he was spokesman for the House of Orange, and in the Diet of the German Confederation he became the delegate from Luxembourg. The last years of his life he spent as befitting an elder statesman, speaking on public issues in the Hessian legislature, corresponding with the great Goethe, and exchanging confidences with princes and ministers. He even lived long enough to see the Revolution of 1848, in which his sons assumed an important role. Although Gagern never exerted a major political influence, he knew so many of the leading figures and participated in so many of the crucial events of his time that his career arouses the interest usually attached to those who mingle with the great. Hellmuth Rössler has now written a biography which is a labor of love, perhaps too much love. His hero can do no wrong. Gagern is more forthright than Talleyrand, more tolerant than Stein, more perceptive than Metternich, more generous than Humboldt. He is the champion of the golden mean between royal autocracy and mob rule, between Prussia and Austria, between Protestantism and Catholicism. In his great wisdom he towers over his contemporaries. It becomes almost impossible to argue with the baron's estimate of his own character: "The fact that I consider myself among the most intelligent men who have ever lived gives me that high degree of forbearance and moderation coupled with sufficient strength." And his biographer gilds the lily by adding that "what the painstaking research of posterity was to bring to light out of the secrets of the archives the contemporary Gagern surmised through sympathetic intuition." Yet a gnawing doubt remains. Could it be that Gagern was only an eighteenth-century aristocrat, urbane, enlightened, and benevolent, but not essentially different from many others of his time and class? Even all of this book's eloquence fails to dispel the suspicion.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

DIE ENTSTEHUNG DES NATIONALBEWUSSTSEINS IN NORDWEST-DEUTSCHLAND, 1790-1830. By Wolfgang von Groote. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 22.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1955. Pp. xi, 143. DM 15.80.) This is another volume in the Göttingen series that has included so many excellent studies. In the early chapters the author discusses the rise of national pride in northwestern Germany at a time when political unity had very few sponsors. This was the national pride of the educated class, which took pleasure in knowing that the German people had heroes and literary figures who ranked with those of other European

countries. Even Catherine of Russia, who was born in Germany, was regarded as a benefactress of mankind. Helfrich Peter Sturz, for example, in his efforts to stimulate national pride addressed his countrymen in words such as these: "You are a German! German be proud of Arminius, of the hero Frederick, of Catherine the benefactress of mankind, of Leibniz, Klopstock, Lessing!" After discussing the cultural nationalism of the eighteenth century the author proceeds to trace the development of a new national feeling during the Napoleonic period. This national feeling was no longer that of Herder, Novalis, or the Schlegels, which stressed "cosmopolitanism mixed with a strong feeling of individuality." The new nationalism was based on a definite desire for unity, strength, and freedom from French domination. The basic ideas developed in this study are not novel, but the author has adduced much illustrative material that is new. Considerable space is devoted, for example, to the discussion of the organization of societies having as their purpose the political unification of Germany. Completed as long ago as 1948, this study was not published at that time because of the "prevailing conditions" in Germany. Since the study was not revised before publication the author did not include the source and secondary materials published during the years after 1948. This does not, however, detract greatly from the fact that it is a scholarly, interesting, and enlightening study.

New York, New York

ROBERT ERGANG

BISMARCK AND THE HOHENZOLLERN CANDIDATURE FOR THE SPANISH THRONE: THE DOCUMENTS IN THE GERMAN DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES. Edited with an introduction by Georges Bonnin. Translated by Isabella M. Massey. With a foreword by G. P. Gooch. (London: Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. 311. 42s.) The main body of this book consists of the English translation of documents from a secret file found in the captured archives of the German Foreign Office. These are supplemented from another file by Major Max von Versen's vivid memoir, of which only a few fragments were known, and by a selection of the letters and memoranda from the archives at Sigmaringen. The new evidence is of major importance, especially if we add to it the fuller presentation of the Sigmaringen Papers in Jochen Dittrich's thesis (typescript, University of Freiburg library; microfilm copies in the University of Chicago and University of Minnesota libraries). As Dr. George P. Gooch says in his succinct foreword: "We can follow almost day by day the exchanges between Madrid, Sigmaringen on the Danube, and Berlin, not only of the principal actors in the drama but of Bismarck's agents in Spain" and, the reviewer would add, in Germany. The new material supports those who have held that the initiative came from Madrid. It shows in detail that both branches of the Hohenzollern family were reluctant, except for the Prussian crown prince extremely reluctant, to accept the Spanish offer. It shows that the decision to accept was substantially influenced by Bismarck working through Lothar Bucher and Max von Versen. These have been widely held hypotheses, but the wealth of new and correct information is such that most of the books and articles that have been written on the Hohenzollern candidacy are now practically worthless. Those that do retain some value demand extensive revision. Dr. Bonnin has undertaken a more limited task. His introduction to the documents tells in adequate detail how and why the file was kept secret. There follows a short bibliographical note on the documentary and printed sources and the report of an examination of the Spanish Foreign Office archives for material parallel to that found in the German. The results of this search seem meager.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series C (1933-1937). Volume I, THE THIRD REICH: FIRST PHASE, JANUARY 30-OCTOBER 14, 1933. [Department of State Publication 6545.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957. Pp. lxiv, 962. \$3.75.) This volume produces an impression of flickering light: spring crises here, followed by summer crises there, climaxed in the spectacular German withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and the League in October, 1933—a set piece made to order for Hitler to go before the country in a Reichstag “election” with an appealing set of slogans about equality. International tension in the spring was extreme, as Nazi excesses and threats combined to produce general hostility and distrust; it was most severe then in relation to France, Poland, and Russia. François-Poncet repeatedly expressed his concern. Rumors of preventive war abounded, sometimes reported as a joint Franco-Polish enterprise, more often as a measure pushed by Pilsudski. But the mysterious soundings of Pilsudski on this subject, if they really took place, are not clarified in this volume; Ambassador Moltke's careful analysis in April leads rather to the conclusion that the Poles wanted to maintain tension without war. These documents contain no real sign of a German-Polish *rapprochement*. With Russia the situation was clearer. From the beginning of the Nazi regime Litvinov was naturally suspicious and hostile. Numerous cases of difficulties for Soviet citizens in Germany and the fanfare about the Reichstag fire and the Leipzig trial of the “incendiaries” merged with the greater problems of Russo-German economic and military collaboration and Russian fears of the purported Rosenberg-Hugenberg line of expansion to the east. Austria was, as the British documents confirm, a focus of difficulties in the summer and fall, with the antics of Habicht and the Austrian Legion aggravating the general uneasiness. Mussolini, still intransigent regarding the *Anschluss*, collaborated with the British and French in cooling down German activity there. Numerous documents deal with the Four-Power Pact sponsored by Mussolini and many more with the equally ill-fated Disarmament Conference. The year 1933 was indeed filled with alarms and excursions, but the Nazis were not prepared for forceful action abroad. The documents disclose a series of uncertain thrusts and withdrawals in foreign affairs and a relatively great interest on essentially internal matters such as *Ministerkonferenzen*, the dissolution of the political parties, and the conclusion and immediate effects of the Concordat.

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

ARNOLD RECHBERG UND DAS PROBLEM DER POLITISCHEN WEST-ORIENTIERUNG DEUTSCHLANDS NACH DEM 1. WELTKRIEG. By Eberhard von Vietsch. [Schriften des Bundesarchivs, Heft 4.] (Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1958. Pp. 270. DM 12.) There has always been something mysterious about Arnold Rechberg. He has been called a sculptor (which he was) and a “phosphate-magnate” (which he was not), but he is probably best described as an “amateur politician.” The purpose of this book is to give a cohesive picture of the man and his activities. It is based on Rechberg's *Nachlass*, supplemented by other holdings from the Bundesarchiv. In order to save time and effort, the editor excluded some additional sources on Rechberg, such as the papers of Stresemann and Brockdorff-Rantzau. This is unfortunate, since they would have made this a still better book. More than half the volume is devoted to a narrative treatment of Rechberg's many schemes, notably the conclusion of a separate peace with France during World War I, the economic merger of Germany with France or Great Britain during the twenties, and the formation of a Western European league against the Soviet Union. The rest of the book consists of thirty-eight documents selected from “fifteen large boxes” of Rechberg's literary remains. It is a meager selection, mostly of

items by Rechberg himself, with some letters from Poincaré, Hugenberg, Seeckt, Ludendorff, and others. Rechberg was an indefatigable letter writer, but he rarely received more than a polite acknowledgment from his famous correspondents. He also wrote hundreds of newspaper articles, a list of which is appended to this book. The picture of Rechberg, as drawn by Vietsch, conforms pretty much to that of the wealthy dilettante dabbling in politics which we have had all along. It certainly shows that Rechberg never wielded any decisive political influence. Yet he was always deeply sincere and remarkably persistent in the promotion of his many schemes. At a time when some of these schemes are actually being realized, it is both useful and appropriate to have this informative book on one of Germany's most dedicated "Westerners."

Johns Hopkins University

HANS W. GATZKE

DAS DRITTE REICH UND EUROPA: BERICHT ÜBER DIE TAGUNG DES INSTITUTS FÜR ZEITGESCHICHTE IN TUTZING / MAI 1956. (Munich: the Institute, 1957. Pp. x, 182. DM 9.50.) Verbatim accounts of conferences make for distractive, often unrewarding reading. This record is hardly an exception. In May, 1956, a group of historians (predominantly German) met at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte to discuss the impact of the Third Reich on certain broader aspects of European development of the time. Considering the isolation of Germans during most of the last quarter century, this book is likely to be most revealing and useful to them. An introductory essay on European democracies between the wars falls rather short of its promise. Discussion of the military hierarchy in totalitarian states covers familiar ground in relation to Germany and Russia but offers a very illuminating nugget on Colonel Beck's Poland. European diplomacy in the face of Hitler is the next topic. It leaves this reviewer not much wiser, though certainly sadder, than before. Material on the theory and practice of Nazi expansion demonstrates the abysmal intellectual-philosophical emptiness of these notions and their place in the ruthless cynicism of the Nazi system. The last topic is by far the most significant: collaboration and resistance in Nazi-dominated Europe. Papers and discussion alike open into broader sociological and psychological facets of human behavior under dire stress. Very important differences emerge between western and eastern Europe as to qualities and types of resistance and submission to total force. This should be required reading for formulators of certain kinds of intelligence projects and foreign policy in this country. Some historians will find throughout the book rewarding suggestions and insights intermixed with considerable amounts of familiar or tendentious material.

Pomona College

HENRY CORD MEYER

DOKUMENTATION DER VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUS OST-MITTELEUROPA. Band III, DAS SCHICKSAL DER DEUTSCHEN IN RUMÄNIEN; Band IV/1, 2, DIE VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN BEVÖLKERUNG AUS DER TSCHECHOSLOVAKIE; 2. Beiheft, EIN TAGEBUCH AUS PRAG, 1945-46. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims, 1957. Pp. xviii, 182, 408; xiii, 357; xvi, 818; 279. DM 12; DM 20; DM 8.50.) We have never been short on documentation of man's inhumanity to man, but these volumes, like their predecessors dealing with the fate of the Germans from east of the Oder (Band I/1, 2) and Hungary (Band II), represent a noble experiment. Can the fellow nationals of a persecuted people, subsidized by their government, turn out an objective picture of that persecution, relying mainly on the accounts of the persecuted which were written several years after the events? The limited amount of strictly documentary material (laws and ordinances, letters, diaries) supplied in the collections suggests the

need for quotation marks around the word documentation in the title, except that the overwhelming amount of testimony and the extent of its internal consistency both render the collections valuable to historians. Moreover, we must beware of squeamishly turning aside from unpleasant details with the excuse that descriptions of rape and torture are "subjective." On the other hand, it is obvious that the milder fate of the Germans in Romania made for accounts with a wider perspective than did the experiences of the Sudeten Germans, who reaped the whirlwind sowed by Hitler, Heydrich, and Henlein. Yet the diary of Margarete Schell is rich in human understanding, humor, and warmth. Well translated, it might have a wide sale in America. Each of the collections has more than one hundred pages of historical introduction which also serve as *Wegweiser* through the documents. They are well buttressed with citations to a great deal of primary material, including unprinted sources in the possession of the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte and the Koblenz Bundesarchiv. One of the most impressive aspects of the expulsion procedures revealed in the collections is the systematic destruction of the economic, social, and cultural prerequisites for the survival of the German minority, so that very soon most of the Germans actually *wanted* to escape from their homeland. Yet in spite of this, 400,000 ethnic Germans still live in Romania. How long they will retain their *Deutschstum* is another question.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE: A STUDY IN COLD WAR POLITICS. By *W. Phillips Davison*. [A RAND Corporation Research Study.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 423. \$7.50.) This volume, written by a social scientist, is the first full-length study of the Berlin blockade to be published. It is based on personal interviews, analyses of German opinion as evidenced in polls, and 342 essays submitted in a contest to the Berlin paper *Der Abend*, as well as other published and unpublished sources. The result is a sharply focused account of the issues and strategy of the blockade, accurate in its details and reasonable in its conclusions. The picture blurs, however, when the author fits the episode into its historical context and separates Russian and Western roles in the major decisions. The statement that "Throughout the wartime discussions on Germany, Soviet representatives had behaved in a manner which encouraged the Western powers to believe in their good faith" scarcely reflects the causes of the mounting anxiety on the part of Churchill, Forrestal, and others as the evidence accumulated of the Soviets' hostility toward the West and their far-reaching plans for Germany and indeed all of Europe. Mr. Davison says that it was the Russians who in 1945 wanted the lowest tonnage of steel permitted the Germans, but while this was true for the negotiations in the Allied Control Council it was the American State Department that proposed the lowest figures and rebuked General Clay for accepting higher ones. The author mentions also the long struggle of the United States and Britain to achieve German unity, although at Potsdam President Truman was the only one in favor of dividing Germany and, as Davison shows in admirable detail, during the blockade the Western Allies were ready to set their seal upon the division of the country by accepting East German marks as the sole currency in Berlin. Nevertheless this is a most useful book. For an almost day-to-day narrative of what happened, for explanations of immediate Russian aims and Allied policy, of German sentiments and the unexpected crosscurrents between Berlin and the West, it is a basic work.

New Haven, Connecticut

EUGENE DAVIDSON

GERMANY AND FREEDOM: A PERSONAL APPRAISAL. By *James Bryant Conant*. [The Godkin Lectures at Harvard University, 1958.] (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 117. \$3.00.) It is reassuring for anyone concerned about the Germans of today and the Germany of tomorrow to read the soberly stated opinion of former ambassador Conant at the conclusion of his series of three Godkin lectures at Harvard in January, 1958: "In my judgment, it will not happen again; indeed, barring a world-wide economic disaster, a collapse of the NATO alliance, or a global war, Germany will continue to be one of the strongest fortresses of freedom: we in the United States have in our new ally a powerful and reliable partner for the trying days that lie ahead." The Conants knew their German and their Germany already very well when they went to the high commission in 1953; they knew both even better long before they left the embassy in 1957. The Germans found them friendly and understanding and literally loved them. In marshaling his ideas for these lectures, the scholar-diplomat could call—and did—upon his close personal acquaintance with President-Professor Heuss and the doughty and durable Chancellor Adenauer and upon recent publications of such representative German intellectuals as historians Eyck, Ritter, and Heimpel. In the first lecture, "Germany Reviews Its Past," the author finds the contrast between the Germany of 1930 and that of a quarter of a century later strikingly favorable to the Federal Republic of today. There are more convinced believers in the present form of government, in freedom, and in peace who seem likely if "it" should threaten to "happen again" to be more tenacious in defense of present values than they or their fathers were "before." The first section of the Basic Law—a section not subject to amendment—protects the freedom, integrity, and dignity of the individual. On the Mannheim war memorial are the words: "The dead admonish us, 1933–1945." The Germans have turned their backs upon their Nazi past, not merely because they are chagrined to look upon it—their historians are busy documenting it—but because they do not now mean to repeat it. The second lecture deals realistically with politics and economics, the third with Germany's improving relations with her Western neighbors. Chancellor Adenauer's statement in a Reichstag defense policy debate in March confirms what Conant had said about him in January: "I believe in NATO, NATO, and NATO." In these brief lectures Conant has continued the valuable service previously rendered as high commissioner and ambassador. Harvard has done well to publish them.

University of Wisconsin

CHESTER V. EASUM

DAS HAUS HABSBURG: DIE GESCHICHTE EINER EUROPÄISCHEN DYNASTIE. By Adam Wandruszka. (Stuttgart: Friedrich Vorwerk Verlag, 1956. Pp. 225. DM 11.80.) It is a challenging task to compress into a few score pages the record of a supranational reigning house, which over a span of nearly seven centuries furnished twenty German kings and emperors and at various stages ruled not only the Austrian crownlands but also Burgundy, the Netherlands, Spain and its far-ranging overseas holdings, the lands of the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns, sections of Poland and the Balkans, and portions of northern and southern Italy. Dr. Wandruszka, who was trained in the rigorous Von Srbik school and is a docent in modern history at the University of Vienna, lays the accent on family and dynastic traditions and narrowly limits himself to political affairs together with brief verdicts on outstanding rulers. Surprisingly, almost a quarter of the space has been allocated to preliminaries on earlier writing about the Habsburgs and to a survey of the folklore that encrusts the origins of the proudest royal house of Europe. The pertinent literature that has appeared since the Second World War, almost exclusively in the German language, is enumerated. At times the exposition of the medieval annals becomes dreary and the family relationships a well-nigh baffling maze, though clarified in a set of *Stammtafel*. As for ap-

praisals of the principal personalities, Maximilian I and Charles V receive high marks, as do Philip II of Spain (too high, no doubt), Maria Theresa, Joseph II (the most controversial of modern Habsburgs, who has even been likened to Nicholas Lenin), and the attractive Archduke John of the forepart of the nineteenth century. Francis Joseph I, "the last monarch of the old school," is portrayed in a distinctly magnanimous and tolerant manner. An elegant and eloquent sketch suggests—rather convincingly—the meaning of the Habsburgs for Europe and the world. Written in sprightly fashion and embellished with skillfully chosen illustrations, this work is a readable and informing summary, more useful for the junior student than the mature one.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAX

THE FRENCH IN ITALY, 1796-1799. By *Angus Heriot*. (London: Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. 316, 30s.) For the documentation of this work Angus Heriot used almost solely long-published contemporary memoirs and correspondence. Although the volume contains neither references nor bibliography, it is easy to determine that the memoirs of Casanova and of General Thiébault, the works of Cuoco and Colletta on Naples, and the letters of Madame Reinhard, wife of the French ambassador to Florence, are among the main sources of the author. On the other hand, it is obvious that Heriot ignores completely all the studies published during the last thirty years on the history of Italy between 1798 and 1800, notably those by Italian and French historians, studies which have completely revised our knowledge. The book is, in consequence, essentially anecdotal. Well written, it reads easily and will divert the reader. The state of Italy on the eve of the arrival of the French in 1796 is described at length, but the author emphasizes especially the morality of the nobles and bourgeoisie; their depravity, much exaggerated by Casanova and even Stendhal, seems to have astonished him. He speaks at length of the practice, evidently strange, of "sigisbésisme" though this was confined to the lowest minority of the population. But Heriot does not examine the fundamental composition of this population, which we must know if we are to understand its reactions and which Marino Berengo has recently described for the Venetian states at least. The political events which followed the entrance of the French into Italy, the creation of "sister" republics, their loss, and the reaction which ensued are most fully described, without important errors. But these events are never explained. For Heriot all the episodes which were unrolling in Italy during the revolutionary period are farcical. The people act, play roles of which they are the captives, but have no fundamental ideas or deep convictions. The Italian events are a kind of spectacle of the *Commedia dell'arte*, without solid foundation either in the Italian people or in the ideological movement coming from France. This point of view does not take any account of recent works. To the great movement toward unification which was then developing in Italy, Heriot gives only a few brief and misleading lines. He scarcely mentions the names of two or three Italian "patriots"; they do not appear in the index, and the name of one of them, Matteo Galdi, is misspelled Matteo Gadda. Because Heriot has failed to read the studies of Delio Cantimori, Armando Saitta, Alessandro Galante Garrone, and Giorgia Vaccarino as well as my own modest works, he does not understand why the French Directory did not support the unification movement. This movement was related, through Buonarroti, to the Jacobin "anarchist" movement that the government combatted in France. The Directory could not without danger to itself support the men in Italy against whom they were fighting in France. The name of Buonarroti is not even mentioned in the book! The tone of the book, generally ironic, even sarcastic, passes the customary limits of British humor. It seems to indicate

in the author a complete lack of sympathy for the Italians as well as for the French. The book will entertain some readers. It will scarcely inform the historians.

Université de Toulouse

JACQUES GODECHOT

SCRITTI E DISCORSI DI GUSTAVO MODENA (1831-1860). Edited by *Terenzio Grandi*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica. Serie 2: Fonti, Volume XXXIX.] (Rome: the Istituto, 1957. Pp. x, 361.) This companion volume to the recently published letters of Modena (*AHR*, LXII [July, 1957], 985) lacks the charm and wit that the eminent actor displayed in his personal correspondence, but it is as fully characteristic of the fiery Mazzinian who lived a life dedicated to the cause of an Italy that would be "Free, United, Independent, Republican." In the course of preaching these ideals along with the ill-fated conviction that "Italy will go it alone," Modena's polemic seems to constitute a nearly complete vocabulary of Italian invective. Gioberti, Cavour, and D'Azeglio take the brunt of his magnificent sarcasm and irony, but it would appear that he could not find it in himself to spare anyone—not even his beloved Mazzini. The political writings collected here include Modena's "Dialoghi Popolari," intended as educational supplements to the *Giovine Italia* from 1832 to 1835, pieces appearing under various auspices in 1848 and 1849, and those which appeared from 1851 until his death in 1861. About a hundred pages are given to writings on the theater and scattered literary-historical subjects, but even in these matters, the author is nothing if not political. The editor has appended a few letters which came to light after the *Epistolario* went to press, and he provides a lengthy bibliography along with an index of names ranging from Joshua to Daniel O'Connell. Seemingly unable to part with his fine labor of love, Mr. Grandi half threatens to edit an accounting of the reviews of his two books.

Northwestern University

GEORGE T. ROMANI

ORSINI: THE STORY OF A CONSPIRATOR. By *Michael St. John Packe*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. Pp. 313. \$5.00.) Felice Orsini's biography possesses elements of romance, comedy, and tragedy. The romance derives from his fanatical nationalism; family, money, and eventually his life were sacrificed to Orsini's obsession with a united, republican Italy. "A born conspirator," Orsini traveled about Europe in a series of silly disguises (fooling nobody but Metternich's secret police) to carry out the schemes dreamed up by Mazzini in his London exile. Once twenty-nine men with fourteen muskets showed up for the "national uprising"; another time only fourteen men appeared of an expected two thousand. After raising four such unsuccessful "rebellions" and being imprisoned an equal number of times, even the faithful Orsini became disenchanted with Mazzini's futile plots. On his own, Orsini embarked on a scheme to assassinate the French emperor, although it was based on Mazzini's notion that Napoleon III was the archreactionary whose death would bring about a republican revolution throughout Europe and the liberation of Italy. The bombs that Orsini threw at the emperor's carriage (January 14, 1858) killed eight people and wounded 148 others; Napoleon III received only a scratch on his prominent nose! Condemned to death, Orsini succeeded in arousing sympathy for the plight of Italy. But with tragic irony, the liberation of Italy came in spite of, rather than because of, Orsini. The emperor whom he had tried to kill took the first steps in freeing Italy, and instead of the republic that Orsini had envisaged, Italy became a monarchy. Michael St. John Packe, who has done an excellent *Life of John Stuart Mill*, writes vividly, sometimes over lushly, and with detailed accuracy in this first English biography of Orsini. Relying on the older but still excellent accounts of Bolton King and G. M.

Trevulyan, Packe is weak on the political and social background, being apparently unaware, with the exception of Cesare Spellanzon's work, of the most recent scholarship on the Risorgimento. The book is chiefly valuable for its picture of the conspiratorial life and the relations of Mazzini with his subordinates.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRAZBERG

LA Lotta Politica in Italia dall'Unità al 1925: IDEE E DOCUMENTI. By *Nino Valeri*. (2d ed.; Florence: Felice le Monnier. 1958. Pp. viii, 614. L. 3,000.) Issued in 1945, the first edition of this excellent collection of "readings" in post-Risorgimento Italian history was almost literally "snatched up" in the hopeful atmosphere of postwar reconstruction. As Nino Valeri recalls, the book's original intent was that, once the dictator had fallen and his repressive organs and henchmen dispersed, Italians might resume the political "discourse" where it had been violently interrupted with the loss of freedom of thought and expression brought by Fascism. Free historical inquiry based upon the study of the "documents and ideas" of the post-Unitary period might serve the purpose of revealing that Fascism had after all not been the sole alternative and that perhaps it had broken the thread of modern Italian history only momentarily, not beyond rebinding. In presenting this second edition practically without modifications, Professor Valeri—who is without doubt among the most authoritative and perceptive students of Italian political history, whether he deals with the era of Giangaleazzo Visconti or that of Mussolini, with the politics of Cola di Rienzi or with the activity of Cola's biographer, Gabriele D'Annunzio—seems less hopeful. Fascism, Valeri feels, definitely closed a cycle. The fervid debates, the contrasting points of view, and the documentation of the struggles and efforts, the successes and failures, of the pre-Fascist period that this source book so richly presents seem to belong now to an era beyond recapturing, to that realm of historical contemplation wherein the past can illustrate but no longer "teach." The volume is divided into eighteen documentary sections, each preceded by illuminating introductions which in most cases amount to brief historical essays. All major phases of internal and external Italian history from Cavour to Crispi and then from Giolitti to Mussolini—through *trasformismo*, colonialism, socialism, *giolittismo*, and nationalism—are interestingly presented through a fine combination of extensive contemporary documents and the best historical critiques drawn from the works of men who, like Groce, Salvemini, Salvatorelli, Volpe, Gobetti, and others, lived through and participated differently in crucial moments of the Italian political struggle. If an exception might be taken to a work which, given its character and scope, is almost beyond criticism, it is to Valeri's terminal date for the free political struggle in Italy—1925. The decade between the Italian intervention into the First World War in May, 1915, and Mussolini's "second" *coup d'état* of January 3, 1925, it seems to me, was as a whole the "great divide" in modern Italian history. Those ten years progressively and irreparably shattered both the remote Risorgimento and the immediate Giolittian heritages and nurtured the evil fruits which war, revolution and counterrevolution, ultranationalism, nihilistic activism, and senseless war again brought to Italy. Valeri, who perhaps is no less pessimistic, has both with this volume and in other works tended to justify his view that the great crisis following the assassination of Matteotti offered a chance—the last—for the salvation of the Italian liberal state. In a strict sense, he is absolutely, and tragically, right.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

MATERIAŁY DO DZIEJÓW CHŁOPA WIELKOPOLSKIEGO W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU [Materials on the History of the Peasant in Great Poland

in the Second Half of the 18th Century]. Tom III, WOJEWÓDZTWO KALISKIE [Kalisz District]. Selected by Janusz Deresiewicz. [Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute, Seria III, Inwentarze Dób Ziemskich.] (Wrocław: Ossoliński Publishing House, 1957. Pp. vi, 504. Zł. 110.) The Polish Academy of Sciences is editing documents illustrating the history of the Polish village. A series of volumes, of which this is the third, is devoted to transcripts of inventories of landed property. The present volume includes documents related exclusively to the history of the Polish peasant in the second half of the eighteenth century (from the period of repeated attempts aiming at an agricultural reform and the improvement of the lot of the peasant), selected from the municipal archives of the district (palatinate) of Kalisz, a part of the province of Great Poland. It is therefore only a very small part of the undertaking of the Academy. Even so, it contains three hundred pages, not counting the indexes. Only in the hands of a skilled historian of economics can these transcripts come fully to life. But even a non-expert, if only slightly familiar with agricultural problems, and if he scans the transcripts against the background provided, for example, by such a standard work as J. Rutkowski's *Histoire économique de la Pologne avant les partages* (Paris, 1927, or its later Polish and Russian versions), will receive a vivid impression of the actual economic conditions on the inventoried manors (kind and quality of buildings, forests, cattle, etc.) and of the feudal duties of the peasants belonging to them. In a work of this kind no commentary can be expected, but it is difficult to suppress some questions. How did the editor select the documents for transcription? Can we be certain that they are a fair sample of all documents preserved in the archives and that in turn all documents preserved in the archives are fair samples of all the landed property within the district? Would it not have been possible to provide the reader with a glossary of the main legal terms, such as those used to designate the feudal status of the peasants, roughly corresponding to the English cotter, bordar, etc.? These questions notwithstanding, one is always glad to have the raw material of historiography made easily accessible.

Scripps College

FRANCISZKA MERLAN

MIKHAILOVSKY AND RUSSIAN POPULISM. By James H. Billington. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 217. \$4.80.) This study is a contribution to the growing body of literature in English on Russian intellectual history. In examining the system of thought of a central figure in the radical movement from 1870 to 1900, the author has gone through a mass of musty material and emerged with a condensation that is clear and interesting. While the specialist might wish that certain matters had received fuller treatment—for example, Mikhailovsky's views on the *obshchina*—it must be conceded that such elaboration within the given space would have been at the expense of the over-all account. In his laudable endeavor to treat populism in its setting without "playing tricks on the dead," the author does not attempt to conceal its utopian character. Nevertheless, he deals with it gently. Was it any merit of Mikhailovsky's that he did not oppose industrial development as such, when he abhorred industrial workers as well as industrialists and regarded as sacrosanct the communal forms that choked every form of economic progress? The author quite properly concentrates on the thought of Mikhailovsky rather than his life, since he had no life apart from intellectual pursuits, and quite properly the movement studied is the older populism over which Mikhailovsky had so great an influence, rather than the neopopulism of the twentieth century, which differed in important respects from his system and program. The reader will note the paradox of Mikhailovsky's dependence on Western thought, particularly of the French school, and his championship of a distinctive path of development for Russian society apart from that of the West. Certain

less well-known but important aspects of populism are brought out: the orientation toward France, the bias against Germany and Turkey, and the connection with dissident Christianity. The failure to provide more than an index of names, while understandable from the viewpoint of economy, is regrettable from that of the investigator who might wish to pull out certain threads in Mikhailovsky's thought.

University of Texas

OLIVER RADKEY

LENIN ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONALITY. By *Alfred D. Low*. [Bookman Monograph Series.] (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958. Pp. 193. \$4.00.) Alfred D. Low has earned the gratitude of students of Russian communism and of twentieth-century nationalism by a careful and well-documented study on the conceptual framework of Lenin's approach to the problem of nationality. Lenin's approach was pragmatic and thus not without contradictions. His theories were weapons in the revolutionist struggle. Nevertheless, he held on the whole firmly to the conviction that "from the point of view of socialism, it is absolutely a mistake to ignore the tasks of national liberation in a situation of national oppression." The communist nationality policy as devised by Lenin failed, because its significance was mainly tactical and because the communists did not fulfill Lenin's demand that "a truly proletarian attitude requires of us extraordinary caution, courtesy and complaisance." Did Lenin himself live up to this admirable prescription? He became painfully aware that his fellow communists certainly did not when in the last years of his life Great Russian chauvinism asserted itself among the party members. The Twelfth Congress of the Communist party in April, 1923, rejected Lenin's warnings against overcentralization and his demands to lean over backwards toward the non-Russian nationalities. Lenin was one of the few to realize the full importance of the problems of the awakening nationalities. He did it, as cannot be emphasized enough, for tactical reasons: "It would be unforgivable if, on the eve of the emergence of the East and at the beginning of its awakening, we should undermine our prestige there with even the slightest rudeness or injustice to our own minorities." Low has not written a study of Soviet nationality policy. That has been done several times extremely well, for the earlier period above all by Richard Pipes, for the later period by Frederick Barghoorn. Low confines himself to an analysis of Lenin's political thought with regard to nationalism, but he shows also how far this segment of Lenin's thought has been accepted or modified by early Soviet policy. Though Lenin's policy on nationality was "liberal" in its outward aspects, it was fundamentally illiberal because it regarded nationalities as well as other groups and individuals as mere means to an end. In his clear and concise analysis Low has revealed the inconsistencies in Lenin's thought and the distortion of that thought not only under Stalin but even during Lenin's lifetime.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

FAR EAST

THE LOCATION OF YAMATAI: A CASE STUDY IN JAPANESE HISTORIOGRAPHY, 720-1945. By *John Young*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXV, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957. Pp. 199, x. \$3.50.) Excursions into historiographical problems sharpen the detective instincts of historians and sometimes lead to startling changes of interpretation. But the problem of "the location of Yamatai" is so remote from the areas of interest of American historians, even those whose main concern is Far Eastern history, that this study may seem to some to be merely a tour de force to show off the author's knowledge

of Japanese sources. Actually, if it were no more than that, *The Location of Yamatai* would still be valuable as a training book for a seminar in Japanese historiography, for it contains a convenient summary of the main trends in the development of that subject from early times to 1945. But to do the book full justice one should realize that the problem considered, namely that of the origins of the Japanese state, is an important one, new light on which would have been to the pre-1945 intellectual world of Japan at least as important, for example, as was Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* to American understanding of our own history. The tragedy, implicit in the story that Young tells, is that the comparable Japanese study, which would have brought the imperial institution of Japan under the severe sort of scrutiny that Beard applied to the Founding Fathers, was not written, even though Japanese historians and archaeologists had by the 1930's, in arguing the Yamatai problem, brought out the pieces of information around which a large reinterpretation might have been built. The trouble was false piety, backed all too often by political pressure. Thus *The Location of Yamatai* is well worth the painstaking effort that the author (and his wife) put into it. On a point of omission the study deserves to be criticized. It concludes rather glumly: "Hence the Yamatai problem was left unsolved. It is likely to remain in this state as long as the imperial system continues to exert an influence upon historians." Young does not indicate that as of his date of writing (1956) this was certainly no longer the case. In fact, as soon as the war was over Japanese scholarship began to cut into the curtain of circumspection that had previously surrounded the Yamatai problem, and in 1948 Gerard Groot published in Japan an "Essay on Early Japanese History" (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*), which literally tore it to shreds. Groot's interpretation may be overdone, but certainly it opened the subject.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

A HISTORY OF SINO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS. By *Tien-fong Cheng*. Introduction by *John Leighton Stuart*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 389. \$6.00.) Dr. Cheng, a former minister of education for the Republic of China, is introduced to American readers by his friend, Dr. John Leighton Stuart, long-time president of Yenching University and ex-United States ambassador to China. This book is the outgrowth of a course of lectures delivered in the United States. Cheng is a storyteller in the best Chinese tradition, and he does not permit his theme to be obscured by meticulous historical craftsmanship. Annoying mistakes are frequent. He anticipates that his views "will be criticized by Communists, fellow-travellers and left-wing writers." The chapters dealing with events before World War II are skillfully presented and embellished by personal observations, for example, the tale of Borodin's plot to kidnap Chiang Kai-shek and to send him to Vladivostok and the sight at Ninguta of "10,000 skulls on a hollow ground, a concrete evidence of the Communist cruelty." Cheng recounts the bitter details of Soviet diplomacy in Outer Mongolia (the first country behind the Iron Curtain after the Bolshevik revolution), in Sinkiang (which became a colony in all but name), and in China—including Manchuria (where after 1943 it became a necessity for Stalin to drive a wedge between the United States and China). He ascribes the collapse of the Kuomintang and the victories of the Chinese Communists to the eight-year Sino-Japanese war, the failure of China to expose the true nature of Chinese Communists and Soviet aggression, the confusion and corruption among the Chinese nationalists at the time of liberation from Japan, economic chaos, military overexpansion in Manchuria, and mistaken policies on the part of the United States. The last third of the book is as much a commentary on American policy as a history of Sino-Russian relations. It is a kind of one-man reply to the White Paper.

Other Recent Publications

The very best which can be said is that the depth of the author's feelings has led him to rely upon half-truths and to accept as final certain judgments which call for further evidence. This applies to his interpretations of the entire field of United States policy toward China during the administration of President Truman. Cheng uses easily such loaded statements as an "*organized effort* to push through this Communist propaganda campaign" and "Hurley demanded the dismissal of these *pro-Communist and disloyal* staff members" (italics mine in both instances). This is a poignant narrative—the more so as one considers the closing scene: Free China, on the threshold of a fateful tomorrow, confident that such "an un-Chinese, un-democratic and tyrannical rule as the Peiping regime will ultimately collapse."

Stanford University

CLAUDE A. BUSS

UNITED STATES

AMERICAN JUDAISM. By *Nathan Glazer*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 175. \$3.50.) The history of Judaism in America, like the history of Catholicism, has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. What has been written is with few exceptions the work of rabbis and dilettantes, and if some of it stands up well, most of it suffers from special pleading, lack of insight, or amateurism. One of the exceptions, it is pleasant to report, is this little book by Nathan Glazer, who is a sociologist, editor at Anchor Books, and coauthor of *The Lonely Crowd*. The major thesis of *American Judaism* is that Jews, more so than other Americans, have been at once a people and a religious group. Focusing on these two "polar conceptions," Glazer moves chronologically from the Sephardic synagogue to German Reform to the Orthodox and Conservative Judaism of the Eastern European immigrants and their descendants. His conclusion, fortified by his observations as a former editor of *Commentary*, is that most Jews today care less about religion than retaining their identity as a historic people. The chapter on the Sephardic Jews of the colonial and early national periods is thin, perhaps because so little is known about them. Glazer has done little original research of his own but has rather relied on the best secondary sources. What he says about Reform Judaism, though, is shrewd, for he proves that, despite their claims, the Reformers were not merely a religious community but decidedly loyal to the folk past. The chapters on the Judaism of post-1880 immigrants are full and illuminate the division between Jews that lasted until recently. What we have here is not a definitive history but an always interesting and intelligent exploratory essay on the social and intellectual sources of Jewish denominationalism in America. One may ask, however, whether Jews have been more self-conscious about being Jews than, say, Irish-American Catholics have been about being Irish, or New England Congregationalists have been about being Yankees. The author has raised significant problems about group identification in general that need to be explored further. Also worthy of examination is his query as to how a country that once regarded itself as Christian now refers to itself as Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. If historians find more questions posed than answered, it is a tribute to the author's intelligence that he knows what is really important.

Smith College

ARTHUR MANN

THE KENSINGTON STONE: A MYSTERY SOLVED. By *Erik Wahlgren*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 228. \$5.00.) When the reviewer accepted this book he thought from its title that he was going to be able to get off the

fence on which he had been sitting since about 1914 with reference to this problem. He finds, however, that the book does not actually solve the mystery—at least for the layman, and its probable result will be merely another book or article on the subject by Hjalmar Holand. A series of short chapters discuss "The History of the Rune Stone," opinions of various authorities, "The Nature of the Problem," and so forth; a "Conclusion" sums up the writer's findings that the stone is a hoax of modern origin and the inscription "supremely appropriate to a writing in Minnesota dialect." Although the reviewer has read the book carefully and although the author has apparently done a thorough job of research, the reviewer does not find the "mystery solved" in any language that he can understand. Perhaps geologists and runologists will be convinced. The author obviously thinks the inscription on the stone was concocted, but he positively refuses to convict any individual of having concocted it. Too much is reported as "unclear" to permit one who is neither geologist nor runologist to come to a definite conclusion regarding the "mystery." It must be said, however, that the author presents an impressive argument and a devastating exposition of illogical and contradictory statements by Dr. Holand. The publisher has consolidated the illustrations in three places in the book, so that some are considerably removed from their references, and has consolidated the voluminous notes at the end, making them hard to consult. The bibliography is "in no sense exhaustive," as is stated, but it lists three articles by the author, one in Norwegian and two in English. The index also "does not aim to exhaustive listing."

Washington, D. C.

SOLON J. BUCK

GEORGIANS IN PROFILE: HISTORICAL ESSAYS IN HONOR OF ELLIS MERTON COULTER. Edited by *Horace Montgomery*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 387. \$6.00.) It is a familiar academic practice in America when a productive scholar reaches the point of retirement for his former students to honor him with a book of essays. Often such tributes are not completely successful as literary presentations. Because the contributors represent a diversity of interests, an essay collection may lack a unifying theme or it may fail to convey a sense of movement in history. No such criticisms can be leveled at the essays in *Georgians in Profile*, compiled by students of E. Merton Coulter of the University of Georgia. Happily, the contributors decided to write articles on significant or representative Georgia personalities, and the end result is a kind of personal history of Georgia from the colonial period to the 1920's. Fourteen essays detail the careers of fifteen Georgians (one essay deals with two characters.) Although no one of the people presented was a towering figure—Toombs and Stephens do not appear—all were important on the colonial or state level and some in the sectional and national sphere. Four of the pieces are concerned with colonial officials, five with later politicians, one with an Indian agent, one with an Indian, one with a poet and a historian, one with a railroad magnate, and one with a woman journalist-reformer. Of the political pieces, four deal with leaders of the middle period, and they illustrate the truth that the best way to get at the meaning of such phenomena as Jacksonian Democracy or Whiggery is through a study of state politics. Naturally readers of this book will be most interested in the essays that fall within their special field of competence, but this reviewer was impressed by the standard of scholarship and interest maintained in all the essays. This collection is a fitting testimonial to Professor Coulter, who has taught at Georgia since 1919 and who has left a lasting mark on the writing of Georgia and Southern history. An appendix lists his varied publications.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

THE SOUTHEAST IN EARLY MAPS: WITH AN ANNOTATED CHECK LIST OF PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT REGIONAL AND LOCAL MAPS OF SOUTHEASTERN NORTH AMERICA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD. By *William P. Cumming*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 275. \$12.50.) This volume is one of the most important contributions made to the colonial history of the South in recent years. Its outstanding feature is, of course, the series of sixty-seven maps admirably reproduced by the Meriden Gravure Company. Though necessarily much reduced in size, they are so carefully rendered that even the most minute details in the originals become clear under an ordinary reading glass for nearly any kind of use to which a scholar may subject them. Beginning with Waldseemüller's *Universalis Cosmographia* (1507) and ending with Cook's Map of the Province of South Carolina (1773), Mr. Cumming has assembled from the major collections the maps most significantly revealing the progressive development of knowledge about the South Atlantic region north of Florida. Several of these maps are reproduced here for the first time from manuscripts; most are taken from the best available engraved copies. Of the manuscript maps, John Barnwell's informative *Southeastern North America* (ca. 1722) is probably the most striking. In addition to an excellent essay on the early historical cartography of the southeastern country, the product of twenty-five years of patient research, Cumming provides a list of 450 maps of the region prepared before 1776, which will be the standard check list. He also provides extensive notes for each of the maps reproduced in the volume. These contain a vast amount of historical information in addition to the usual cartographical and bibliographical data. The full impact of this publication will be realized only after scholars have examined the maps with great care, but it may at once be said that Cumming has produced an indispensable work.

University of California, Berkeley

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

THE PURITAN DILEMMA: THE STORY OF JOHN WINTHROP. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958. Pp. xii, 224. \$3.50.) *The Puritan Dilemma* is the clearest, most easily digested, and painless presentation of Puritan dogma this reviewer has ever encountered and as such will be heartily welcomed by teachers of undergraduates in American history. Mr. Morgan explains the complicated Puritan dilemma as "the problem of doing right in a world that does wrong" and proceeds to illustrate the difficulties encountered by Winthrop as an individual and by the Puritan community as a whole as they strove to resolve this problem. Using the life of John Winthrop as a chronological springboard, Morgan sketches the Puritan beliefs, shows how they differed from other religious views of the time and how they influenced the economic, political, and intellectual lives of the faithful. The book concerns ideas primarily: there is little of the "pots-and-pans" social history one frequently finds in a biography. In the main, the specialist will find that Morgan's story differs little from the generally accepted interpretation of the period, but there are some noteworthy exceptions. One concerns the interpretation of the 1630 enlargement of the franchise, which many authorities say was due to the demands of the freeman; Morgan reasons it out as a gift from Winthrop, who was bent on carrying out the covenant idea in both church and state—an interesting and logical interpretation. One cannot help wondering, however, if the logic Morgan so aptly demonstrates here could not be applied with advantage to some of the basic current interpretations of this period. If this were done, would we be able to accept the idea that early Massachusetts was ruled by "despots" even though those despots were chosen by the freemen in annual elections? But this book, which incidentally has no footnotes, was not written

for the specialist. It was written to explain our currently accepted view of Puritanism to the general reader. In my view, it does this very well.

East Lansing, Michigan

B. KATHERINE BROWN

THE DISCOVERIES OF JOHN LEDERER WITH UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY AND ABOUT LEDERER TO GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP, JR., AND AN ESSAY ON THE INDIANS OF LEDERER'S *DISCOVERIES*. By *Douglas L. Rights* and *William P. Cumming*. Edited with notes by *William P. Cumming*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press; Winston-Salem, N. C.: Wachovia Historical Society. 1958. Pp. xi, 148. \$5.00.) In 1670 one John Lederer, hitherto imperfectly identified, undertook three journeys across the Virginia piedmont in search of a route to the South Sea, two of them to the crest of the Blue Ridge, one of uncertain length to the southwest. He was characterized by Alvord and Bidgood as "the Labontan of English exploration"; but from this excellent edition of his narrative he emerges as a more credible if still a fairly credulous explorer. Cartographical and ethnological evidence is marshaled to show that his second journey may have extended near to the present North Carolina-South Carolina boundary. He pioneered a path which Virginia traders followed to the Catawba; unfortunately, he also foisted on the mapmakers several persistent myths: the long savanna, the grand lake of Ushery, the Arenosa desert. He is now identified as a former matriculant of the Hamburg *gymnasium* and later a successful practitioner of the healing art in New England. Ten letters of 1674-1675, printed for the first time from the Winthrop Papers, reveal the esteem in which he was held by the governor and other Connecticut worthies.

University of Michigan

V. W. CRANE

FLINTLOCK AND TOMAHAWK: NEW ENGLAND IN KING PHILIP'S WAR. By *Douglas Edward Leach*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. x, 304. \$6.00.) *Flintlock and Tomahawk* is the only modern full-scale account of King Philip's War, which ravaged New England between 1675 and 1676. Marked by scrupulous and wide ranging research, it is not only good history but good narrative as well. A rhythm of suspense and excitement runs through the whole from the moment King Philip takes up the tomahawk until he falls into the well-laid trap set by the audacious Benjamin Church fourteen months later. With all the skill of an expert storyteller, Dr. Leach re-creates the major campaigns, bringing his readers to successive peaks of tension, relieved afterwards by calm discussion of the causes of success or failure, money and supply problems, race relations, and the effects of the war on religion and on the economy. One of the most interesting and instructive sections tells how Christian men became bitterly divided over how best to handle the "praying" and the friendly Indians. Eventually the white men realized the importance of Indian allies in spying upon and tracking down the enemy, but for a time those who stood for fair treatment of loyal Indians were in an uncomfortable minority, facing lynch mobs and the other brutalities of a society paralyzed by fear of an internal enemy. The author has detailed carefully the intercolonial bickering that marred cooperative efforts to meet the crisis. One is not surprised that the Puritan colonies remained suspicious of unorthodox Rhode Island, but even Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut quarreled over troop allotments and the furnishing of supplies. Worse yet, the united effort was hampered by boundary troubles with New York. Necessarily Leach has had to rely wholly upon records written by whites, but his presentation is remarkably fair to both sides. With insight and compassion he portrays the tragedy of this war of extermination. In larger perspective, he sees the war as one which brought New England out of its adolescence, preparing the

Other Recent Publications

way for a "more diversified order soon to come." He has supplied an excellent bibliography and useful maps.

Marietta College

ROBERT J. TAYLOR

HISTOIRE DE LA LOUISIANE FRANÇAISE. Volume II, ANNÉES DE TRANSITION (1715-1717). By *Marcel Giraud*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. 208. 900 fr.) This book is the second volume of an extensive work on the history of French Louisiana in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Volume I appeared in 1953 and dealt with the period from 1698 to 1715. The present volume covers the two years from the death of Louis XIV to the time that Antoine Crozat surrendered his trade monopoly. More volumes are planned. This book is an important contribution to the history of French Louisiana. Giraud has examined innumerable contemporary memoirs on Louisiana. Basing his research almost exclusively on archival material, he has presented a detailed account of this lesser known period, covering all significant topics of the early days of Louisiana with ample references. The important changes in the administration of the colony after 1715 are brought to light. New light on the French attitude toward the natives and toward slavery dispels the myth that the French were more humane in these respects than were the English and the Spaniards. The author convincingly shows how lack of money prevented the development of Louisiana. Because of this lack, the council of the navy depended upon Crozat's monopoly in spite of its disadvantages to the colonists. Giraud believes correctly that Crozat's monopoly of the Louisiana trade was profitable to him. This view was not shared by Pierre Heinrich (*La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes* [Paris, 1908?]) nor by Nancy M. Miller Surrey (*The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime, 1699-1763* [New York, 1916]), who were misled by Crozat's complaints. The state of defense during the years 1715-1717 was pitiful; the garrison sometimes numbered not more than 120 soldiers. Giraud pays considerable attention to the rivalry between the French and the English and to the efforts by the French and the Spaniards to penetrate present-day Texas. The bibliography for the archival material used is quite sufficient, but the list of published works covering the period 1715-1717 could be more complete. The index is excellent.

Denver, Colorado

HENRY FOLMER

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL CONNECTICUT. By *Kenneth Scott*. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, Number 140.] (New York: American Numismatic Society. 1957. Pp. 243, xlvi plates. \$5.00.) Manuscripts in the Connecticut State Library and eighteenth-century Connecticut newspapers have yielded the names of 350 known and suspected eighteenth-century counterfeiters, eighty of whom were convicted. These may be classed as counterfeiters of coins, alterers of bills of credit, and counterfeiters of bills of credit. Some worked alone; others in gangs that crossed colonial boundaries and even imported bills of credit counterfeited in Ireland and England. Professor Scott offers his book as a reference work in numismatics. To a historian it seems dull reading, somewhat brightened by forty-six photographic reproductions of eighteenth-century altered and counterfeited bills of credit.

New York, New York

ISABEL M. CALDER

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE CLASSES 1736-1740, WITH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER NOTES. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. [Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Volume X.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1958. Pp. x, 581. \$7.50.) Historians would

hardly think it news to see a further volume of Clifford Shipton's *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* praised for exhibiting meticulous research, pleasing style, and useful information. Nor will those familiar with this work need to be told that what we get in it of Mr. Shipton is as interesting as any of the men he writes about. In the recent volumes, in fact, Shipton generally is more engaging than his typically commonplace graduates. In the class of 1740 one Samuel Orne, for instance, "never married, but he did own a drum." Something equally thrilling pretty well sums it up for a good number of these sons of the prophets. The volume reviewed here is flavored, as previous ones have been, with Shipton's dislike for New Light and radical Whig attitudes. It is distinguished for its two lengthiest sketches, one of the Reverend Dr. Andrew Eliot, a celebrated pastor of Boston's New North Church and father of the compiler of America's first great biographical dictionary, and the other of Samuel Adams. Dr. Eliot is drawn sympathetically. Although Eliot befriended New Lights, he was no fanatic, which Shipton believes most men were who encouraged revivals. Eliot also became a Whig, but his rebellion was reluctant and therefore is dealt with gently. Shipton openly despises Sam Adams. Space prohibits a discussion of this remarkable biographical essay, but it can be promised that those who sometimes fret for just one more drink to the devil theory of history, and to Sam Adams as the Devil himself, will climb weakly back on the wagon and stay put for a long while after reading it. It is the grandest black frolic since Strachey went to work on Cardinal Manning. Shipton, however, has his facts straight. Whether his view of what they amount to is tenable in this case is another matter.

Northwestern University

LAWRENCE G. LAVENGOOD

THE PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON. Volume XII. Prepared for publication by Milton W. Hamilton. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1957. Pp. viii, 1124. \$8.00.) The documents included here cover the period from January, 1766, to Johnson's death in July, 1774, and their publication marks the completion of the second chronological sequence of the series. Volumes IX to XII are supplemental to Volumes V to VIII and contain copies of letters which were assumed to have been destroyed or were unknown at the time the earlier volumes were published. It now appears that there will be two more volumes to complete the series—one known as the "addenda volume," which will contain certain longer papers, including journals, accounts, and land papers, and a final index volume for the series as a whole. The contents of Volumes IX to XII are drawn from a great variety of depositories, including the William L. Clements Library, the libraries of Harvard University and Dartmouth College, and the Indian Records of the Canadian Archives. The location of the manuscript from which the published document is taken is indicated in the case of each item, including in some instances early published documents when these appear to have been the best texts available. Since the documents in Volume XII are for the most part copied from sources other than the Johnson Papers in Albany, they are largely free from the brackets indicating destruction or mutilation resulting from the fire in the state capitol in 1911. The papers published in the present volume include correspondence originating with Johnson as well as many items received by him. They deal with a great variety of matters, including the Indian trade, transactions involving lands, maintenance of peace along the frontier, and administration of Indian affairs. There are many letters written between Johnson and General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of the British forces in North America. These papers are of exceptional interest, concerned as they are with broad questions of policy. Throughout the volume there are reverberations from the differences between the colonies and the mother country, from which it is evident that

had Johnson lived until the Revolution, he would undoubtedly have supported the conservative cause in the conflict. All in all these volumes contain a magnificent collection of material dealing with the eighteenth-century frontier and its problems. The assembling and editing of these papers presented an appalling task; the editors have performed their duties with patience and thoroughness.

Dartmouth College

WAYNE E. STEVENS

THIS GLORIOUS CAUSE: THE ADVENTURES OF TWO COMPANY OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON'S ARMY. By *Herbert T. Wade* and *Robert A. Lively*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 254. \$5.00.) These Revolutionary adventures represent in their modest way another kind of adventure in the changing ways of history. Mr. Wade was an amateur historian of family pride and genealogical interest who did his research with integrity and industry; upon his death his papers were turned over to Mr. Lively, a professional scholar, who extracted from them this record of soldiers at war. In the process, an emphasis upon lines of march and rolls of honor gave way to the story of ordinary men fighting for freedom, an effort to understand the motives of two Americans from Ipswich and how they helped create a nation. Lively offers no new insights or altered views. Rather, he has tried "to give personal dimension to truths that Americans have always believed," and he has succeeded. Approximately two thirds of the text is an account of the wartime lives of Captain Nathaniel Wade and Lieutenant Joseph Hodgkins; the last third is a reproduction of the letters of Hodgkins and his wife Sarah, from May 7, 1775, to January 1, 1779. The letters, chief source for the study, are also the chief virtue of the book; their interwoven tale of family life and civil conflict is unpretentiously instructive and unexpectedly charming. Students of the Revolution can pass by this volume with safety, but those who pause for a while to consider it will enjoy knowing Joseph and Sarah Hodgkins and may come to understand something more of the men who won our freedom.

George Washington University

RICHARD C. HASKETT

"IN GOD WE TRUST": THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN FOUNDING FATHERS. Selected, edited, and with commentary by *Norman Cousins*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. viii, 464. \$5.95.) "The purpose of this volume," writes Norman Cousins, "is to bring together in one place a representative account of the personal philosophies and religious beliefs of the Founding Fathers." To accomplish this task, he has assembled extracts from the writings of Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and Paine. Mr. Cousins has, in addition, supplied introductions to the religious writings of each of the Founding Fathers. The principal defect of this book is that its editor has consistently refused to recognize that the leaders of the Revolutionary generation in America were eighteenth-century rationalists whose religion was generally distinguished by its absence. All the men considered by Cousins believed in an afterlife and in a benign and beneficent God. But beyond this most of them were unwilling to go, for they tended to look on dogma as superstition and on theology as some form of mumbo-jumbo fit only for the uneducated and the irrational. As a result, "*In God We Trust*" contains very little religious doctrine and a great deal about religious toleration, the over-all wisdom of a very abstract God, separation of church and state, and the evils of bigotry. Unless it is assumed that religion consists of neither theology nor dogma, this book is only incidentally concerned with religion. If, as his title indicates, Cousins believes that the Founding Fathers trusted in God, much of the material that he has

presented points to a different conclusion. They trusted in their own reason as few Americans before or since have done, and with some exceptions they believed that God had fulfilled His principal function when He endowed them with the power to reason. It is difficult to understand for whom this book is intended. Historians will find nothing in it to make them revise their views of the Founding Fathers. It presumably contains little that would appeal to that mysterious—and perhaps nonexistent—individual known as the general reader. Finally, it makes no contribution to the history of religion.

Columbia University

HAROLD C. SYRETT

MESSRS. CAREY AND LEA OF PHILADELPHIA: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE BOOKTRADE. By *David Kaser*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. Pp. 182. \$4.00.) Since the publication in 1640 of the *Bay Psalm Book*, American book publishing has become a major industry, with total sales which neared the billion dollar mark in 1957. This book, a condensation of the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan, presents a sixteen-year segment of the history of an important Philadelphia publishing firm, founded in 1785, which under various names has survived to the present day. Making use of fragmentary house records of the firm, Dr. Kaser adds measurably to our knowledge of an era (1822-1838), "in which Carey & Lea ruled the Philadelphia booktrade, and Philadelphia was the literary center of the United States." At a time when popular books of American authorship were exceedingly rare, Henry Carey and Isaac Lea published established American authors, such as Irving and Cooper, and through wider circulation of their works helped to make them better known. Also they had some success in creating reputations for promising but little-known native writers. Other achievements included the founding and publication for ten years of the Philadelphia counterpart of Boston's *North American Review*, the introduction of literary annuals into America, and the issue of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Americana*. Interesting features of the book are the new facts disclosed on author-publisher relations of the period, methods of book distribution, and the business ethics of the booktrade. Although Carey & Lea apparently introduced the practice of making fairly substantial payments to foreign authors, Kaser neglects to point out the violent opposition of the Careys to any form of international copyright. Moreover, although he has much to say about its rivalry with the rising House of Harper, there is a disappointing lack of information about Carey & Lea's Philadelphia competitors, one of whom, Lippincott, is not even mentioned.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

HORACE BUSHNELL: MINISTER TO A CHANGING AMERICA. By *Barbara M. Cross*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 200. \$6.00.) Horace Bushnell (1802-1876) was one of the outstanding New England clergymen of the nineteenth century. A graduate of Yale Divinity School and pastor of the North (Congregational) Church in Hartford for more than twenty years, he was also the author of a number of important theological tracts. In the most famous of these, *Christian Nurture*, he argued the thesis that "the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise." This idea was in sharp contrast to the prevailing emphasis on a specific conversion experience. In other works Bushnell presented significant ideas on the nature and functions of language, on the Trinity, on miracles, and on the Atonement. Deeply influenced by Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, he stressed the role of symbolism and emotion in religion as opposed to dogma and logic. Bushnell is commonly regarded as the fountainhead of American Protestant liberalism, but the present study suggests that he was more orthodox than has been usually thought. Religious leaders of

the next generation, such as Washington Gladden and Lyman Abbott, drew from his works only what they wished. A modern biography of Horace Bushnell is needed. Whether this very competent monograph will meet the need, however, is open to question. The author's purpose seems not to have been to present a life story but rather to explore a phase of intellectual history. Personal details are largely lacking, and the explanation of Bushnell's writings is not as clear and full as might be desired. The nonspecialist may be troubled by the author's generous use of technical labels ("Kantian epistemology," "associationalist psychology," "Tylerism," "Taylorism," "Sabellianism," and the like) which are only partially explained. Those wishing a well-rounded understanding of Bushnell's career will still find it useful to consult the *Life and Letters* prepared by his daughter, Mary Bushnell Cheney, in 1880 and the biography by his disciple, Theodore T. Munger, which appeared in 1899.

Pennsylvania State University

IRA V. BROWN

THE SAC AND FOX INDIANS. By William T. Hagan. [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 48.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 287. \$5.00.) The Black Hawk War of 1832 is one of the more familiar episodes in American-Indian relations, partly because of the prominence of white men who took minor parts in it, notably Abraham Lincoln, and partly because the ancient Sac chief after whom the war was named wrote an account of his war experiences, which a writer in the *Dictionary of American Biography* claims has become an American classic. The war was not that important, but it was the last, and for the moment an explosive, stand of powerful and warlike tribes, the Sac and Fox Indians, against the progress of settlers in northwestern Illinois. Its conclusion, marked by brutal slaughter of braves, women, and children, and the concession of eastern Iowa, paved the way for the rapid penetration of settlers in the prairies beyond the Mississippi. From a wide variety of sources Professor William T. Hagan has traced events leading to the Black Hawk War from the Treaty of 1804 with the Sac and Fox Indians, wherein their traditional home in Illinois was ceded. Black Hawk refused to accept the treaty with its concession, fought with the British in the War of 1812, and continued to be a malcontent leader of red men until he belligerently challenged white occupation of the cession and moved his large band of followers through the heart of the Rock River country. The story is familiar but is here given in full detail, stripped of its romantic garnish and yet shown in all its tragic misunderstanding, confusion, and bloodshed. The author devotes less than a third of his well-written account to the Sac and Fox Indians after 1832 when they lived successively in Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Despoiled of their manhood by liquor that was always available to them when they had credit, their annuities paid to traders-creditors or to greedy spoilsmeen conniving with agents assigned to them, their allotments acquired by grasping settlers and speculators, the Sac and Fox Indians nevertheless resisted for years the efforts to provide them with education, Christianity, and an agricultural life. This portion of the book is fresher, more ground breaking, than is the earlier narrative. It leaves many questions unanswered and suggests the need for more studies of Indian culture in the period of white dominance.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

LORD ABERDEEN AND THE AMERICAS. By Wilbur Devereux Jones. [University of Georgia Monographs, Number 4.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 101. \$2.00.) This slim volume praises Lord Aberdeen's American policy from 1841 to 1846. Dr. Jones reviews four problems—the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, British plans in Texas, the Anglo-French intervention in La Plata, and Oregon—and comes to

the basic conclusion that, despite minor tactical failings, Aberdeen's "grand strategy" succeeded, since he improved relations with France and America and achieved some moderation of the intimacy between those two rivals of Britain. Jones emphasizes the importance of France in Anglo-American relations. He clearly shows that the foreign secretary, seeking an *entente cordiale*, was oftentimes more concerned with acting in concert with France than in the substance of American issues; the author also argues that the shakiness of this entente helped restrain British statesmen from a more aggressive policy toward the United States. One may object that Jones (like Aberdeen) overestimates the strength of Franco-American friendship and that the French threat to Britain's rear may have been the rationalization of a pacific American policy, rather than the true cause of it. Nevertheless, this emphasis upon France is a salutary reminder for egocentric American historians. Aside from this, the volume's chief interest is its treatment of Oregon. Jones emphasizes Aberdeen's lack of concern for territory as such and the consequent folly of Polk in pushing the controversy into the area of national prestige. He boldly challenges many of Frederick Merk's interpretations; in particular, he argues that Merk's emphasis upon British party politics is erroneous and, in effect, a "slur" upon Aberdeen. Such arguments might be more convincing if Jones had not almost exclusively limited his researches to the Aberdeen Papers, but in any case they will provoke his readers to further thought about a complicated and fascinating period in Anglo-American diplomacy.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRADFORD PERKINS

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES HENRY CARLETON, 1814-1873: WESTERN FRONTIER DRAGOON. By *Aurora Hunt*. [Frontier Military Series, Volume II.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1958. Pp. 390. \$10.00.) Regular army officers who served on the western frontier of the United States in the nineteenth century led a busy life with a great variety of experiences. James Henry Carleton was no exception. Between his appointment as second lieutenant in the First Dragoons in October, 1839, and his death in January, 1873, he saw duty at frontier posts such as Fort Leavenworth and Fort Gibson, escorted trains of emigrants along the Oregon trail, participated in patrols into the Indian country, fought at the battle of Buena Vista in the Mexican War, led a column of California Volunteers into Arizona and New Mexico during the Civil War, and served as commander of the Department of New Mexico. He dealt with recalcitrant Indians, disciplined intemperate soldiers, collected seeds of native flora for friends in the East, served on courts-martial, studied reports on the Russian Cossacks for the War Department, and cared for a growing family. All these activities are detailed in Miss Hunt's study; her book helps to round out our knowledge of the contribution made by the regular army to the development of the West. Miss Hunt has searched out many interesting details in Carleton's career and in the careers of men associated with him, but she has not worked her diverse materials into a well-balanced whole. The result is more a miscellany than a unified account of Carleton's life. The book is marred by frequent lapses into poor English and by the author's irritating penchant for the genealogical and the sentimental. The book is produced in a grand manner, with fine printing on heavy paper. There are numerous illustrations, but most of the maps and plats are nearly illegible.

Decatur, Illinois

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA, S.J.

THE MARIPOSA INDIAN WAR, 1850-1851. DIARIES OF ROBERT EGGLESTON: THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, YOSEMITE, AND THE HIGH SIERRA. Edited by *C. Gregory Crampton*. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

1957. Pp. vii, 168. \$6.00.) In Gold Rush California an emphasized sideline was waging war on the Indians, by impromptu posses or by volunteer armies called out by the state. The Indians did give provocation, but the hand against them was overpowering and within a short time three fourths of the natives had been liquidated, some by disease and economic competition, many by the sword. The Mariposa War was an episode in this harsh program. In it the fighting was at a minimum, but several villages of mountain Indians were rounded up and herded down to the flats where they subsisted for awhile on a reservation. The Mariposa episode has glamor because the warpath of these Indian fighters took them into Yosemite Valley and made them the effective discoverers of its rapturous beauty. A reminiscent account by Lafayette Bunnell has been the best available source and is still superior in evoking the impact of Yosemite's grandeur and the dignity of Chief Tenaya. The Eccleston diary is a more immediate record, more explicit on many details, more matter-of-fact. It includes a roster of the two hundred participants and also reports on the Mariposa mines. As here published it is copiously annotated.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA, 1848-1933. By *Gilman M. Ostrander*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LVII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. Pp. vi, 241. \$5.00.) Anomalous as it may seem, hard-drinking California began its march toward total prohibition during the tumultuous Gold Rush era. The Maine Prohibitory Law of 1851 had set the precedent and pace for the Golden State, and except for what the author of this book refers to as a doldrum period from 1859 to 1873, California, one of the wettest states in the Union, experienced a steady succession of temperance and abolitionist crusades which reached a climax with its ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919. Sponsoring these crusades was a host of temperance organizations, not the least of which was the Dashaway Association, and these in turn received the support (though not always united support) of the churches within the state. Moreover, the author observes that the prohibition movement drew strength from all but one of the major reform movements in the state's history; the exception was the Workingmen's party. No serious attempt is made in this book to compare the California experience with that of other states. The author describes and analyzes numerous local situations that appear indigenous to the west coast state. For example, California was the center of American viticulture, and its Winegrowers Association, as well as beer and hard liquor interests, was a potent opposing force to the temperance movement; yet the amazing growth and the singularly "dry-mindedness" of Los Angeles go far toward explaining the ultimate triumph of the state's prohibition movement. Scarcely had prohibition been achieved, however, as this book indicates, when nullification became the order of the day. Enforcement failed markedly in California, and repeal amounted to little more than legalization of gay and promiscuous imbibition. Ostrander has done a thorough and scholarly job. His work is based largely upon original sources, and his presentation is clear, illuminating, and interesting.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHERR

EXPLORING WITH FRÉMONT: THE PRIVATE DIARIES OF CHARLES PREUSS, CARTOGRAPHER FOR JOHN C. FRÉMONT ON HIS FIRST, SECOND, AND FOURTH EXPEDITIONS TO THE FAR WEST. By *Charles Preuss*. Translated and edited by *Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde*. [American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 26.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xxix, 162.

\$3.95.) In the literature of American expansion the names of the mountain men, explorers, and principal builders are well known. Among the explorers stands the towering figure of John C. Frémont. In his shadow has long stood the cartographer of three of his expeditions and the first scientific map maker of the West, Charles Preuss, whose contributions are generally unknown. *Exploring with Frémont* will help to redress the balance somewhat between the two. Editor Erwin G. Gudde states that he has searched thirty years without success for evidence that there was more than one official diary kept on the Frémont explorations. Now it is known that Preuss did keep records but only for his wife. After his death, these diaries were sent to his relatives in Germany, from where he had migrated in 1834, and it was not until 1954 that they found their way back to the United States. This volume contains translations of the Preuss diaries kept on the first, second, and fourth expeditions, prefaced by an excellent introduction on the cartographer himself. The diaries contribute little to our knowledge of Frémont's travels beyond incidental information about food, mules, and Indians. They do not solve the mystery of why the fourth expedition ended so disastrously. They tell more about Preuss the man than Preuss the cartographer and show him to be unsuited for western exploration by temperament, though capable of rising to the demands of the hour. Thanks to the free and careful translation of the competent editors, this readable book rescues Preuss from obscurity better than a biography might have done.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

CREATED EQUAL? THE COMPLETE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES OF 1858. Edited and with an introduction by Paul M. Angle. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 421. \$7.50.) There have been many editions of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in past years, but few have been complete and none has included enough of the background story to make the debates intelligible to the average reader. Now, one hundred years after the famous debates in the 1858 Illinois senatorial campaign, Paul M. Angle and the University of Chicago Press give us the first complete one-volume edition of these speeches. But this volume is more than that. Mr. Angle's twenty-five-page introduction is an excellent analysis of the problem of slavery in the territories, the problem at the heart of the sectional controversy which must be understood in order to understand fully the debates. Five speeches delivered before the first debate, three of Lincoln's and two of Douglas', and a chapter, "Taking the Stump," set the stage. Chapter vi, "The Campaign Progresses," fills in the two-week gap between the Freeport and Jonesboro debates. A final chapter, "The Campaign Ends," briefly traces the closing two weeks of the campaign after the final debate. In addition there are short introductory notes to each speech or debate describing the physical arrangements, the audience, and sometimes the weather—notes which help the reader to share fully in the occasion. As Angle points out in his fine introduction, the Lincoln-Douglas debates made journalistic history: "For the first time correspondents traveled with candidates, and for the first time a series of political speeches was reported stenographically." These innovations were made by the Republican *Press and Tribune* and the Democratic *Times*, both of Chicago. This is a welcome volume for all Lincoln and Civil War students, and it sets a high standard for the flood of centennial volumes that unquestionably will descend upon us in the coming years.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRAINERD DYER

CONFEDERATE MORALE AND CHURCH PROPAGANDA. By James W. Silver. [Confederate Centennial Studies, Number 3.] (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 120. \$4.00.) As its title suggests, this book is a study of

the influence of organized religion on public opinion in the Confederacy. It does not include topics which would be treated in a general history of the church at that time, such as the impact of the Civil War upon the material resources of religious groups and the state of religious feeling among civilians and soldiers. Instead Professor Silver confined himself to the difficult task of analyzing the relationship between the church and the Southern will to fight. He thinks it reasonable to conclude that the church "constituted the major resource of the Confederacy in the building and maintenance of civilian morale. As no other group, Southern clergymen were responsible for a state of mind which made secession possible, and as no other group they sustained the people in their . . . War for Southern Independence." To anyone familiar with both the Confederate religious and secular press Silver is very convincing. He took great pains to examine primary sources, particularly newspapers, sermons, and records of religious bodies. As is true of good historical writing, the book shows the author's honesty of purpose and humility. Although well aware of the consequences of church propaganda, he neither praises nor condemns those responsible for it. Despite its modest appearance and size this book is an important and rare contribution to Civil War literature, because it furnishes one of the few realistic appraisals of Confederate psychology. It should be widely read.

Lafayette College

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON

DOCTORS IN GRAY: THE CONFEDERATE MEDICAL SERVICE. By H. H. Cunningham. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 338. \$6.00.) The charge has been made that despite the thousands of books on the Civil War battles, little has been written on the internal history of the Confederacy. E. Merton Coulter's comprehensive *The Confederate States of America* (1950) almost negates this judgment; it seems as though he has said all that needs to be said. But not so. The medical history of the Confederate services must be told, and Mr. Cunningham executes this detail with thoroughness. He has examined everything from the vast manuscripts of the Confederacy in the National Archives to the private papers of almost every individual, medical and otherwise, active in the Confederate cause. Contrary to expectations, he proves that the boys in gray were well treated in the hospitals and that the Confederacy possessed a medical corps as competent as that of the North. The physicians of the Southern army made imaginative use of the limited resources at hand. In this book there are chapters on the Confederate Medical Department, the general hospitals, medical officers in the field, causes and treatment of diseases, and surgery and infections. Cunningham's survey is a practical manual of instructions, which would have been valuable had it been written ninety-seven years ago for those entering the Confederate hospital service. If there was pathos about deaths in hospitals or on the field of battle we are not told this. If there were beautiful nurses Cunningham does not mention them. There is an endless stringing together of details with little attempt at interpretation or synthesis. The chapter entitled "Conclusion" is not illuminating. The author, however, has collected raw materials in plenty. There will perhaps be a host of historians who, like many in the past, will write brilliantly of the Confederacy. They will find this book helpful.

Longwood College

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. By Frank A. Haskell. Edited by Bruce Catton. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. Pp. xviii, 169. \$3.50.) THE GUNS AT GETTYSBURG. By Fairfax Downey. (New York: David McKay Company, 1958. Pp. xii, 290. \$5.00.) "The world . . . can never forget what they did here." Thus spoke

Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg in November of 1863, just four and one half months after the greatest battle ever fought on the American continents had been waged. Not only were more men in blue and gray lost in that fearful combat than in any other battle of our Civil War but at Gettysburg the seemingly invincible hosts of Robert E. Lee received such a decisive repulse that the Confederate chieftain was never again able to mount a successful, full-scale offensive into Union territory. One of the classic accounts of this three-day holocaust was written by Frank A. Haskell, just eleven days after the battle, in the form of a long letter to his brother. Haskell was a staff officer in Hancock's Second Corps and was, as editor Bruce Catton states, "in the storm center" on Cemetery Ridge. Haskell minces no words in giving his analyses of various Union officers and units. His brilliantly written story of the clashes on the second and third days of battle was recorded, as Catton asserts, "with the heat of battle still on him," and "he tells just what happened there under the battle smoke that must always dim the sight of later generations." Haskell played a leading role in the final repulse of Pickett's Charge—often termed the greatest infantry charge of history—only to yield up his life in 1864 as a colonel in Grant's disastrous attack at Cold Harbor. Haskell's story of Gettysburg will ever remain one of the finest eyewitness accounts, and future writers of secondary works on this engagement will be indebted to him for giving us the raw, red primary source meat of which later history is composed. Catton's introduction and annotations in this reprint are on the whole accurate and succinct, although the index leaves much to be desired. Three maps are included. The volume by Fairfax Downey—himself an artilleryman of two world wars—is a tale of the cannoners of both the Federal and Confederate armies at Gettysburg. While the book was written chiefly for the general reader, the author's mastery of his subject, his lively style, and the excellent illustrations and appendixes all add up to a rather solid achievement. The work is lightly documented, although Downey went to a wide variety of sources, one of which, the indispensable *Official Records*, could have been used a bit more extensively. This volume will form a companion piece to that able study of the Confederate artillery by Jennings Cropper Wise, *The Long Arm of Lee*.

Pennsylvania State University

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

AN END TO VALOR: THE LAST DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Philip Van Doren Stern*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1958. Pp. x, 418. \$5.75.) This colorful narrative is focused, in time, upon the eighty-two days between the second inauguration of President Lincoln and the grand review of the victorious armies of the Union in Washington and, in space, upon the opposing capitals of Washington and Richmond and the areas fought over around Petersburg and between that besieged city and Appomattox. The familiar story is told with narrative skill and dramatic power. A wide range of sources, both in manuscript and in print, have been consulted. From these sources there have been drawn numerous bits which, while perhaps not significant in themselves, add life and dimension to the mosaic of events. The title of the work is taken from the chapter devoted to the two-day Grand Review, first of the Army of the Potomac and then of Sherman's Western army. This review, says the author, marked an end to the "great years of heroism and glory" in which "Americans fought against each other in a war that no one could win." The years beyond the "end to valor" are characterized as the "most grotesquely corrupt" period in American history, an age in which "venality was masked by a show of pious respectability." The work closes with an assessment of the benefits and the cost of the Civil War. "An end to slavery, the preservation of the Union, and some technological progress were the few benefits" of the war, the author concludes, against which must be set the cost in lives and treasure

and the "dreadful effect" of war "to be felt by generations still unborn." The war itself, however, Mr. Stern views as inevitable and its result as "equally inevitable." It was, he says, "a major surgical operation which the nation had to endure—or perish"—a sobering thought upon the eve of the nation's centennial commemoration of the days of valor.

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. HENRY

PIONEER JUDGE: THE LIFE OF ROBERT LEE WILLIAMS. By *Edward Everett Dale* and *James D. Morrison*. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1958. Pp. xvii, 433. \$5.00.) This is a fascinating story of a young Alabamian of good family and much poverty and his struggle as a rising lawyer and politician on the Oklahoma frontier. In addition to being a lawyer-politician, Williams was a farmer, jurist, speculator, and a patron of history. Possessing a good mind, driving ambition, and energy, he was able to attend Southern University for four years. Penniless, he turned to teaching; then, after six months of hard study in a Montgomery law office, he was admitted to the bar in 1891. Suddenly "getting religion" in a Methodist revival, he was for a short time a circuit rider in Texas. Finding the ministry unrewarding he migrated to Durant, Indian Territory, in 1896 and began the practice of law and politics on that trying and rugged frontier. Like pioneer lawyers everywhere, he was immersed in many activities over a wide area and worked hard for professional and political advancement. His great loves were public affairs and the Democratic party. Successful from the start, Williams' practice was general and extensive. His clients were Indians, farmers, businessmen, criminals, and the railroads. For the next half century, he was closely identified with the public life of the territory and state, serving as Democratic national committeeman, one of the three leaders of the first Constitutional Convention, a member of the first Supreme Court, the third governor of Oklahoma, United States district judge, and finally as a member of the United States Court of Appeals of the Tenth Circuit. A rock-ribbed conservative in matters of finance, Williams followed the New Nationalism and internationalism of Wilson and policies of the midwest agrarians in the latter period. He had the reputation of being parsimonious, cantankerous, overbearing, and slovenly. In many ways he earned this reputation, yet he gave to the church and to the Oklahoma Historical Society and was generous to his family. He had the acquisitive habits of a poor man on the way to wealth, but politics gave him very little time or energy to devote to his business. The frontier lawyer often found public life and the practice of law too fascinating to allow him to manage his own business affairs successfully. The book is interesting and, in general, well written. It is a valuable contribution to local history.

University of Missouri

W. FRANCIS ENGLISH

THEN CAME THE RAILROADS: THE CENTURY FROM STEAM TO DIESEL IN THE SOUTHWEST. By *Ira G. Clark*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 336. \$5.75.) Professor Clark has done an excellent piece of work, which contrasts pleasantly with the many railroad books that are either monuments of meticulous antiquarianism or breezy narratives of indiscriminate laudation. While Clark is a railroad enthusiast, he is also a well-trained historian with proper regard for accuracy and an urge to attain proper balance. The contents of the volume are not exactly what the reader of the title might expect. The "Southwest" of the author is limited to the six states of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas, thus excluding an extensive examination of the larger strategy of the transcontinental lines. The bulk of the book is devoted to when, where, and by whom the rail-

roads were built, but with attention to such factors as government aid, the Granger and Populist movements, end-of-track towns, and outlaws. Relatively little attention is devoted to the business aspects of railroading, and consideration of social and economic effects is limited largely to the way railroads affected the pattern of population. The writing is clear, but only rarely, as in the first chapter, does it have any sparkle. The result is an admirable bit of scholarship that will appeal primarily to the specialist. This type of work leaves the reader with certain feelings of frustration—a comment which this reviewer is particularly willing to make since he also was inspired by the late Professor Frederick L. Paxson to write a similar book. Limiting of the geographical area inevitably produces some warping of the entire picture. The overwhelming mass of names and dates practically smothers the reader, who among other qualifications needs either an encyclopedic knowledge of geography or an atlas at his elbow. Most of the maps of the book are so lacking in detail that they give practically no assistance. Certain topics, particularly the problems of the railroads as their builders saw them and the social and economic effects of railroad construction, are not treated thoroughly enough to satisfy the reader. It is hoped that Clark or someone else will in time present an expanded story, with a more generous use of adjectives and with factual details pruned ruthlessly. Such comments should not be construed as minimizing Clark's very real accomplishment. He has collected his material diligently, arranged it reasonably, and written clearly and accurately. His book will undoubtedly long remain authoritative in the field that it covers.

Dartmouth College

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

THE MARITIME STORY: A STUDY IN LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS. By Joseph P. Goldberg. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 361. \$6.50.) This is a history of labor-management relations in the offshore operations of the American merchant marine since about 1890, when union organization first appeared in this industry. It tells the story of the unions and employers' associations in the industry on all our coasts. It deals with the many strikes that have occurred and with other aspects of labor-management relations and does not merely relate in considerable detail what occurred but interprets the developments, explains the underlying factors, and discusses the prospects for the future. The maritime industry is one of great importance to the nation. Labor relations in this industry present many peculiarities. Until well into the present century, employment conditions were deplorable, including severe restrictions on the personal freedom of the sailors. They now have substantially the same rights as land workers, and their wages and conditions of employment compare favorably. For this improvement, the author gives major credit to the unions and to collective bargaining, assigning a secondary role to government. Unionism was stubbornly resisted until the 1930's but now is well-nigh 100 per cent. There always has been a multiplicity of unions, with much interunion warfare and bitter internal controversies. Unionism in the industry has not accomplished all that it set out to do. Despite many attempts, there still is no single national union or an effective federation of the maritime unions. Most distressing is the fact that improved conditions for the workers have meant increased costs to the owners, making it impossible to meet foreign competition without ever increasing government subsidies. This is the first specialized, comprehensive account of the subject, and it is well done indeed. Written primarily for students of industrial relations, it is of considerable interest to all students of the economic history of the United States in the twentieth century.

Michigan State University

EDWIN E. WITTE

Other Recent Publications

SANFORD BALLARD DOLE AND HIS HAWAII. By *Ethel M. Damon*. With an analysis of Justice Dole's legal opinions by *Samuel B. Kemp*. (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1957. Pp. xiv, 394. \$5.00.) In preparing this volume, Miss Damon worked in the Hawaiian Archives and with published materials, and she also examined family manuscripts not hitherto used by historians. The result is a very detailed biography of the missionary's son who became the first and only president of the republic of Hawaii. There is a good deal of family information, perhaps too much for most readers, but there are also many interesting pages about Hawaiian politics in the dying days of the monarchy. Where possible, Miss Damon has told the story in Dole's own words. This method has advantages—readers know exactly what Dole thought of the Hawaiian officials as he saw them "stagger to their final ruin." But the presentation is often confusing. At many points one cannot tell whether Miss Damon is quoting Dole exactly, paraphrasing him, or writing in her own words. When quotations are employed, one is not always sure whether they are from Dole at the time, from Dole later, or from Dole much later. What is more, the decision to concentrate on Dole's words means that the volume is short on analysis and conclusions and thin at certain critical points (e.g., the relations between Dole's group and American minister Stevens). There is, however, no doubt about Miss Damon's point of view. She is altogether favorable to her subject. She pays high tribute to the "unflinching character" of Judge Dole and the "high order of his statesmanship." She feels he had "elements of greatness," made his decisions on the basis of a "deep compassion and a sense of justice," and was seldom if ever wrong. To be specific: the key part of the book deals with the last days of the monarchy, and in this section, Miss Damon sides at every point with Dole and his associates. She does not explain or even present the views of the other side. Dole, she believes, had the best interests of Hawaii at heart. Indeed, he was himself a Hawaiian, a "true native son" (but not really a "native," that term being reserved for those "of Hawaiian blood," nonwhites like the queen whom Dole helped depose). Miss Damon comes naturally by her enthusiasm for Sanford Dole. She, like her subject, is descended from the missionary pioneers who did so much to bring Hawaii into the American orbit. Her grandfather, a Honolulu clergyman, worked with Dole in the critical years at the end of the nineteenth century. Besides, she took on the job of writing this biography at Judge Dole's "express wish." It would be proper, therefore, to call this a "semi-official" biography, and to add that, despite faults, it is an important volume that will be found useful for many years to come.

University of Wisconsin

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

MEMPHIS DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1900-1917. By *William D. Miller*. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State University Press; Madison, Wis.: American History Research Center, 1957. Pp. ix, 242. \$4.50.) Memphis put rather a strain upon one postulate said to be entertained by progressives, the theory of the natural goodness of the average man. Municipal statistics did not support the theory. Mr. Miller has no trouble establishing that Memphis was "easily the most crime-ridden city in the United States." Its homicide rate was not only the highest of any city in the country but nearly three times the rate of Atlanta, its nearest competitor. Memphis boasted more than five hundred saloons and scores of gambling houses; in one year ninety-eight persons were arrested for running houses of prostitution. Narcotic rings flourished, and the suicide rate was substantially higher than the national average for cities. The Memphis of William Faulkner's *Popeye* is no figment of a novelist's imagination. It existed in fact as well as in fiction. Miller's realistic study of the river town supplements the history of an earlier Memphis by Gerald M. Capers. It is not a study of the progressive move-

ment but of the city during the brief span of years that embraced that movement. It nevertheless stresses politics and political problems, devoting nearly half the pages to subjects of that sort. A good part of the remaining space is given over to documenting the legendary wickedness that provided the challenge to local reformers. Foremost among the latter was Mayor Edward H. Crump. If there was anything incongruous about Boss Crump in the role of leading progressive, it was no more so than the fate that placed James K. Vardaman in that role for Mississippi and Jeff Davis for Arkansas. Unlike many of his Southern contemporaries, Crump did not appeal to racial or religious prejudice. Instead he used a controlled Negro vote and a judicious amount of chicanery to advance the cause of progressivism. According to Miller's findings, the hosts of wickedness yielded little ground either to the revivalists or to the reformers. Homicide rates mounted throughout the period and reached unprecedented heights at its close. Memphians marked the transition from the crusade for reform to the crusade against the Hun by staging one of the most barbaric lynchings on record. In explaining the unregenerate character of the city Miller makes use of neither the concepts of sociology nor those of theology, though one suspects the book might have gained by a discriminating use of either or both. There is at least a suggestion of the theological in his concluding sentence commenting upon the plunge into war: "Memphis was still chasing devils in the easy way of the progressive movement, blind to the devil in its own heart"

Johns Hopkins University

C. VANN WOODWARD

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL: PUBLIC SCHOOL CAMPAIGNS AND RACISM IN THE SOUTHERN SEABOARD STATES 1901-1915. By *Louis R. Harlan*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 290. \$6.00.) During the first fifteen years of the twentieth century an "educational awakening" stirred the southern part of the United States. Stimulated by the philanthropy of Northern businessmen and the leadership of Southern "progressives," the region experienced a remarkable expansion of its public school system and a growing devotion to the ideal of universal education, at least for white children. This important book examines the campaigns for public education in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, an area of considerable unity and one in which the Southern education movement was especially vigorous. Particular attention is given to the impact of Northern philanthropy, as reflected in the work of the Southern Education Board, and Southern racial views on the development of public schools in the South. In an introductory chapter, aptly entitled "The Uses of Adversity," Professor Louis R. Harlan, of East Texas State College, surveys the Southern educational scene at the turn of the century against the background of the region's recent history and major institutions. He then explores the work of North Carolina's pioneering educators during the troubled nineties. A third chapter describes the organization of Robert C. Ogden's Southern Education Board, after which there are separate chapters on each of the four states under study and a concluding assessment of educational advances in the context of racism. The book is imaginatively organized, well written, and magnificently documented. It reveals a keen understanding of Southern politics and the nuances of the Southern mind. It might have been strengthened a bit if the author had included a fuller analysis of the motives and assumptions of the Ogdens, the Pages, and the Aycocks, who provided the leadership for the educational campaigns. The Southern Education Board wanted to lessen the force of the rampant racism sweeping the South during this period. Accepting the arguments of Southern moderates who promised equality of educational opportunities for Negroes, the Board acquiesced in the renunciation of other claims for the race; it hoped that public education would increase the productivity and income of white Southerners and destroy the

economic basis of racial discrimination. But the educators and the philanthropists were sadly mistaken, for discrimination against Negroes in the allocation of public funds for education grew steadily as time passed. In South Carolina, for example, the Negro child received about one sixth as much for education in 1900 as did the white child, but by 1915 he received only one twelfth as much. This was indeed "Separate and Unequal!" The most glaring inequality of treatment between Negroes and whites occurred in the "black counties," but, as Harlan graphically demonstrates, it was "almost universal, flagrant, and increasing" during the first three decades of this century. There were inequities that had nothing to do with race in the support of public education in these states, and there were some fundamental handicaps in the way of the region's effective maintenance of a system of universal education. Nevertheless, the real dilemma of the public school campaigns was that "white educational sentiment, as it grew, increased the temptation to take the Negro's share of school funds." It was a fateful misfortune that much of the white South's "progress" in education should have come at the expense of its Negro population.

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

A PASSION FOR ANONYMITY: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LOUIS BROWNLOW, SECOND HALF. By *Louis Brownlow*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. x, 499. \$7.50.) Woodrow Wilson, by appointing Louis Brownlow a commissioner of the District of Columbia in 1915, terminated the first half of Brownlow's career as a prominent newspaperman, already revealed in *A Passion for Politics*, and launched his more significant career in public administration. While muckrakers previously had exposed municipal failings, Brownlow and other city managers now quietly considered the problem of improving municipal government by introducing economical and efficient methods of management into its conduct. While earlier reformers had been concerned with moral values and believed that good men enacting good laws could improve government, Brownlow and his fellow workers were more interested in the process of government, its day-by-day administration on all levels. After a distinguished career as a city manager, first in Washington, D. C., during most of the Wilson period, then in Petersburg, Virginia, and Knoxville, Tennessee, Brownlow entered in 1930 upon his most fruitful years as the director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago. This agency was created with Rockefeller funds to aid the work of administrative organizations and to encourage the exchange of their findings for the benefit of all. The work brought Brownlow into close contact with leading figures throughout the world in the field of public administration. It also enabled him during the New Deal period, as chairman of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, to develop the "modern concept of the White House staff" that has given the President the opportunity to manage efficiently the ever enlarging sphere of executive authority, thereby providing the means for more effective leadership. The book, written in a felicitous style, contains numerous insights that should provide urban historians and those interested in the New Deal with provocative ways and means of handling and synthesizing their complex topics. In all, Louis Brownlow's passions for "politics and anonymity" provide one of the more satisfying and significant American autobiographies in recent years.

Connecticut College

RICHARD LOWITT

THE PERILS OF PROSPERITY, 1914-32. By *William E. Leuchtenburg*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 313. \$3.50.) It has been maintained that periods of history exist only in

king "is without anything, which has the appearance of a ministry," and two years later Robert Harley told James Vernon that "It was now a general complaint we had no ministry. . ."⁴⁸ In that same year Nathan Wright refused to enter the cabinet council for fear of incurring responsibility for its decision.⁴⁹ And he had good reason to do so, for a year later a Whig author observed, "the king . . . is not punishable or blameable by our Constitution, but the Ministry is. . ."⁵⁰ By the year 1711 the idea of the collective responsibility of the cabinet council had gained such ground that the Earl of Ferrers could argue in the House of Lords that Secretary Sunderland's letter to James Stanhope, urging an aggressive war in Spain, was proof that the fault for advising that war lay with "the ministry . . . for a secretary of state gives no direction but from the cabinet council."⁵¹ The Lords accepted this reading of the Constitution by voting that "the Ministers . . . are justly to be blamed for contributing to our Misfortunes in Spain. . ."⁵²

It would be erroneous to argue from these votes and resolutions that by 1711 the collective responsibility of the cabinet council had been achieved. It clearly had not, for Parliament continued in the next half century to hold ministers individually responsible for the advice they gave the king. In 1715 the House of Commons appointed a Committee of Secrecy to search into the wrongdoings of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford. In 1742 they appointed a similar committee to search into the crimes of Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford. Even as late as 1806 Charles James Fox resisted the idea of collective cabinet responsibility because it hindered the punishment of individual ministers.⁵³ Yet the idea did exist in embryo in 1711. In debate after debate, members of Parliament criticized "the new ministry," "the late ministry," and "the present ministry." When impeached in 1715, the Earl of Oxford appealed to the collective responsibility of "those in high trust about her

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 435; G.P.R. James, ed., *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III* (London, 1841), III, 90.

⁴⁹ L'Hermitage, the Dutch envoy, wrote home that Nathan Wright would accept the office of Keeper of the Seal only on the condition that he would not be a member of the cabinet council, "à fin qu' on ne lui pust rien imputer de l'administration des affaires, qui est la principale pierre d'achoppement à l'égard de la chambre des communes, et il aura seulement séance au conseil d'état [Privy Council], mais comme il n'y a là que des affaires ordinaire, les membres de ce conseil n'ont pas beaucoup à craindre d'estre recherchés." May 21-June 1, 1700, B.M. Add. MSS 17,677 VV.

⁵⁰ Anon., *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted* (London, 1702), 19.

⁵¹ Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, VI, 979.

⁵² *LJ*, XIX, 192. It is illuminating to compare this censure with a typical vote of censure under William III. In 1694 the Commons voted that "whoever advised the king not to give the Royal Assent [to the second Place Bill] was an enemy to their Majesties and the Kingdom" (*CJ*, XI, 70). The censure voted in 1711 implies the existence of a recognized cabinet; the other does not.

⁵³ Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, 1st ser. (41 vols., London, 1803-20), VI, 310-11.

council, for they had constant access to him. It might be true, of course, that the king's servants were innocent of giving that ill advice upon which the king acted. In this case, argued the leaders of the Country party, they should resign. It was upon this new doctrine that Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Sir William Powle acted in 1680. They ostentatiously resigned from the new Privy Council because Charles was acting upon the advice of irresponsible courtiers rather than his chosen counselors.⁴⁴ Of all the events surrounding the Privy Council scheme of 1679 these resignations are the most fraught with significance (and the most neglected by historians of the scheme). They were the Country party's riposte to a king's broken word. If Charles refused the responsible advice of his Council and acted on advice whispered in the bedchamber, then they would resign. William Jones, the ablest legal mind among the Country party leaders, rushed to the defense of those "who being qualified for the highest employments of State, have either left or refused or been removed from them, because they would not accept or retain them at the price of selling their country, and enslaving posterity. . . ."⁴⁵ Sir Henry Neville's justification of the resignations showed a profounder understanding of their meaning. These men resigned, he argued, "because they found . . . that till the administration be altered, it is impossible that their councils can be embraced."⁴⁶ He saw that those who served in the administration—the lord treasurers and secretaries of state—were the true advisers in Charles's court, and not the Privy Council members.

During William's reign the administration and the cabinet council gradually merged into one body. The more important ministers of state came to sit in the cabinet council, and the majority of councilors possessed high office. By 1700 the Earl of Sunderland could advise William that "None were to be of the Cabinet Council; but who have, in some sort, a right to enter by their employment."⁴⁷ These cabinet councilors did not regard themselves as collectively responsible to Parliament, but rather as individually answerable to the king. But their opponents in Parliament found it convenient to hold them collectively responsible, as a ministry, for the success of the king's government. This was especially true during the last years of William's reign and the whole of Queen Anne's, when the term "ministry" gained wide currency. In 1698 Lord Somers complained to the Earl of Shrewsbury that the

⁴⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., Ormond MSS., n.s., V, 271.*

⁴⁵ William Jones, *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings in the Two Last Parliaments* (London, 1681), 46.

⁴⁶ Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, 246.

⁴⁷ *Miscellaneous State Papers from 1501 to 1726*, ed. Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke (London, 1778), II, 460.

plain the abrupt *volte-face* of Parliament in 1706.⁴¹ However, these changing circumstances afford no answer to a question that is far more fundamental to the story of Privy Council schemes. Why did these various parties, whether in office or out, cease after 1706 to demand the written responsibility of privy councilors? Why were such demands not heard in St. Stephen's Chapel throughout the eighteenth century?

To this question there is one essential answer: Parliament discovered other means than the written responsibility of councilors to focus responsibility on the king's advisers. What made this discovery possible was a willingness to ignore legal responsibility, which could only be enforced by impeachment, and to concentrate on political responsibility, which could be enforced by a refusal to support the government. In order to impeach a minister for giving the king wicked counsel, Parliament needed clear and evident proof, for an impeachment might deprive him of life and property. But merely to demand the dismissal of a minister required no better proof than suspicion that he had given the king ill advice, for removal from office was not looked upon as a punishment. "For though the House of Commons," wrote a Whig author in 1692, "seconded by the House of Lords, cannot reach the life or estate of any person, but by a full proof in form of law; yet because it is so difficult a matter to come at such a proof, a vote of the House of Commons against any minister hath always been esteemed by all kings (who were well with the people) a sufficient reason for the removing them from Court."⁴² And should the king fail "to esteem" such a vote a sufficient reason for removing a minister from court, the opposition in the Commons was ready in the years after 1688 to obstruct the passage of an adequate bill of supply.⁴³

Since legal proof was now unnecessary and suspicion was all-sufficient, the Commons had only to cast their suspicion where they would. Logic dictated, if experience did not invariably confirm, that they ought to cast their suspicion upon those who served the king in high office or sat in his cabinet

⁴¹ These changing circumstances surely offer a more convincing explanation of the repeal of the fourth clause than Mr. Naamani Tarkow's suggestion that it resulted from the sagacity of English parliamentarians who foresaw the growth of cabinet government. Mr. Tarkow writes: "It was the attempt of the fourth article of the Act of Settlement to stop the natural development of one of the greatest political institutions of all time . . . that soon made the sagacious English parliamentarians aware of their grave mistake and led them to rectify it early in the reign of Queen Anne by repealing the measure." "The Significance of the Act of Settlement in the Evolution of English Democracy," *Political Science Quarterly*, LVIII (Dec., 1943), 550-51.

⁴² *A Dialogue Betwixt Whig and Tory* (in *State Tracts*, William III, II, 375).

⁴³ The right of the Commons to refuse supplies if evil ministers were not removed was openly proclaimed by Thomas Wharton, the leader of the Country Whigs in 1689. Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1790), II, 198. Burnet, nine years later, wrote, "our princes used not to dismiss ministers who served them well, unless they were pressed to it by a house of commons, that refused to give money till they were laid aside." *History*, IV, 434.

clause of the Act of Settlement, which prohibited placemen from sitting in Parliament, to have any time to oppose the repeal of the fourth clause.³⁸ In 1706 the threat that the court would corrupt Parliament seemed to them greater than the threat that evil advisers would corrupt the court. Then, in the second place, the leading Whig advocate of the written responsibility of councilors, Lord Wharton, had become by 1706 a Court Whig. In 1692, as one of the spokesmen of the Country Whigs, he had demanded that "the King call his Council, and that they do set their hands to their advice, or their dissent." But fourteen years later, with the hope of imminent preferment before him, he voiced no opposition to the repeal of the fourth clause.³⁹

The leader of the Moderate Tories, Robert Harley, experienced a similar change of heart. In 1701 he had introduced the fourth clause into the Committee of the Whole House. In 1705 he made no effort at all to prevent its repeal.⁴⁰ The reasons for this astonishing reversal are not impossible to surmise. In 1701 Harley looked back upon four years of bitter opposition to the government, and saw in the written responsibility of privy councilors a means to make the king's ministers more responsive to Parliament. In 1706 he was secretary of state and one of the closest advisers of the Queen. Having attained high office he was in a position to recognize more readily the necessity of secrecy in government and the dangers of publishing abroad the intentions of the government. Harley was not unique in undergoing this conversion. Politicians in later Stuart England were always readier to defend the prerogative when in office than when out.

It is, then, to changing political circumstances that one must look to ex-

³⁸ The determined efforts of the Country members in the House, both Tories and Whigs, to prevent the repeal of the sixth clause can be followed in Narcissus Luttrell's *Brief Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford, 1857), VI, 8-17.

³⁹ Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, V, 724; *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, *Portland MSS*, IV, 250; *LJ*, XVIII, 83-84.

⁴⁰ William McCulloch Torrens (*History of Cabinets* [London, 1894], I, 43-44) asserts that Robert Harley managed the repeal of the fourth clause in the House of Commons. Though he gives no evidence to substantiate this assertion, there does exist other evidence, drawn from primary sources, suggesting that Harley favored, and may well have managed, the repeal of the clause in the Commons. This evidence is of two kinds. One kind shows Harley to have been intimately concerned in the day-to-day management of the Commons during the 1705-1706 sessions of Parliament. See especially *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, *Portland MSS*, IV, 288, 290, 291 and *Bath MSS*, I, 79. The other kind shows Harley to have taken the court position in the debates and votes on the amending of the Act of Security. Professor Walcott has uncovered a division list for the vote on the amendment to the Act of Security which would allow placemen to sit in the House of Commons. Robert Harley's name appears among those who favored admitting placemen into the House. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XIV, no. 40 (1936-37), 32. It is difficult to believe that a man who broke with the Country group in order to vote for the repeal of the sixth clause of the Act of Settlement would hesitate to support the repeal of the fourth clause.

foreign envoys who reported it to their masters; and the Court Whigs had no intention of provoking a quarrel between the two Houses which would inevitably lead to the loss of the bill. Their strategy was to pass the bill as it stood, unchanged, unaltered, unamended. Later they could repeal the more obnoxious limitations contained in the bill.⁸⁵

Time vindicated the strategy of the Court Whigs. Five years later Parliament silently, swiftly, and without a dissenting voice repealed the fourth clause, the Privy Council clause, of the Act of Settlement.⁸⁶ The reasons for this astonishing *volte-face* are not easy to discern. Since March, 1701, there had been new elections—in December, 1701, in 1702, and in 1705—but these elections had not profoundly altered the composition of the House of Commons.⁸⁷ It was still composed of Court Whigs, Country Whigs, Moderate Tories, High Tories, and a few Jacobites. What had changed, however, were the immediate political circumstances that dictated the actions of each party. In 1710 these circumstances had forced the Court Whigs, the Jacobites, and the High Tories to support the written responsibility of councilors against their deeper convictions. The Court Whigs had supported it from a determination not to imperil the Protestant succession; the Jacobites from a cynical design to defeat that succession; and the High Tories from a desire to render odious those Whig lords who had negotiated the Partition Treaties. By 1706 the Jacobites despaired and the Court Whigs rejoiced that the Protestant succession was as secure as statute law could make it; and the High Tories had forgotten the Partition Treaties and the ministers who negotiated them. Members of all three parties were now free to vote for the removal of a clause in whose wisdom they had never honestly believed.

The silence of the Country Whigs and the Moderate Tories in 1706 is more difficult to understand. As far as the Country Whigs were concerned, two possible explanations present themselves. In the first place, they were much too busily engaged in an attempt to prevent the repeal of the sixth

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 488.

⁸⁶ The clause was repealed by an amendment to the Act of Security (*Statutes of the Realm*, XI, 138). The amendment was added to the act by the Lords on January 31, 1706, and was accepted by the Commons on February 5 (*LJ*, XVIII, 83–84; *CJ*, XV, 127). The passage of this amendment caused such a small ripple in English politics that almost no evidence has survived about the intrigues and debates that accompanied its introduction and acceptance. The only contemporary who refers to the incident is Bishop Burnet. He states that the fourth clause of the Act of Settlement "was impracticable, since it was visible that no man would be a privy-counsellor on those terms." He then adds, "the lords added the repeal of this clause to the amendments sent up by the commons, and the commons readily agreed to it." *History*, V, 234–35.

⁸⁷ The House of Commons elected in December, 1701, did not differ markedly from its predecessor (Keith Feiling, *History of the Tory Party* [Oxford, 1924], 356). In the 1702 elections the Court and Country Whigs lost about forty seats, which were won by various Tory groups and connections; but in 1705 the Court and the Country Whigs recovered these losses (Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century*, 107–109, 115–16).

yet they dared not oppose it openly, for open opposition to the succession would look more like an intention to wage civil war than to block an unwanted statute. In order to escape from this dilemma they fell upon tactics that would have won the admiration of the subtlest Machiavellian. They resolved to load the bill for the establishment of the Protestant succession with so many limitations on the prerogative that the House of Lords would reject or amend it. If the Lords rejected it, their work was done. If the Lords amended it, they would raise such a quarrel between the two Houses that the bill would certainly fail. And there remained always the hope that William would veto the bill if it passed both Houses heavily encumbered with limitations upon the prerogative. It was for these reasons that the Jacobites supported Sir Robert Harley's motion on March 5 for limitations on the prerogative. Indeed, the Prussian envoy Louis Friedrich Bonnet even suggested that the Jacobites put Harley on to that day's work. The Tory chiefs, he wrote home, hoped to defeat the Protestant succession by espousing the rights of the people, but as they thought that no Whig would trust a proposition made by a Tory, nor a Tory one made by a Whig, they persuaded Mr. Harley to break the ice and demand limitations. Bonnet's statement, however, must be taken with a grain of salt, for he saw a concealed Jacobite in every Tory. The Jacobites no doubt sought to defeat the succession in this manner, but that they enlisted Harley in their schemes is hard to believe.⁸⁴

Those most opposed to the written responsibility of Privy Council members were the Court Whigs, who knew it to be unworkable and who knew that much of the clamor for it arose from hostility to their past conduct of affairs. And these Court Whigs were not only opposed to the clause, but were in a position to defeat it because of their superior numbers in the House of Lords. Yet they resolutely refused to do this, and refused for the same reason that their friends in the Commons had voted for the clause in the first place. They would not imperil the Protestant succession by amending the very bill designed to secure it. The trap into which the Jacobites hoped the Court Whigs would walk was no more hidden from them than from the

⁸⁴ Bonnet's dispatch, Mar. 7-18, 1701, B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, fos. 68-73. Both the Dutch envoy and the French ambassador agreed with Bonnet that the Jacobites hoped to defeat the bill by overloading it with limitations on the prerogative (B.M. Add. MSS 17,677 WW, Mar. 7-18; and Armand Baschet transcripts in the P.R.O., Mar. 6-17, 1701). The imperial envoy Johann Philipp Hoffmann suggested a more ingenious explanation for the support given limitations by the Jacobites. The Jacobites, he wrote, "wollten für England nicht ein Königthum nach der Art Ludwigs XIV., sondern ein gesetzlich beschränktes. Sie glaubten dasz die Successions-Akte, welche sie mitberiehen und mitfestellen, auch dafür verwendbar sei, dasz es im gegebenen Falls lediglich auf die Aenderung des Namens ankommen werde." Onno Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart* (Vienna, 1885), IX, 267. Bishop Burnet wrote that "many . . . began to conclude . . . that these limitations were designed to raise disputes between the two Houses, by which the bill might be lost." *History*, IV, 487.

not oppose the Act of Settlement directly, but indirectly, by putting limitations upon the crown. At this William started up and said that he would never bear it. Harley replied that it would only be possible to avoid present limitations on the crown if his Majesty would agree to future limitations upon it. William assented to this expedient, but remained deeply skeptical about its success. Upon the triumph of Harley's tactics, William went out of his way to thank Harley for his advice.⁸¹

There is nothing incredible in this story; yet neither is there anything in it that excludes the possibility that Harley favored the written responsibility of councilors out of sincere conviction. As a friend of Foley, as a politician who had long been in opposition, and as an opponent of those who negotiated the Partition Treaties, he had many reasons for sincerely welcoming such a limitation upon the prerogative. In the summer of 1701 he employed John Toland, a mercenary scribbler from Grub Street, to defend, in a pamphlet entitled *Anglia Libera*, those limitations upon the crown that he had persuaded William to accept as an expedient.⁸²

Few among the High Tories shared Harley's and Foley's enthusiasm for the written responsibility of ministers, but they all shared the hatred of these two for the ministers who had negotiated the Partition Treaties. For three years, driven by party animosity, the High Torries had sought to drag down and discredit Lords Orford, Halifax, Somers, and Portland. Now that they had evidence before them that these lords had privately advised William concerning the two Partition Treaties, they were determined to drive home their attack. They persuaded the Commons to impeach the four lords for advising and negotiating the Partition Treaties without consulting either Parliament or the Privy Council.⁸³ There is little wonder then that in the heat of this controversy they wished the principle of publicity of advice to be part of the Act of Settlement, and that they voiced arguments in favor of it that were more befitting the followers of Neville and Sidney than those of Sir Robert Filmer and Sir Roger L'Estrange.

The motives of the Jacobites in supporting the written responsibility of ministers were devious and labyrinthine. They had, understandably, no reason to wish for the establishment of the succession in the House of Hanover;

⁸¹ Edward Harley's memoirs, B.M. Add. MSS 34,515 fos. 6-8. Bishop Thomas Burnet (*History of His Own Times*, ed. Gilbert Burnet [6 vols., Oxford, 1823], IV, 498) confirms Edward Harley's memoirs. "Harley, it was said by his friends, had taken charge of these clauses to stifle far more extreme proposals."

⁸² John Toland, *Anglia Libera* (London, 1701); *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, *Portland MSS*, VIII, 279, 408.

⁸³ Bonnet acutely observed that "les Seigneurs se sont plaints de ce que le susdit Traité ne s'est pas passé dans le Conseil Privé, et les Communes de ce qu'on ne les a pas consulté là-dessus." B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, f. 106.

These parties were also known as the Official Whigs, the Old Whigs, the Moderate Tories, and the High Tories. Concealed within the last party was a fifth group, the Jacobites. The motives that guided the actions of these parties were various and contradictory.

For those Old Whigs who had not followed the Junto into William's service, support of limitations was a matter of principle. From the beginning of the new reign they had advocated (to William's disgust) Commonwealth principles, had fought to limit the prerogative, and had resented William's reliance upon court favorites. The necessity of defining the succession now gave them an opportunity to perfect what they had begun in 1689. William needed their support in order to insure the Protestant succession, without which his life-long endeavor to lessen the power of Catholic France might be jeopardized. In return for giving their support to that cause the Old Whigs demanded a new definition of the rights of Englishmen, rights that they believed the Bill of Rights had insufficiently guaranteed. And the first among these new rights was the written responsibility of counselors. One Whig publicist had no doubts what this meant. It "amounts to as much," he argued, "as if there were a standing Committee of Parliament to manage all the great affairs of the Kingdom, since what is signed by the Privy Council is cognizable in Parliament."²⁹

Yet it was not one of the Old Whigs who first proposed the written responsibility of councilors, but one who was accounted neither Whig nor Tory. Robert Harley, whom the House had just elected speaker, introduced the measure into the Committee of the Whole House. His initiative was particularly important because of his close connection with the court. Those who enjoyed, sought, or hoped for court preferment listened attentively to a man whom all believed to speak for William himself. The Moderate Tories in particular had no reason, either historical or ideological, to desire limits on the prerogative. Only because the court countenanced the measure did many of them, their eyes fixed on preferment, vote for it.³⁰

There is evidence that the Moderate Tories, and all others who sought favor at court, were not wholly mistaken in believing that Robert Harley spoke for William. Edward Harley relates in his memoirs that his brother was closeted alone with William in October, 1700. During their conversation Robert Harley mentioned that the Tories and Commonwealth men would

²⁹ *Claims of the People of England Essayed in a Letter from the Country* (in *State Tracts, William III*, III, 21).

³⁰ The Prussian envoy Louis Bonnet was convinced that the place-seekers followed Harley because they believed he spoke for the court. See his dispatch of Mar. 7-18, 1701, B.M. Add. MSS 30,000 E, f. 68.

and resolved in the Privy Council, where every man subscribed his opinion, and was answerable for it. The late King Charles was the first who broke this most excellent part of our Constitution, by setting a Cabal or Cabinet-Council, where all matters of consequence were debated and resolved, and then brought to the Privy Council to be confirmed.²⁵

But the protests of Sir John Trenchard against private counsels were as nothing compared to the explosion that came in 1701, when the House discovered that the Partition Treaties had been negotiated without the knowledge of the Privy Council, indeed without the knowledge of the cabinet council. The immediate consequence of this discovery was the passage of the fourth clause (of the third section) of the Act of Settlement, which required that "all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same."²⁶ In this way Parliament finally inscribed on the statute book the written responsibility of ministers demanded by the Commons in 1642, defended by Neville in 1681, and proposed by Foley in 1690 and 1692. It was, however, to come into force only upon the accession of the House of Hanover.

The Privy Council clause of the Act of Settlement has had fewer historians than the 1679 scheme. Yet it is no less deserving of study, since it throws light upon those persistent demands that were common to both schemes.

The most remarkable fact about the Privy Council clause is that the House accepted it, as they did other limitations on the crown, with almost no dissenting voices. In the fullest Committee of the Whole House that had ever been seen, these limitations were passed unanimously.²⁷ Yet this same House was deeply riven by party quarrels, and within a week fell into the bitterest feuds. How was it that amidst such rancor and division the House achieved unanimity? The answer is that despite their deep divisions upon other great issues all groups had their own private reasons for supporting limitations on a Hanoverian successor. These groups or parties were (adopting the political compass lately given us by Professor Walcott) the Court Whigs, the Country Whigs, the Court Tories, and the Country Tories.²⁸

²⁵ John Trenchard, *A Short History of Standing Armies in England* (in *A Collection of State Tracts, Published on Occasion of the Late Revolution in 1688 and during the Reign of King William III* [London, 1705-1707], II, 655).

²⁶ *Statutes at Large* (London and Cambridge, 1762-1865), X, 359.

²⁷ John Verney to Lord Hatton, Mar. 1, 1700 [1701], B.M. Add. MSS 29,568 f. 9.

²⁸ Robert Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 92-93.

frequent meetings of Parliament the revolutionary settlement made more constant the demand for publicity of advice; and by placing a foreigner on the throne and introducing foreigners into the court it heightened suspicion of all private advice. As before, this demand was cloaked by a request for the revival of the Privy Council in all its original purity; but, as before, the true motive behind the demand was a desire to make ministers answerable to Parliament. Such a desire inspired the extreme Whigs in 1690 to propose once again the written responsibility of ministers. They suspected but could not prove that the Earl of Danby, now Marquess of Carmarthen, had advised the dissolution of the late Parliament. To prevent him and others from giving such secret counsels in the future they proposed that privy councilors put their hand to their counsels. It was Paul Foley, a friend of Robert Harley and a declared enemy of the court, who introduced the measure in the Commons. In language reminiscent of that used in 1642, he proposed that "all orders passed by the Privy Council may be fairly entered, and that those present may enter their assent or dissent."²² Two years later the dissident spirits among the members of the Commons again attacked secret cabals as dangerous to the kingdom. Foley once more demanded that every counselor put his hand to his counsels, and Goodwin Wharton complained that if cabinet councils were allowed, "you will never know who gives advice."²³ But neither in 1690 nor in 1692 was the majority of the House sufficiently alarmed by defeats at sea or sufficiently moved by party spite to reenact the drama of 1642.

In the remaining years of William's reign the opposition in the House of Commons sought, but sought in vain, to pierce the heavy cloud of secret counsels. "You may hunt" the authors of evil counsels "to the cabinet," said Sir John Thompson in 1694, "but there we must leave it, for we cannot find the hands that do the mischief. . . . All debates should be in the Council, now all things are . . . huddled up."²⁴ Four years later Sir John Trenchard gave vent to the frustration caused by all things being "huddled up." He wrote in his immensely popular pamphlet, *A Short History of Standing Armies in England*:

Though we were in a capacity to punish offenders, yet we did not know legally who they were. . . . Formerly all matters of state and discretion were debated

²² William Cobbett, *Parliamentary History of England* (36 vols., London, 1806-20), V, 643. The debate occurred in a Committee of the Whole House and therefore there is no record of the proposal in the *Journal* of the House of Commons. But there is a formal and elaborate statement of the proposal in Harleian MSS 1243 f. 197.

²³ Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, V, 733.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 829.

member of Harrington's Rota Club, set forth the logical conclusions to be drawn from these sentiments with a clarity that Parliament dared not emulate. In *Plato Redivivus* he urged that the king rely upon councilors whom Parliament shall name and that "there shall be a register kept of all the votes of these several councils [of which there were to be four], with the names as well of those who consented, as of such who dissented."¹⁹ Far more typical of opinion in Parliament (which eschewed anything redolent of 1642) was the remark of a quasi-official Country party pamphlet that the king "can make no ill orders because they must be by the advice of his Council, and they must be answerable for them."²⁰

These demands for the fullest publicity of advice—even for the written responsibility of counselors—reflected the wish of the first and second Exclusion Parliaments (which met in 1679 and 1680) to hold Charles's ministers responsible for any pernicious advice that they might give him. At times this concern placed Parliament in an uncomfortable dilemma. One such dilemma occurred in 1680 when the House voted that, according to "common fame," the Earl of Halifax had "clandestinely and secretly" advised Charles against the exclusion bill. Lord Cavendish, rarely a friend to the court, hastened to point out the contradiction embodied in this vote. It was, he said, "mere nonsense that common fame should publish what counsels were clandestinely and secretly given," that public rumor should report what was whispered in the privacy of the closet. Parliament thereupon retreated from its exposed position, not by rejecting the address for Halifax's removal, but rather by striking out "secretly and clandestinely" from it.²¹ Whatever were the difficulties of discovering the authors of bad advice, the Commons was determined to make them answer for it. Charles, on the contrary, was equally resolute to protect his counselors by seeking their advice in the privacy of the antechamber. This irreconcilable conflict was ended only with the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in March, 1681, a dissolution resolved upon in a secret cabinet council held at Merton College. Charles was now free to consult whomever he wished, whenever and wherever he wished. During the reign of James II the issue did not arise, for James, once he had prorogued Parliament in November, 1685, never called it into session again.

The Revolution of 1688, far from solving the problems raised by the Privy Council scheme of 1679, only further aggravated them. By insuring

¹⁹ Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus* (4th ed., London, 1763), 259.

²⁰ *A Letter From A Person Of Quality* (London, 1681), 1. This pamphlet was chosen by the leaders of the Country party as an answer to Charles's declaration of May, 1681.

²¹ *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, Ormond, n.s. V, 503.

These then were the prevailing sentiments that Charles sought to appease by reconstructing the Privy Council in April, 1679. But the scheme met with little success, relieved few men's anxieties, and persuaded only a handful of men that Charles meant to give up listening to private advice. The skepticism of the political world was entirely warranted. Within one day Charles revived the hated cabinet council under the name of the Committee of Intelligence, and within a month he had placed his confidence in an inner cabal of three men, a "triumvirate" composed of Lords Sunderland, Halifax, and Essex. In May Charles showed his contempt for the new Privy Council by proroguing Parliament without consulting it.¹⁶ In July he dissolved Parliament, again without asking the advice of the new Privy Council. Is there any wonder then that Roger told Humphrey, "No, you fool, they are called the Private Council, because everything of moment is kept private from them."¹⁷

Charles's singular faithlessness had two immediate consequences. It stimulated a demand for greater publicity of advice and at the same time dampened enthusiasm for government by king and council. It made men more impatient than ever with secret counsels, and yet more disenchanted than ever with Clarendonian principles of government. It was in fact the president of the new Privy Council himself who delivered the *coup de grâce* to Clarendon's ideal of government by king and council. In June, 1679, the Earl of Shaftesbury, leader of the Country party and Lord President of the Council, demanded that Charles summon Parliament once again, that they might approve whatever the Privy Council should direct, for he would "never undertake to act as a representative of the people in that Council."¹⁸ Others took up the same cry. Henry Booth, one of the boldest and most uncompromising advocates of English liberty, told the Commons when it next met, "You may remember in the last Parliament the change that was made in the Privy Council . . . and I pray you, how much wool have we had after all this cry? What benefit have we reaped by that change?" He insisted, "The only answer is for the King to reject the advice of counsellors and favorites and draw closer to parliament."¹⁹ Sir Henry Neville, one-time

¹⁶ Barillon, the French ambassador, wrote Louis XIV (May 28-June 8, 1679) that Shaftesbury and those put in the Council had no part at all in the prorogation. "Cela fait dire dans Londres qu'on s'est moqué de la nation dans l'établissement de ce nouveau conseil et que tout ce qui s'est fait avoir pour but de les tromper." Baschet Transcripts, Public Record Office.

¹⁷ *Plain Dealing, or a Dialogue Between Humphrey and Roger, About Chusing the Next Parliament* (London, 1681), 7.

¹⁸ *Hist. MSS Com. Rep., Ormond*, n.s., V, 136.

¹⁹ Henry Booth was later created Lord Delamere and then first Earl of Warrington. This speech is printed in his *Works* (London, 1694), 120-23.

of the war on the Continent. They feared government by a standing army; Charles sought every possible pretext for maintaining such an army. These differences led to mutual distrust, and this distrust made unworkable the balance of government established at the Restoration. Only by stepping forward as the champion of Protestantism at home and the balance of power abroad could Charles have stilled the clamors raised in Parliament against those who advised him in the secrecy of the closet. But his heart was too French and too Catholic for that.

In the year 1678 distrust of Charles's policies reached fever pitch and led to renewed efforts to discover who possessed his ear. The House of Commons particularly wished to know who had advised him to scold them for interfering in the conduct of foreign affairs and who had advised him to maintain a standing army. In both instances they suspected the Earl of Danby, who was then Lord Treasurer, but they could not prove it. As a consequence they were forced to couch their addresses asking for his removal in the vaguest possible language. On May 10, 1678, they asked Charles "to remove those counsellors who advised the answers to the Addresses of the 26th of May [1677], or 31st of January last [1678], or either of them."¹¹ Nine months later (nine months of anxiety, with seven thousand soldiers on Hounslow Heath), the House voted an address warning Charles of the dangers to which the nation was exposed "by his Majesty rather following private councils than those of his two Houses of Parliament."¹²

The wording of this latter address deserves particular attention. The Commons did not represent to Charles the dangers of following private advices rather than those of the Privy Council, but the danger of following private advices rather than those of Parliament. The truth was that the Commons had little desire to restore to the Privy Council the authority it once possessed. It sought rather to usurp that authority. "What is the use of his Great Council of Parliament," asked Sir Thomas Lee in 1673, "but to inform the king he has been misled and mistaken by his Privy Council?"¹³ And in June, 1678, Sir Robert Southwell wrote that the leaders of the Country party in the Commons "were certain of their rights of advising, and as a birthright if sent thither by the people"; and that they were "certain that their advice was better than the Privy Council's."¹⁴

¹¹ *CJ*, IX, 479. The address complained that these answers were advised "by some particular persons, in a clandestine way, without the participation and advice, as we conceive, of your Council Board."

¹² *Ibid.*, 551.

¹³ Grey, *Debates*, II, 24.

¹⁴ *Historical Manuscript Commission Report, Ormond*, n.s. (8 vols., 1902-20), IV, 432.

king's council and not in upstart courtiers—was transformed in the 1670's and 1680's by the appearance of another tradition, one that emerged out of the early years of the Civil War: the tradition that those who advised the king must do so publicly in order that Parliament might hold them answerable for their advice. According to this new belief, true wisdom lay ultimately in the two houses of Parliament, not in the Privy Council.

Parliament first voiced its demand for publicity of advice in the year 1642, when confidence between Charles I and Parliament had disappeared. In June of that year Parliament asked that "no public Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for Your Privy Council, may be esteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the major Part of Your Council, attested under their Hands."⁸ During the next seven years Parliament (especially the Lords) continued to distrust secret counsels, striving to limit the efficacy of oaths of secrecy taken in the Committee of Both Kingdoms and the Council of State.⁹ But at the Restoration nothing was heard of this demand (the times were hardly propitious); and it only reappeared because Charles II persistently relied upon private advice. During the 1660's and 1670's the opposition in the House of Commons became increasingly eager, even desperate, to discover who had advised the Declaration of Indulgence and the breaking of the Triple Alliance, measures that promoted the growth of Catholicism at home and French power abroad. They suspected crypto-Catholics and court favorites such as the Earl of Arlington, but had no way to prove their suspicions correct. They had no answer to Daniel Finch's taunt that to lay faults on Lord Arlington because their origin was unknown was "but witchcraft."¹⁰

In the next four years the desperation of the leaders of the Country party in the House of Commons grew in proportion to their inability to discover who had misled Charles. That Charles was misled, they had no doubts. Their policy and royal policy diverged on every major issue of the day. They wished to promote the Protestant interest by severely enforcing the penal laws against Catholics and by banishing Catholics and crypto-Catholics from court; Charles persisted in his policy of showing indulgence toward Catholics whenever possible. They wished to engage England in a war against Louis XIV; Charles strove with all his energy to keep England out

⁸ The Nineteen Propositions, *Commons' Journal*, II, 599 (hereafter cited as *CJ*).

⁹ Wallace Notestein, "The Establishment of the Committee of Both Kingdoms," *American Historical Review*, XVII (Apr., 1912), 495; *Lords' Journal*, VI, 440 (hereafter cited as *LJ*); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1660 (London, 1860), 9.

¹⁰ Grey, *Debates*, II, 310.

of the governmental machinery that would make impossible the giving of private advice. And they sought an end to private advice because they wished to punish those who gave the king evil counsel.

The leaders of the Country party made this plain in the years 1677 and 1678 when they attacked cabinet councils and foreign committees as alien to English law. They warned of "the thick mist of foreign counsels," of counsels given by "inconsiderable persons," of "French counsels," of the difficulty of reposing confidence in a king who put his counsels in "strange women." They lamented that the king preferred a cabinet council to his Privy Council and that he would sooner take matters to the private cabal at Whitehall than to his council board. A cabinet was "not established by law," nor did any English law recognize committees of foreign affairs. "A cabinet council, that takes things out of the hands of the Privy Council, is the complaint," cried one exasperated member of the House.⁵

In voicing these demands that the king take counsel with his Privy Council, the leaders of the Country party appeared to look back to the Elizabethan tradition, to be guilty of what Arnold Toynbee would call the idolization of an ephemeral institution. To a considerable extent they were guilty of this, for a belief in the wisdom of Elizabethan forms of government lingered long into the seventeenth century. To many members of the House of Commons James I and Charles I had threatened to overturn these forms when they rejected government by privy councilors in favor of government by court favorites. Sir Francis Seymour, who so often voiced the sentiments of the country gentlemen in the House, spoke out in the Commons in 1625 against this new fashion in taking advice. "Since Princes must see and hear with other eyes and ears, how unhappy he who rests upon one or two, and they such as know better how to flatter . . . than how to give him good counsel?"⁶ A generation later the Earl of Clarendon, whose admiration for the Elizabethan constitution knew no bounds, elevated to a comprehensive theory of government the belief that the king must heed the advice of his Privy Council. He told Charles II that no one who was not a councilor should meddle with affairs of state.⁷ But this ancient tradition, as ancient as the fourteenth century—that true wisdom lay in the

⁵ These complaints were expressed in debates in the Commons occurring on February 20 and March 7, 1677, and May 7 and December 2, 1678. See Brit. Mus., Add. MSS 28,091 fos. 30-31; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Charles II*, 1678, p. 159, and *Addenda*, 475; and Anchitell Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons* (London, 1769), VI, 313.

⁶ *Debates in the House of Commons in 1625*, Camden Society, new series (London, 1873), VI, 78.

⁷ Clarendon's views upon the importance of the Privy Council are set forth with commendable clarity by E. I. Carlyle in "Clarendon and the Privy Council," *EHR*, XXVII (Apr., 1912), 251-71.

structed Privy Council of 1679 and to the Privy Council clause in the Act of Settlement of 1701. Historians have by no means neglected these two celebrated schemes, but the nature of the clamor that gave rise to them has escaped close scrutiny. Yet here lies the true significance of these plans; here can be discerned the true intent of those who spoke sharply against "cabinet councils."

Lord Macaulay called the first of these schemes, the reconstructed Privy Council of 1679, "one of the great riddles of English history."² In this he spoke truly, for historians have disputed about its significance ever since Charles announced its creation on April 21, 1679. But Macaulay's own attempt to solve the riddle has fared badly at the hands of recent historians.³ Chief among these is the late Professor Edward Raymond Turner, whose work directs attention away from the political speculations of Sir William Temple, author of the scheme, to the motives that led Charles II to listen to Temple. These motives Turner found to be in no way constitutional, but solely political. Charles agreed to govern his kingdoms by the constant advice of his Privy Council and to "lay aside the use . . . of any single Ministry or private advices or foreign committees" not because he believed in the superior wisdom of Privy Council members, but because he wished to appease the opposition in Parliament, an opposition that was angry at his listening to the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Earl of Danby. Nor did Charles have the slightest intention of keeping his promises. Designed only to win time, they were not fraught with any constitutional significance.⁴

Professor Turner, however, stops his inquiry at this point. He does not ask why the opposition in Parliament wanted an end to single ministries, private advices, and foreign committees, nor does he seek to discover those sentiments in Parliament that persuaded Charles to make his promises in the first place. Yet it is in these sentiments that the constitutional significance of the 1679 scheme lies hidden. Charles's motives may have been purely political, but Parliament's were not. The leaders of the Country party in the House of Commons sought, in a confused, groping manner, a rearrangement

² Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays* (London, 1946), I, 238.

³ See Albert Venn Dicey, *The Privy Council* (London, 1887); H. V. Temperley, "Inner and Outer Cabinet and the Privy Council," *English Historical Review*, XXVII (Oct., 1912), 682-99 (hereafter cited as *EHR*); Edward Raymond Turner, "The Privy Council of 1679," *ibid.*, XXX (Apr., 1915), 251-70; and Godfrey Davies, "Council and Cabinet, 1679-1688," *ibid.*, XXXVII (Jan., 1922), 47-66. Dicey, like Macaulay, takes seriously those political speculations that led Temple to propose the scheme, but he interprets them differently. Temperley pays no attention to Temple's speculations, but believes Charles sincere in making the experiment. Turner believes that Charles was insincere, and Godfrey Davies agrees with him.

⁴ E. R. Turner, "Privy Council of 1679," *EHR*, XXX (Apr., 1915), 251-70; basically the same argument is repeated in Professor Turner's *The Privy Council of England, 1603-1784* (Baltimore, Md., 1927-28), I, 409-50.

Privy Council Schemes and Ministerial Responsibility in Later Stuart England

CLAYTON ROBERTS

OF the many constitutional formulae proclaimed in the coffee houses of late seventeenth-century London, few met with more eager assent than the assertion that the king should hearken to the advice of his Privy Council in all important matters of state. This was one of the pious platitudes of the day, one of the favorite shibboleths of the Country party politician. The king, it was asserted, should put away the unsteady counsels of court favorites and foreign ambassadors, should spurn the advice of "cabinet councils" and "private cabals," and should rely solely upon the advice of his Privy Council. Court favorites since the days of Piers Gaveston had only misled kings. Cabinet councils were an innovation and no part of the English constitution. Queen Elizabeth had listened to neither and had enjoyed a prosperous and glorious reign. If Charles II would follow her example and heed the advice of his Privy Council, his government too would prosper, both at home and abroad.¹

Despite such protestations it is doubtful that the true intent of these politicians was to restore to the Privy Council the influence it once enjoyed, that they honestly wished to return to the practices of the age of Elizabeth. For beneath their appeals to tradition and their nostalgia for a golden age of good government there lay the more fundamental demand that the king adhere to the advice of counselors answerable to Parliament. That these counselors should sit in the Privy Council rather than the cabinet council was in itself of no great moment; nor was the quality of their advice the essential issue. The real gravamen contained in these protestations was that counselors had given their advice privately; and the fundamental demand was that they give it publicly, in order that Parliament might know who were the authors of bad advice.

That a desire for publicity of advice lay at the heart of what was ostensibly a demand for the revival of the Privy Council emerges clearly from an examination of that agitation in Parliament which gave rise to the recon-

¹ Roger North wrote that these ideas were "the popular cant" of the time (*Examen* [London, 1740], 78).

Thus by 1875 Congress had reached a kind of negative decision regarding a possible federal statute prohibiting segregated schools. After lengthy debate it had decided not to interfere. In effect, this left the issue of segregated schools up to the several states. By the 1880's most of the northern states prohibited segregated schools, either by constitutional provision, statute, or court decision.¹⁴² At the same time, the southern and border states, as rapidly as they were able, either made segregated schools mandatory or struck all reference to mixed schools from their laws.¹⁴³

Thus when the Supreme Court in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896)¹⁴⁴ finally spoke in favor of the constitutionality of "separate but equal" facilities, it merely gave sanction to a long-established situation that had been generally accepted for a generation. The Court's opinion also undoubtedly reflected accurately the dominant American public opinion and social myths of the day. It was to stand for two generations as "the law of the land," until at length a new wave of "Radical" idealism on the Negro question, inspired by much the same spirit that had moved Charles Sumner, reached the Court and broke down the "separate but equal" dictum.

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¹⁴² See, for example, *Michigan Session Laws*, 1867, I, 43; *Clark vs. Board of Directors*, 24 *Iowa* 266 (1868); *Illinois Laws*, 1874, p. 62; *Pennsylvania Laws*, 1881, p. 220; *New Jersey Pamph. Laws*, 1881, p. 196; 84 *Ohio Laws* (1887), 34; *Conn. School Laws of 1872*, chap. 3, sec. 23; *Minn. School Law*, 1873, title I, sec. 47; *R. I. Gen. Stat.* 1874, chap. 58; sec. 1. A few northern states maintained racial school segregation until after 1900. See *People ex rel. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438 (1883); *People ex rel. Cisco vs. Board*, 161 N. Y. 598 (1900); 3 *Ind. Stat.* (1869) 472; *Cory vs. Carter*, 48 Ind. 327 (1874); *State vs. Duffy*, 7 Nev. 342 (1874).

¹⁴³ Georgia (1877), North Carolina (1876), and Tennessee (1870) adopted mandatory constitutional provisions. See Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, I, 868; V, 2838; VI, 3469. Louisiana in 1877 struck out its mandatory mixed school constitutional provision. *Ibid.*, III, 1508. See also *Virginia Laws*, 1869-70, p. 413; *Kentucky Gen. Stat.*, 1887, p. 1180 (for 1874 law); and West Virginia and Missouri constitutional provisions of 1872 and 1875 in Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, VII, 4061, and IV, 2263. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange History of Jim Crow* (New York, 1955), points out how much more rapidly the South moved toward school segregation than it did toward other aspects of racial segregation.

¹⁴⁴ 163 U. S. 537.

After two days of discussion the House passed the Kellogg amendment by a large majority. An attempt to restore the mixed school clause by striking out the entire text of the Butler bill and substituting that of the Senate bill failed, and the Butler bill then passed.¹³⁷ All affirmative votes were Republican; no Democrat voted for the measure. Significantly, fourteen Republicans voted against the bill, all but two of them from the South.

Mixed school legislation was altogether dead. When the Butler bill reached the Senate in late February, the Radicals made no attempt whatsoever to restore the school clause, nor did they attempt to take up once more the text of the Senate bill passed the previous May. After two days of sparse debate under closure rules, the Senate passed the House bill without amendment.¹³⁸ The Civil Rights Act of 1875 then became law on March 1, with President Grant's signature.¹³⁹

The new law attracted no great attention and was generally regarded as little more than a tactical device in Radical party strategy. The Washington *National Republican* bluntly described it as "a mere piece of legislative sentimentality," while the *Nation* thought it "a harmless bill," the principal objection to it being its "entire unconstitutionality." Negro public opinion apparently showed little interest in the act once the school clause had been stricken out. *Harper's Weekly* asserted dourly that the act had been "emasculated." It bitterly condemned Butler, who "in striking the school section out of the bill struck at the principle of the whole Republican policy of Reconstruction."¹⁴⁰ In actual practice the new law proved to have little meaning. The Supreme Court was to declare it unconstitutional in entirety in 1883.¹⁴¹

purpose of the amendment was, of course, to embarrass the Democratic minority by compelling them either to accept the preamble or to vote against their own platform. *New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1875.

¹³⁷ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1010-11 (Feb. 4, 1875). The vote on the Kellogg amendment was 128 to 48; on the Butler bill, 162 to 99.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1870 (Feb. 27, 1875). The vote was 38 to 26. An attempted filibuster was soon abandoned. *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1875.

¹³⁹ 18 *United States Statutes at Large*, 333. The law stipulated that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment" in inns, public conveyances on land and water, theaters, and "other places of public amusement;" subject only to provisions "applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude." It made violation of the statute a misdemeanor subject to a fine of five hundred to one thousand dollars and imprisonment of thirty days to one year, and permitted civil suits for damages of five hundred dollars for each offense.

¹⁴⁰ *Washington National Republican*, Feb. 6, 1875; *Nation*, XX (Mar. 4, 1875), 141; *New York Tribune*, Mar. 3, 1875; *Harper's Weekly*, XVIII (Mar. 20, 1875), 231.

¹⁴¹ *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U. S. 2. Ironically, a mandatory school clause would have survived the Court's test of constitutionality. Justice Bradley rested his opinion on the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited only certain forms of state action, whereas the statute prohibited various acts by private persons, a distinction which would have left a prohibition on segregation in public schools intact.

self took the floor to oppose the change.¹⁸⁰ The death of the enforcement, army, and subsidy bills was now virtually assured.¹⁸¹

Although Butler had failed in his apparent larger purpose, the way was now open for passage of his civil rights bill, and he accordingly called it up for debate. Immediately thereafter he yielded by arrangement for a new amendment to strike out entirely all reference to public schools. Of course, this was merely a somewhat less obvious way of accomplishing the same purpose as Butler's "separate but equal" clause; in either event the bill would not now carry any prohibition directed against school segregation.¹⁸²

Although removal of the mandatory mixed school clause had cut the very heart out of the bill, there was no open dissent on the floor. On the contrary, debate elicited from the Republican Negro Richard Cain of South Carolina an expression of belief that southern Negroes did not particularly desire mixed schools. Questioned directly, he replied that "So far as my experience is concerned, I do not believe they do."¹⁸³ And when Phelps of New Jersey, a moderate Republican, added the warning that "If Congress sought thus to regulate the schools, the southern states will give you no schools to regulate," there was no disposition to disagree.¹⁸⁴

The debate in the House was characterized by great bitterness, although it produced little that was new. Butler repeatedly taunted the southerners with charges of lawlessness and sexual promiscuity. John Y. Brown of Kentucky in turn made an unrestrained verbal attack on Butler, for which the House rebuked him with a formal resolution of censure.¹⁸⁵ An amusing and impish feature of the debate was the adoption by a large majority of the clause on civil rights from the Democratic party platform of 1872 as the preamble to the bill.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Butler charged that "with the country breaking into civil war," the Garfield rule was deliberately designed to allow one-day filibusters, and that there would now be no new way to get legislation before the House. *Ibid.*, 896-99 (Feb. 1, 1875). However, the Washington *National Republican* thought the rules change decisive enough to allow enactment of the bills for the South and so to "produce ultimate Republican victory" in 1876. Feb. 4, 1875. See also *New York Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1875, and *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1875.

¹⁸¹ The Texas Pacific bill died February 22 when a move to place it on the House calendar failed 117 to 126. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1600-1601 (Feb. 27, 1875). The enforcement bill passed the House 135 to 114, but the Senate failed to act. *Ibid.*, 1935, 2035 (Feb. 27; Mar. 1, 1875). Blaine, Garfield, and Poland all had opposed the bill in caucus, while Blaine's delaying tactics left no time for the Senate to act. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VII, 89-90; Edward Stanwood, *James G. Blaine* (Boston, 1905), 117-18. The one-year army bill became law, but the two-year amendment failed of introduction in either house. Washington *National Republican*, Feb. 11, 17, 1875; *New York Evening Post*, Feb. 26, 1875.

¹⁸² *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 938-39 (Feb. 3, 1875).

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 981-82 (Feb. 4, 1875).

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1002 (Feb. 4, 1875).

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 991-92 (Feb. 4, 1875). See also Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler: The South Called Him Beast!* (New York, 1957), 7-10, 230-31, and Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar*, 187-91.

¹⁸⁶ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1011 (Feb. 4, 1875). The vote was 218 to 26. The

forty-eight hours, while the House remained in continuous session.¹²⁴ It was still quite generally recognized that the "real issue" was passage of the enforcement bill and the two-year army act.¹²⁵ At the end of two days Butler surrendered and permitted an adjournment. His leadership in the House was by this time badly damaged, but Garfield and other Republican moderates were disgusted with Democratic tactics, and they decided to intervene.¹²⁶

Over the weekend, Speaker James G. Blaine called the House Rules Committee together. This body decided to submit to the House a proposed permanent rules change suggested by Garfield, whereby dilatory motions during debate would be virtually prohibited. But in return there could be no closure on the first day of debate without a three-fourths majority vote. Far more moderate than the defeated Cessna proposal, the Garfield proposal would probably insure the passage of the civil rights bill. At the same time, however, it promised to make virtually impossible the enactment of the remainder of the Radical program, simply because debate would be slowed down enough so that there would not be time.¹²⁷

The Rules Committee attempted to present its proposal for a vote, and a new and incredibly complex parliamentary fight forthwith ensued. The Democrats fought desperately to block all rules change, but after a series of failures the Republicans finally mustered the two-thirds vote required on a motion to suspend the rules and allow the Committee to submit its proposal.¹²⁸ The House then adopted the Garfield rule, after first amending it to permit closure on the first day of debate by a two-thirds vote.¹²⁹ A final attempt by Butler to kill the one-day closure delay failed when Blaine him-

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 785-829 (Jan. 27, 1875).

¹²⁵ The "real issue," said the Washington *National Republican*, "is the loss or preservation to the Republican party of one hundred and thirty-eight electoral votes" in the southern states. Feb. 1, 1875. See also New York *Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1875; New York *World*, Jan. 26; Feb. 1, 1875; Chicago *Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1875.

¹²⁶ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 829 (Jan. 27, 1875). Garfield wrote in indignation that Democratic tactics constituted "tyranny" and asserted that while he had opposed the Cessna amendment, "I am for making such changes in the rules as shall not make such obstruction possible." *Correspondence*, ed. Hinsdale, 316.

¹²⁷ The rule permitted one dilatory motion to adjourn and one motion to fix a day to adjourn in any debate. It prohibited "the previous question" on the first day of any debate, except by a three-fourths majority. But, significantly, it also provided that the new rule "shall not apply to any proposition to appropriate money or credit or property of the United States, except the regular annual appropriation bills." *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 880 (Feb. 1, 1875). Thus the rule obviously would permit unlimited debate on the Texas Pacific bill and similar subsidy measures. New York *Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1875; Washington *National Republican*, Feb. 1, 1875.

¹²⁸ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 880-92 (Feb. 1, 1875). The vote, on a motion presented by Kasson of Iowa, was 181 to 90.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 901-902 (Feb. 1, 1875). The amended rule passed 171 to 85, although with the rules suspended it required only a simple majority vote.

Some evidence indicated that a few southern whites, including some of impeccable political antecedents, actually favored mixed schools as a means of quieting racial hostility, and ex-Confederate General P. T. Beauregard had been working to that end for some time.¹¹⁷ But Butler must have realized that a mixed school clause would so weaken the bill's support among southern Republican Radicals and moderate Republicans generally that it could not possibly serve him as the "cutting edge" he desired it to be in the forthcoming rules fight. Accordingly, the mixed school clause was removed.

The rules fight began when Cessna of Pennsylvania, a Butler lieutenant, introduced a motion to forbid all dilatory motions "during the remainder of the present session."¹¹⁸ This motion failed to muster the two-thirds majority required for its adoption. Eighteen Republicans, including such notables as Robert S. Hale of New York, Phelps of New Jersey, and John A. Kasson of Iowa, joined the solid Democratic phalanx in voting "nay," while Garfield of Ohio, Dawes of Massachusetts, and Kelley of Pennsylvania simply "dodged."¹¹⁹ Not only was the proposal manifestly unfair; everyone also recognized that Butler's "real object" was passage of the enforcement bill and prospective army act.¹²⁰ Moreover, both Democrats and many Republicans feared that Butler's "hidden purpose" was enactment of the Texas Pacific bill¹²¹ and perhaps, as Samuel J. Randall of Pennsylvania put it, "every conceivable scheme of public plunder."¹²²

With the Cessna amendment hopelessly defeated, Butler moved to call up his civil rights bill and place it on the House calendar.¹²³ Since the bill had been recommitted the previous January, House rules also required a two-thirds vote on this procedure. The Democrats opening a major filibuster in response, forced seventy-five votes on dilatory motions within the next

¹¹⁷ *Harper's Weekly*, XVIII (Nov. 14, 1874), 930; T. Harry Williams, "The Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873," *Journal of Southern History*, XI (Aug., 1945), 349-69.

¹¹⁸ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 700 (Jan. 25, 1875). A Republican caucus in the House had decided on the move. *New York Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1875.

¹¹⁹ *Cong. Record*, 701 (Jan. 25, 1874). A few moments later, Butler's motion to take up the Senate civil rights bill, a momentary tactical move which had been agreed on in the caucus, failed, 147 to 93, to gain the required two-thirds majority. Significantly, numerous Republican moderates, including Garfield and Hale, now voted "yea." *Ibid.*, 704.

¹²⁰ The *New York Tribune* called the civil rights bill a "mere facade" for Cessna's motion. Jan. 26, 1875. The *Washington National Republican* warned that "there are matters of more importance than the civil rights bill that will find their final resting place unless the rule [requiring two-thirds vote for closure in the House] is suspended." Jan. 26, 1875.

¹²¹ The *New York Tribune* reported that Texas Pacific lobbyists and proponents of the notorious "Chorpeneau claim" worked openly on the floor to obtain passage of the Cessna rule. Jan. 26, 1875.

¹²² *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 700 (Jan. 25, 1874). The *Washington National Republican* admitted that the "real fear" of the Republican moderates was that the Cessna proposal "would open the treasury to all manner of plunder." Jan. 27, 1875.

¹²³ Technically, Butler moved to reconsider the vote whereby the bill had been recommitted the previous January. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 785 (Jan. 27, 1875).

Butler accordingly decided to make his civil rights bill the spearhead of a House fight for a rules change.¹¹⁰ Thereby the bill suddenly assumed a political significance entirely out of proportion to its original importance in the Radical program. Why Butler decided to use his civil rights bill for this purpose is not entirely clear. The measure was anathema to the Democratic minority, while many Radicals were expressing open skepticism as to the wisdom, in terms of party strategy, of enacting the bill at all.¹¹¹ But Butler's own prestige was to some extent bound up with the measure, while not a few Republicans thought it morally desirable and politically sound.¹¹²

Before the bill could serve party purposes adequately in a rules fight, however, it was necessary to eliminate the mandatory mixed school clause. In mid-December, the House Judiciary Committee, after a sharp internal struggle, struck out the critical clause and replaced it with one permitting "separate but equal" facilities in public schools.¹¹³ This decision, which effectively emasculated the bill, was principally Butler's. Although he offered no public explanation for his action, the reasons for it were evident enough. The President's opposition to the clause had become well known, while the Peabody Fund had recently issued another strong denunciation of any federal mixed school law.¹¹⁴ A number of state superintendents in the South lately had warned repeatedly that a civil rights bill would ruin both white and Negro education in the South for an indefinite period.¹¹⁵ Numerous southern Republicans were warning that a mixed school law would badly damage the party in the South, and was not desired by either whites or Negroes.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 27, 1875.

¹¹¹ The Washington *National Republican* thought Negroes little interested in the measure and that they preferred their own schools. Dec. 5, 1874.

¹¹² *Harper's Weekly* campaigned for the bill with the mixed school clause as an "act of justice and party necessity." XVIII (Nov. 14; Dec. 19, 1874), 930, 1038. Vice-President Wilson wrote that the civil rights bill would help remedy the party's defeat by helping to rally old Whigs and Negroes into the Republican party in the South. *New York Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1875.

¹¹³ A subcommittee headed by Butler, Poland of Vermont, and Alexander White of Alabama first reported the modified Butler bill with a "separate but equal" clause. This action elicited bitter objection from John Cessna of Pennsylvania, Jeremiah M. Wilson of Indiana, William P. Frye of Maine, and Jasper D. Ward of Illinois. The full committee of eleven members then took more than twenty votes without coming to any agreement. But a motion to substitute the Senate bill and thereby restore a mandatory mixed school provision then failed, 7 to 4, and the committee voted to report out the bill with Butler's amendment. *Washington National Republican*, Dec. 17, 1874; *New York Tribune*, Dec. 16, 17, 1874.

¹¹⁴ The trustees had adopted a resolution, the work of a subcommittee headed by the distinguished attorney, William R. Evarts, which asserted that "the prospects and hopes of the public system of education in the South will receive a serious, if not fatal, blow" from any mandatory mixed school law, "which would fall very heavily upon the colored people." *Peabody Fund Proceedings*, I, 409-12, 436-39.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 420; *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 377 (Jan. 5, 1874).

¹¹⁶ The Alabama Republican Convention of August, 1874, warned the party that "the Republican party in Alabama does not desire or seek mixed schools or accommodations for the colored people." *Nation*, XIX (Sept. 17, 1874), 180-81.

nomic recovery and to align railroad capitalists and big business with the Republican party in the forthcoming election.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, many moderate Republicans, among them such influential party figures as James A. Garfield, William Dawes of Massachusetts, Walter Phelps of New Jersey, and even Speaker James G. Blaine himself, were opposed to parts or all of the Radical program.¹⁰⁸ They were skeptical of continued army rule in the South, fearful that passage of the force bill or the two-year army act would mean "a third term for Grant," and suspicious that passage of the Texas Pacific bill might inaugurate a series of ruthless raids on the Treasury. Liberal Republicans and Democrats, of course, saw the entire Radical program as a frank attempt to preserve anarchy in the South¹⁰⁷ and to set the stage for a "gigantic steal of \$29,000,000 for Tom Scott."¹⁰⁸

It was obvious that this program had no chance of enactment in a short session without a change in the House rules to destroy the Democrats' power to filibuster. The House rules as then constituted permitted repeated dilatory motions during debate to adjourn and to "fix a day" for adjournment.¹⁰⁹ Suspension or modification of the rules would require Butler to muster a two-thirds vote of the House, but without this move the entire Radical program faced failure.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1875. On Scott's lobbying activities, see *New York Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1874; Feb. 13, 1875.

¹⁰⁸ Blaine, Garfield, Dawes, and Phelps all opposed the force bill and the two-year army act in the Republican caucus; Blaine was reported to have argued that the enforcement bill "means a third term." *New York Tribune*, Feb. 13, 15, 18, 1875. Some accounts assert that Blaine himself suggested to L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi the parliamentary maneuver that delayed passage of the force bill in the House and so ultimately blocked Senate enactment. Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), 187; Edward Mayes, *L. Q. C. Lamar, His Life, Times, and Speeches* (Nashville, Tenn., 1896), 507. Butler soon quarreled bitterly with Blaine over the latter's opposition to the Republican program. *Springfield Republican*, Mar. 1, 1875. Garfield thought the Radical program and the intervention in Louisiana might result in "the disruption of the Republican party." *Correspondence between James A. Garfield and Burke Aaron Hinsdale*, ed. Mary L. Hinsdale, (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1949), 309. Republican Henry Pierce of Massachusetts thought the force bill "worse than useless" and "working solely for the continuation of party supremacy," while Luke Poland of Vermont, G. F. Hoar, and H. B. Smith of New York all thought it grossly unconstitutional. *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1885-86; appendix, 142 (Feb. 27, 1875). More than fifty Republicans voted with the Democrats in late February to keep the Texas Pacific bill off the House calendar. *Ibid.*, 1600-1601 (Feb. 22, 1875).

¹⁰⁷ The *Nation* asserted that the force bill would convert the President into a "sort of tawdry Caesar." XX (Feb. 18, 1875), 108. Charles Eldredge of Wisconsin called it "a most infamous measure"; Samuel S. Cox of New York thought it the culmination of "ten years of mockery" of liberty; James B. Beck of Kentucky condemned the bill as "revolutionary." *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1886, 1915, appendix, 142 (Feb. 27, 1875). Of course, the President's military intervention in Louisiana merely increased moderate Republican and Democratic disgust with the Radical program. Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (2d. ed., New York, 1957), II, 748-61.

¹⁰⁸ *New York Tribune*, Feb. 18, 1875.

¹⁰⁹ For Blaine's exposition of the rule see *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 786 ff. (Jan. 27, 1875).

lican defeat,⁹⁹ and, significantly, he dropped all mention of a civil rights act in his annual message.¹⁰⁰ Quite conceivably, Republican leaders in Congress might have quietly abandoned both the Butler and Sumner bills, and simply "marked time" until a Republican return to power.

Instead, Butler, Morton, and the other Radical leaders in Congress decided to push a comprehensive legislative program through the two houses, and for tactical reasons they pushed the Butler bill into a commanding position in the forefront of that program. The Radical program, as it took shape, consisted of two principal parts: a series of bills intended to strengthen the Republican position in the South, and a variety of subsidy bills for various railroad interests. Principal measures for the South were a new enforcement bill, which among other things granted the President sweeping powers to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in several southern states;¹⁰¹ a two-year army appropriation bill;¹⁰² and the Butler civil rights bill. The most controversial subsidy bill was one to guarantee the bonds and otherwise underwrite the construction of the Texas Pacific Railroad.¹⁰³

Radical administration Republicans were soon openly arguing that the party's success in the elections of 1876 hung on the enactment of these measures. The proposed enforcement act, they asserted, would enable the President to suppress the "white leagues" and other illicit activity against southern Republicans, Negroes, and federal authority generally, while the army act would make it possible for the President to maintain troops in the South in the next two years without depending upon the caprice of a hostile Democratic Congress. The Washington *National Republican*, a Grant-Butler administration newspaper, thought the two bills "essential to the survival of the party and the nation" and admitted that if enacted they would "secure to the Republican Party all of the southern states" in 1876.¹⁰⁴ The same paper acknowledged that Tom Scott and his lieutenants were bringing "powerful but entirely legitimate influences" to bear for the passage of the Texas Pacific bill, but argued that railroad subsidies were necessary to promote eco-

⁹⁹ New York *Tribune*, Dec. 5, 1874.

¹⁰⁰ The message merely emphasized the Negro's rights "as a citizen and voter." Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 299. The *Nation* thought that Grant already had virtually given "official notice" that he would veto the bill if Congress passed it. XIX, (Dec. 3, 1874), 357. However, at least one Republican, Walter Phelps of New Jersey, had been beaten apparently because of his opposition to the civil rights bill. *Ibid.*, XIX (Nov. 12, 1874), 309.

¹⁰¹ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 2 sess., 1748 (Feb. 24, 1875).

¹⁰² As introduced, the bill covered only appropriations to July 1, 1876. *Ibid.*, 11, 1511-19 (Dec. 7, 1874; Feb. 19, 1875). Because of opposition in the Republican caucus, the necessary two-year amendment was never actually presented. See below.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 950, 1500, 1882 (Feb. 3, 19, 27, 1875).

¹⁰⁴ Feb. 11, 17, 1875.

white race."⁹¹ But Edmunds of Vermont called the "separate but equal" argument fraudulent, and amassed a careful array of statistics to prove that the practical effect of segregation was to "destroy equality of opportunity for the Negro child."⁹²

As in the House, also, a sharp dispute developed over the social implications of mixed schools. A. A. Sargent of California warned that in certain states mixed schools "will break up and utterly destroy, certainly for a long time to come, the efficacy of the common school system"⁹³ while John W. Johnston of Virginia warned that if Negro voters persisted in encouraging "such unconstitutional interferences as are now sought, they will wake up one of these mornings to find the doors of every public school house in the State barred to all educational advantages for their own and white children alike."⁹⁴ George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts asserted in reply that mixed schools were imperative to the growth of American democracy; in them, he said, "Negro and white alike" would eventually "be assimilated and made one in the fundamental ideal of human equality."⁹⁵

On May 22, 1874, the Senate, after an exhausting all-night session, passed Sumner's bill. Virtually the entire Republican membership present lined up behind the measure.⁹⁶ Although the House had ample time to pass the bill before adjournment, that chamber exhibited a decided lassitude in the matter.⁹⁷ Both the Butler and Sumner bills thus carried over without further action to the next session of the Congress.

When the second session of the Forty-Third Congress assembled in December, 1874, the political situation superficially appeared to make the passage of either of the two pending civil rights bills extremely unlikely. The congressional elections in the previous fall had resulted in a Democratic landslide, so that more than half of the Republicans in the House were now "lame ducks."⁹⁸ President Grant was reported to entertain the conviction that the Radical stand on civil rights was in part responsible for the Repub-

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, appendix, 358-61 (May 21, 1874).

⁹² *Ibid.*, 4173 (May 22, 1874).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4172 (May 22, 1874).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4114 (May 21, 1874).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4116 (May 21, 1874). Boutwell also argued that "separate but equal" facilities were a financial impossibility.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4176 (May 22, 1874). The vote was 29 to 16.

⁹⁷ Butler failed on May 25 to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote to refer the Sumner bill to the House Judiciary Committee for report and possible action. The vote, 152 to 85, showed numerous moderate Republicans refusing to support Butler, even though he promised the House to strike out the mixed school clause. There were similar failures on June 1 and June 7. *Ibid.*, 4242, 4439, 5162 (May 25; June 1, 7, 1874).

⁹⁸ James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1908), VII, 62, 132.

tion" all the recently developed white-Negro public school systems in the southern states. Sears interviewed Butler, Ebenezer R. Hoar, and numerous other friends of the bill, seeking "to induce them to omit the clause altogether, or to require only equal *privileges* of education without mixing the two races in the schools." Sears also saw President Grant, who, significantly enough, was a member of the Peabody Board of Trustees, and also obtained from him a promise to be "reasonable" about the mixed school question.⁸⁷

Opposition of this kind was too powerful to be ignored. Since 1868 the Peabody Fund had been spending in the neighborhood of a hundred thousand dollars annually on subsidies for public schools, both white and Negro, in the southern states. Its trustees, largely composed of Republicans, included figures of such stature as Hamilton Fish, Admiral David Farragut, and President Grant himself. Sears, a former long-time president of Brown University, had the complete confidence of his trustees. This was more pressure than Butler was prepared to resist. The bill went back to committee,⁸⁸ to remain there until the following January.

The Senate was somewhat less amenable to pressure of this kind, and late in the session it passed the Sumner bill with the mixed school clause intact. Apparently, however, it took the action in considerable part as a memorial to the Massachusetts idealist, who had died the previous March.⁸⁹ The debate, which began in late April, followed much the same lines as that in the House. Thurman dwelt forcibly upon the Slaughterhouse opinion to underline his contention that Congress could not constitutionally deal with public schools.⁹⁰ In reply, Morton, Timothy Howe of Wisconsin, and F. T. Freylinghuysen of New Jersey followed Lawrence's lead in shifting to a new emphasis of the equal protection clause.

The "separate but equal" argument also played a prominent part in Senate debate for the first time. Augustus Merriman of Ohio first admitted frankly that the Fourteenth Amendment did indeed touch the right to go to school, but contended that segregation was nonetheless constitutional if a state "shall make the same provision for the black race that it makes for the

⁸⁷ Sears to Robert C. Winthrop, Chairman of the Peabody Board, Jan. 8, 1874, reprinted in J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1898), 64-65.

⁸⁸ *New York Tribune*, Jan. 8, 1874; *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1874. Sears's annual reports, containing extensive observations on the implications of mixed schools, are in *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund*, I (Boston, 1875).

⁸⁹ Sumner's last words were a charge to E. R. Hoar to "take care of the civil rights bill." Moorfield Storey and Edward W. Emerson, *Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar: A Memoir* (Boston, 1911), 240.

⁹⁰ *Cong. Record*, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 4084-88 (May 20, 1874).

William Lawrence of Ohio, a much-respected man who had participated in the 1866 debates on the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, presented the most effective constitutional reply for the bill's supporters. Recognizing the great damage which the Court had done to the "privilege or immunities" clause, he fell back heavily upon "equal protection," hitherto little heard of in civil rights debates. "Equal protection," he said, "must not be understood in any restrictive sense, but must include every benefit to be derived from law." Citing evidence from the 1866 debates in the House, he argued with some cogency that this had been the true intent of the framers of the amendment.⁸¹

Even more than two years earlier the social implications of the mixed school question were uppermost in everyone's mind. One southerner, Harris, quoted a letter from the Virginia superintendent of public instruction warning that the Butler bill would "immediately wipe out or practically destroy" the public schools of his state.⁸² Stephens insisted that the colored people of Georgia, who already had their own schools and state university, "have no desire or wish for mixed schools."⁸³ And John D. Atkins of Tennessee, after asserting that God had "stamped the fiat of his condemnation" upon mixed marriages, which brought "decay and death," asked rhetorically, "Why have not the states the power to keep the races apart in the schools and elsewhere?"⁸⁴

Butler presently retaliated with equally heavy tactics. "Was there any objection in the South," he asked, "to consorting with the Negro as a slave? Oh no," he said, "Your children and your servants' children played together; your children suckled the same mother with your servants' children; and, unless tradition speaks falsely, sometimes had the same father."⁸⁵

Nonetheless, Butler, after two days of debate, suddenly withdrew the bill to the Judiciary Committee once more, indicating as he did so some doubt about the efficacy of the mixed school clause.⁸⁶ In reality, Butler was under extremely heavy Republican pressure to kill the mandatory mixed school clause. Barnas Sears, the highly influential general agent of the Peabody Education Fund, had been engaged for some time in a campaign to kill the mixed school clause, which he regarded as threatening with "total destruc-

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 412 (Jan. 6, 1874).

⁸² *Ibid.*, 377 (Jan. 5, 1874). The Virginia representatives were stirred in particular by a joint resolution adopted by the Virginia Assembly on January 5, 1874, by large majorities, which threatened openly that if the Butler bill became law, the state would destroy the school system of Virginia rather than submit to mixed schools.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 381 (Jan. 5, 1874).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 453 (Jan. 7, 1874).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 457 (Jan. 7, 1874).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 457-58 (Jan. 7, 1874).

had "knocked away one of the most important planks in the Cincinnati platform."⁷²

The civil rights question remained virtually at rest for the next two years. But in December, 1873, as the Forty-Third Congress convened, the issue arose once more. In the Senate, Sumner again presented his bill as an amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1866.⁷³ In the House, Butler of Massachusetts, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and the administration's party floor leader, introduced a somewhat similar measure.⁷⁴ Both were extremely comprehensive, and both carried very strongly worded mixed school clauses.⁷⁵ Apparently the Radicals had decided that the insistent demand of Negro voters for civil rights legislation had become too strong to be ignored. Significantly, Grant in his annual message to Congress for the first time specifically recommended passage of a law "to better secure the civil rights" of the "enfranchised slave."⁷⁶

The Butler bill came up for debate early in January, 1874, before galleries crowded with Negro spectators.⁷⁷ The conservative opponents of the measure at once seized upon the Supreme Court's recent dictum in the Slaughterhouse cases, which had all but destroyed the force of the "privileges or immunities" clause,⁷⁸ to denounce the bill as hopelessly unconstitutional. The aged and withered Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, who delivered the principal speech for the Democrats, used Justice Samuel Miller's opinion to reinforce the oft-repeated conservative contention that the amendment had bestowed no rights whatsoever definable or enforceable by Congress. Applying this analysis to the mixed school question, he asserted that Justice Miller's opinion meant that a state still retained the right "to say who may, or may not, be admitted into her public schools."⁷⁹ Harris of Virginia, Milton J. Durham of Kentucky, John N. Bright of Tennessee, and Roger Q. Mills and William S. Herndon of Texas stressed much the same argument.⁸⁰

⁷² Providence *Journal*, May 27, 1872. The Boston *Daily Globe* observed that the "amnesty bill takes the point out of Mr. Greeley's letter of acceptance." May 23, 1872. The New York *Times* thought that passage of the Amnesty Act "sweeps away the strongest plank in the amnesty raft." May 23, 1872. See also James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1886), II, 514-15.

⁷³ Cong. Record, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 2 (Dec. 2, 1873).

⁷⁴ Ibid., 318 (Dec. 18, 1873).

⁷⁵ Sumner's bill would have forbidden racial segregation in "common schools and public schools of learning or benevolence supported, in whole or in part, by general taxation." *Ibid.*, 3451 (Apr. 29, 1874). Butler's bill prohibited segregation in all schools "supported in whole or in part at public expense or by endowment for public use," language that covered many private as well as all public schools. *Ibid.*, 378 (Jan. 5, 1874).

⁷⁶ Richardson, *Messages*, VII, 255.

⁷⁷ New York *Times*, Jan. 6, 1874.

⁷⁸ 16 Wallace 36 (1873).

⁷⁹ Cong. Record, 43 Cong., 1 sess., 380-81 (Jan. 5, 1874).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 376, 383, 405, 414, 420 (Jan. 5, 6, 1874).

"lion in the pathway" of an amnesty bill necessary to counteract the "Cincinnati movement."⁶⁴ President Grant was already on record as opposed to the union of amnesty and civil rights,⁶⁵ and early in May a Republican caucus found an actual majority of senators in favor of abandoning the rider.⁶⁶ Republican concern for Sumner's feeling did not count too greatly, for he had flirted openly with the Cincinnati movement and expressed personal sympathy for Greeley.⁶⁷ Of course, all this meant that the civil rights rider had to be abandoned and the amnesty bill rushed through without it, even though some nominal gesture toward civil rights might still be necessary to appease Negro leaders.⁶⁸

In an all-night session the Senate Republicans, led by Edmunds, Carpenter, Conkling, and Logan, struck a carefully negotiated bargain with Thurman and the other Democrats. The Democrats agreed to allow an emasculated version of the Sumner bill—carefully "shorn of its most objectionable features," the school clause and the jury provision—to come to an immediate vote without further debate. In return, the Republicans promised that immediately following the civil rights vote they would call up one of the pending general amnesty bills already enacted by the House and pass it at once without amendment, so that it could become law upon Grant's signature.⁶⁹

Once agreed upon, the bargain came off almost without incident. The civil rights bill passed with the Democrats duly voting "nay." Sumner had been absent during these proceedings; arriving just before the amnesty vote, he pleaded for a mixed school clause and in desperation once more offered his bill as a rider. But the Senate coldly voted him down and then passed the amnesty bill.⁷⁰

The Senate civil rights bill was quite obviously nothing more than a device to save party face with Negro leaders. Not only were the school and jury clauses missing; it was also too late in the session to hope for favorable House action.⁷¹ But Republicans were jubilant at their amnesty coup, which

⁶⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 3260 (May 9, 1872).

⁶⁵ *Washington National Republican*, Jan. 11, 1872.

⁶⁶ *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1872; *New York Herald*, May 11, 1872.

⁶⁷ *New York Times*, May 1, 17, 22, 1872; *Washington National Republican*, May 1, 1872; *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1872.

⁶⁸ As late as mid-May, Conkling in letters to the Negro convention in Washington strongly championed mixed schools and civil rights generally. *New York Times*, May 10, 13, 1872.

⁶⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 3730-36 (May 21, 1872).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 3736-38 (May 21, 1872). The civil rights bill passed 27 to 14. The Senate defeated Sumner's rider 13 to 29 and passed the amnesty bill 39 to 2.

⁷¹ The House killed the bill, when motions "to take up" twice failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. *Ibid.*, 3932, 4322 (May 28; June 7, 1872).

nounced.⁵⁸ Virtually the entire Radical Republican phalanx, including Simon Cameron, Roscoe Conkling, Zachariah Chandler, Pomeroy, Sherman, James Harlan of Iowa, Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, and Wilson, voted for the rider.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Republicans Schurz, Trumbull, and Lot M. Morrill of Maine voted with the Democrats, North and South, against it.

As the Radicals well knew, adoption of the rider doomed the entire amnesty bill to defeat. A few minutes later the Senate voted in favor of the measure, but with two votes less than the required constitutional majority, so that the bill was dead.⁶⁰ Significantly, many ardent supporters of general amnesty, among them Thurman, Trumbull, Saulsbury, and Tipton, voted against the bill in its final form.

In May the Senate took up a new general amnesty bill which had come up from the House some time earlier, only to have the measure encounter the same fate as its predecessor. Again, Sumner immediately introduced his civil rights rider as an amendment; again, after protracted parliamentary maneuvering the Senate adopted the rider with the aid of Vice-President Colfax's casting vote. And once more the Senate immediately thereafter voted in favor of the bill, but again this failed to constitute the necessary two-thirds constitutional majority.⁶¹

Almost overnight, however, the Radical attitude toward amnesty and civil rights underwent a change. The new factor in the situation was the Liberal Republican "rebellion" then in progress. Early in May the Liberals' convention in Cincinnati adopted a party plank calling for "the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities on account of the rebellion."⁶² The subsequent nomination of Horace Greeley gave the Liberal movement an almost farcical quality; nevertheless the Republican fear was soon apparent that the Liberals' amnesty plank might win southern white Republicans over to Greeley's support.

Republican strategy now called for swift passage of an amnesty bill—as the New York *Times* put it, "to heal the party breach" and "to destroy Greeley's support in the South."⁶³ In the Senate, John A. Logan of Illinois stated bluntly that Sumner's rider had now become extremely untimely, a

⁵⁸ New York *Tribune*, Feb. 10, 1874.

⁵⁹ Carpenter of Wisconsin, a Radical, finally voted against the rider because he believed that the measure's provision requiring integration in churches violated the First Amendment.

⁶⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 929 (Feb. 9, 1872). The vote was 33 to 19.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3268, 3270 (May 9, 1872). The vote on the rider was 28 to 28; on the bill, 32 to 22.

⁶² Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York, 1924), I, 343; New York *Times*, May 4, 1872.

⁶³ New York *Times*, May 9, 11, 22, 1872; Chicago *Tribune*, May 22, 1872.

ment itself provided that it shall be enforced by legislation on the part of Congress."⁵⁰

Both sides also had much to say of the social significance of desegregation and of mixed schools in particular. Sumner thought segregated schools "an ill disguised violation of the principle of equality," whose evil effects fell even more greatly upon white children than upon Negroes. Through segregated schools, he argued, "Pharisaism of race becomes an element of character, when, like all other Pharisaisms it should be stamped out."⁵¹ In reply, Hill of Georgia insisted that legalized segregation was no real violation of "substantial equality,"⁵² while Thomas N. Norwood of Georgia argued that "the familiar association" of mixed schools implied that if Negro and white children "later see fit to join in matrimony there shall be no impediment to it."⁵³ Conservative Republican Orris Ferry of Connecticut warned that "we do not like it that representatives from distant states should assist us in the control of our school fund."⁵⁴ And Carl Schurz of Missouri contended that the best way to promote the welfare of the Negro was to pass the amnesty bill forthwith and allow the South to go its way in peace.⁵⁵

To all this the Radicals replied repeatedly that southerners ought to be required to grant the Negro civil equality as a matter both of recompense and simple social and political justice if they expected consideration in amnesty matters. James W. Nye of Nevada put this point in a very popular way:

If I had outraged the laws and Constitution of my land, if I had attempted to tear down the very temple of liberty here, and now, professing to be its friend, have not sorrow and regret enough in my heart for my bloody deeds to ask pardon, I do not deserve to be forgiven. So I take it that these friends who want to get immediately into a position to hold office had better conclude to let a Negro ride in the cars with them....⁵⁶

After some weeks of heavy and almost continuous debate, the Sumner amendment carried the day, with the casting vote of Vice-President Schuyler Colfax deciding the matter.⁵⁷ The galleries, crowded with Negroes and other Sumner supporters, gave way to "great applause," and the colored people present were unable to "restrain their joy" when the vote was an-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 524 (Jan. 23, 1872).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 381 ff. (Jan. 15, 1872).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 491 (Feb. 6, 1872).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 819 (Feb. 5, 1872).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 893 (Feb. 8, 1872).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 703 (Jan. 30, 1872).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 495 (Jan. 22, 1872).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 919 (Feb. 9, 1872). The vote was 28 to 28.

posal, in which both sides dealt at length with both its constitutional and social merits. The conservatives, led by Trumbull of Illinois, Thurman of Ohio, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, Garrett Davis and John W. Stevenson of Kentucky, Hill of Georgia, and Thomas J. Robertson of South Carolina, repeatedly attacked all civil rights legislation and Sumner's bill in particular as "grossly and palpably unconstitutional." This argument rested upon an extremely restrictive interpretation of the scope and effect of the Fourteenth Amendment. Thurman of Ohio, the Democrats' most effective constitutional theorist, boldly contended that the amendment actually had conferred upon Congress no new substantive legislative power at all. Instead, he said, congressional authority was limited to providing for the appellate jurisdiction of the federal courts whenever a state had "violated any of the limitations imposed."⁴⁷

Trumbull, himself the author of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, was perforce obliged to concede that the amendment gave Congress some substantive power in the field. But he argued strenuously that guarantees against segregation were "social rights" and not "civil rights" and therefore outside the scope of the amendment. "I say it is a misnomer," he exclaimed, "to talk about this being a civil rights bill." And when Edmunds of Vermont interposed to ask "about the right to go to school," Trumbull replied firmly, "The right to go to school is not a civil right and never was."⁴⁸

On the other hand, the Radicals argued that the "privileges or immunities" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment had endowed Congress with an extremely broad substantive power over all civil liberties. John Sherman pronounced these rights, among which he listed travel, lodgment at inns, and use of all public facilities, to be "as innumerable as the sands of the sea." The denial that attendance at public school was a civil right particularly outraged him. "It is both a right and a privilege," he insisted. If this and similar rights "are not the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," he cried, "then what in the name of human rights are the privileges and immunities of citizens?"⁴⁹ Attacking along the same general line, Morton and Carpenter both denounced Thurman's insistence that the amendment had in fact given Congress no new substantive legislative power whatsoever. "The Senator overlooks the fact," Morton said, "that the remedy for the violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was expressly not left to the courts. The remedy was legislative, because in fact the amend-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 526, 761 (Jan. 23, Feb. 1, 1872).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 3189 (May 8, 1872).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 843-44 (Feb. 6, 1872).

In December, 1871, however, Sumner presented his bill as a "rider" to a general amnesty measure which had come up from the House,⁴² and overnight his proposal took on an extraordinary popularity with the Senate Radicals. The explanation was evident enough: the Radicals regarded amnesty as "nothing less than an attempt to revive the Democratic party" by freeing it from the onus of treason, and they now saw in Sumner's rider a delightful weapon to deal with this menace. For the rider promised to make the amnesty bill so distasteful to conservative Republicans and Democrats that they would vote against the bill itself, thereby defeating the two-thirds majority required by the Fourteenth Amendment.⁴³ This could be accomplished, also, without appearing to oppose President Grant, who in his recent annual message had declared himself in favor of a general amnesty law.⁴⁴ At the same time a sop could be thrown to Negro leaders, who were beginning to insist rather strongly on a mixed school law.⁴⁵

The Radical strategem presented one serious constitutional difficulty: it was open to question whether amnesty bills were legislation at all in any ordinary sense, and it was reasonable to argue that regular legislation had no legitimate place in them. This consideration, ably presented by Thurman, Trumbull, and other Conservatives, nearly killed the rider when Sumner first presented it to the Senate. But its obvious political advantages overrode Republican constitutional doubts, and it survived to carry over for later consideration.⁴⁶

In late January the Senate began an extended debate on Sumner's pro-

⁴² House Bill 380, passed by the House without debate in the previous session. The bill lifted the disabilities of the Fourteenth Amendment from all former members of Congress as well as army and navy officers who had resigned to support the rebellion, and from members of state conventions adopting ordinances of secession who had voted for such ordinances. *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 1 sess., 361-62 (Apr. 10, 1871).

⁴³ The New York *Tribune* observed that "such men as Morton, Conkling, Edmunds, Nye, and Chandler . . . are suddenly converted to Mr. Sumner's way of thinking, because it is the only way amnesty can be defeated without appearing to oppose the President." Jan. 24, 1872. See also Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston, 1947), 125-26.

⁴⁴ James Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (New York, 1897), VII, 153. The Washington *National Republican*, an administration paper, reported that Grant himself thought it "unfortunate that it [the rider] was attached to the amnesty bill." Jan. 11, 1872. The same paper condemned the Radicals' strategy, stating that "to our second-rate mind it is the merest drivel to defend such tactics." Jan. 15, 1872.

⁴⁵ A large Negro convention early in January, 1872, resolved that "the highest good of the people demands that both races be educated together." *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1872. New York *Times*, Jan. 4, 1872.

⁴⁶ When Sumner first brought up the rider in Committee of the Whole, Vice-President Schuyler Colfax ruled it in order, and the Senate sustained him, 28 to 26. Immediately thereafter, however, the Committee rejected the amendment, 29 to 30. But when the Senate reconvened in regular session a few minutes later, Sumner, over conservative protests, offered his amendment once more, and it carried over without a vote for debate in January. *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 263-74, 278 (Dec. 21, 1871).

were adopted, he would "oppose this bill to the last," while Matthew Carpenter of Wisconsin, John S. Harris of Louisiana, Hiram Revels of Mississippi, Frederick Sawyer of South Carolina, and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts spoke to the same end.³⁷

But Allen G. Thurman of Ohio called it "despotism" to "disregard the marked differences of race that the Almighty himself has stamped upon the people," while Joshua Hill of Georgia insisted that Negroes "as a class, always prefer" segregated schools. More significantly, the great majority of senators simply remained silent. Evidently they agreed with Thomas W. Tipton of Nebraska, who expressed astonishment at the amount of time spent on the issue, asked, "Is it a crime to be practical?" and urged the Senate to get on with its business.³⁸ In the end, debate closed without any action whatever.

The House bill received even shorter shrift. Here the committee in reporting the measure unanimously recommended that the mixed school clause be struck out. The Radicals offered no articulate opposition to this proposal, but all sides were now disposed to bury the entire measure, which was killed by a vote to reconsider the vote by which it had been engrossed and read.³⁹ The explanation was simple: the advocates of mixed schools, too weak to defend the retention of the mixed school clause successfully, were not interested in the bill without it, while the Conservatives were only too glad to let the entire question die.

Of far more political significance were Sumner's repeated attempts to obtain passage of a comprehensive desegregation statute, which would include a prohibition upon racial segregation in public schools. From 1870 on the Massachusetts idealist regularly presented bills of this kind, usually for an act supplementary to the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The text of these measures was always very much the same. They proposed to prohibit discrimination in a variety of public facilities within the states—common carriers, theaters, inns, restaurants, schools, and the like—on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.⁴⁰ For a time they made little progress, in part through apparent lack of general interest, in part because of the hostility of Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, who as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee was in a position to kill them.⁴¹

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1054–60 (Feb. 8, 1871).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1057, 1059–60 (Feb. 8, 1871).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1367 (Feb. 17, 1871). The vote was 88 to 71, with 81 not voting.

⁴⁰ The earliest of these bills was S. 916, introduced by Sumner May 13, 1870. *Cong. Globe*,

⁴¹ Cong., 2 sess., 3434.

⁴² For example, the adverse report on the 1870 bill. *Ibid.*, 5314 (July 7, 1870).

gregated schools, were that at all possible. In either nineteenth- or twentieth-century terms their political ambivalence is very understandable.

The campaign for mixed schools in the District of Columbia exhibited much the same inner weakness as that for desegregation through an education subsidy. The Negro school system in the District was at this time entirely distinct from that for whites, since an act of 1862 had organized the former under a separate three-man board of trustees appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.³² Originally private in character, the Negro schools after 1862 were supported by annual appropriations from Congress, although their public status in the late 1860's was still far from unequivocal.

Beginning in January, 1870,³³ Sumner and his friends regularly introduced mixed school bills for the District in the Senate and House at every session until his death in 1874. Most of them never reached the floor, evidently because the Republican majority simply was not interested in them. In all probability there was truth in the repeated Democratic taunt that desegregation of public schools in the District struck many Republican congressmen as "too close to home."

In 1871, however, Sumner and his friends succeeded in bringing District mixed school bills out of committee and onto the floor for debate in both houses. In the Senate James W. Patterson of New Hampshire, chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to wipe out all preexisting school organization in the District and to create in its stead a single mixed school system under a superintendent, three school districts, and a common board of education. The measure carried a specific guarantee of racial integration.³⁴ A report from the trustees of the Negro school system, which asserted that the termination of segregated schools was not only "in the best interests of the colored people" but also "those of all classes," supported this proposal.³⁵ A few days later the House Committee on the District of Columbia reported out a similar measure.³⁶

This little show of strength by the mixed school faction was dispelled quickly enough. In presenting his bill on the Senate floor, Patterson explained that the committee majority had added the mixed school clause over his objections, and he now moved to strike it out on the ground that it would "tend to destroy the schools of the city or to put them back ten or fifteen years." Sumner immediately protested that if the Patterson amendment

³² 12 *United States Statutes at Large*, 537-38.

³³ *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 323 (Jan. 10, 1870).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 sess., 1053 (Feb. 8, 1871).

³⁵ *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., no. 20, p. 7.

³⁶ *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 3 sess., 1365 (Feb. 17, 1871).

then repeated his insinuation against the sex morals of southern whites.²⁸

However, the southerners were now determined to force a specific settlement of the mixed school issue before the bill came to final vote. As various minor amendments came up for consideration, Hereford presented the following amendment:

Provided that no moneys belonging to any State or Territory under this act shall be withheld from any State or Territory for the reason that the laws thereof provided for separate schools for white children and black children, or refuse to organize a system of mixed schools.²⁹

There was no debate on the proposal. The original voice vote on the amendment was close, but when George F. Hoar, a champion of mixed schools, called for the yeas and nays, forty-three did not vote. Included in the negative vote were all the principal Radical figures of the House—among them Bingham and Samuel Shellabarger of Ohio, Butler of Massachusetts, Kelley of Pennsylvania, Austin Blair of Michigan, and Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts. Virtually all those who refused to vote, however, were Republicans. Silent Republican defections, in short, had killed the mixed school clause. The following day the House passed the expurgated school bill,³⁰ but thereafter it died in Senate committee.

A few weeks after Hereford had been successful in gaining adoption of his amendment to the Perce bill, he was indiscreet enough to ask suspension of the House rules for a vote on the following:

Be it resolved, that it would be contrary to the Constitution and a tyrannical usurpation of power for Congress to force mixed schools upon the States, and equally unconstitutional and tyrannical for Congress to pass any law interfering with churches, public carriers or inn keepers, such subjects of legislation belonging of right to the States respectively.

The motion to suspend the rules to vote on this resolution, however, promptly met defeat. All the principal Radical figures of the House, including Bingham, Butler, Blair, Hoar, and Kelley, voted against the proposal, while this time an even larger group of Republicans simply voted "present."³¹ In other words, a considerable group in the House, one holding an actual balance of power, was unwilling to vote positively for mixed schools but at the same time would refuse to go on record in favor of the principle of seg-

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 882 (Feb. 7, 1872). The original voice vote was 82 to 80 for the amendment; on the call for yeas and nays it was 115 to 81.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 903 (Feb. 8, 1872); Lee, *Struggle for Federal Aid*, 57–60; Edward MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics* (Washington, D. C., 1872), 122.

³¹ *Cong. Globe*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 1582 (Mar. 11, 1872). The vote was 61 to 85, with 94 not voting.

education.²³ Others, however, such as that introduced by Congressman George F. Hoar of Massachusetts in February, 1870,²⁴ or that presented in January, 1872, by Representative Legrand Perce, a Mississippi Negro,²⁵ provided for direct federal taxation, the proceeds of which were to be distributed to the states for the support of the public schools.

These bills, at least in the 1870's, nearly always carried some sort of mixed school guarantee, and indeed both sides recognized quite generally that this was one of their objectives. As a consequence, they invariably aroused bitter controversy whenever they reached the floor.

The House debate on the Perce bill in January, 1872, was particularly notable for its vitriolic character. The measure carried a specific mixed school guarantee, and conservative Republicans and Democrats alike denounced it as an ill-disguised attempt to force mixed schools upon the states. Democrat John B. Storm of Pennsylvania warned the South that "this bill is a Trojan horse. In its interior are concealed the lurking foe—mixed schools." Michael Kerr of Indiana protested that the bill "proposes to establish . . . mixed public schools . . . all over the country." And John T. Harris of Virginia cried out in an impassioned speech that "Virginia will do justice to the colored man, but money cannot purchase her to the principles of this bill. . . . We give the colored man equal political and legal rights, but social equality, Never! Never! Never!"²⁶

Thereupon Representative William D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, familiarly known as "Pig-Iron," observed sarcastically

that the terror of the gentleman from Virginia excited by his fear of mixed schools, need not be so extreme. If, as he seems to apprehend, such schools should be forced upon the people of this and other States, it will in the South be but temporary; for all men know that the sun and atmosphere of the southern states soon bleach the blackest African, both in hair and complexion, to the colors characteristic of the purest Saxon lineage.²⁷

At this point an outraged Virginian, Representative Frank Hereford, asked Kelley "whether he is in favor of forcing mixed schools upon the people?" But in reply Kelley quoted the evidence of Negro-white intermixture that he had seen in the Freedman's Bureau schools in the South, and

²³ *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 2979 (Apr. 26, 1870).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1568 (Feb. 25, 1870). The measure would have levied a direct tax of fifty cents on every United States inhabitant. *Ibid.*, 3 sess., 1038 (Feb. 7, 1871).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 42 Cong., 2 sess., 535 (Jan. 23, 1872). Perce's bill would have created a "national education fund," invested in five per cent United States bonds, the proceeds to be distributed to the states.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 569, 791, 855–56 (Jan. 24; Feb. 2, 6, 1872).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 858 (Feb. 6, 1872).

after the enacting clause and simply to readmit Virginia to representation; it then passed the amended bill in that form.¹⁷

The Senate Radicals were little concerned, however, with constitutional niceties of this kind. After impassioned pleas by Sumner and Morton of Indiana, the upper house a few days later adopted, on a close vote, an amendment submitted by Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts stipulating "that the constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said State." The Senate then passed the bill, the House soon concurred in the Senate's changes,¹⁸ and the measure became law with the Wilson "condition-subsequent" intact.¹⁹ A few weeks later Congress passed bills to readmit Mississippi and Texas²⁰ which contained similar mixed school provisions.

In actual practice, these guarantees proved to have little meaning. Indeed, the Virginia legislature in July, 1870, adopted by a large majority a Walker-sponsored public school act containing a mandatory school segregation clause.²¹ Ironically, no one in Congress, not even Sumner, thereafter bothered to challenge the law.

By 1870 Sumner's little coterie had begun agitation on three additional fronts to obtain their objective. They now sought a national subsidy for primary and secondary education which would incorporate a mixed school guarantee, a reform of the school system in the District of Columbia to bring mandatory mixed schools to the city of Washington, and, most important, the passage of a comprehensive antisegregation civil rights act which would include as a principal provision an outright prohibition against racially segregated schools in the states.

Until the late 1880's bills to establish a national subsidy for public education appeared in every session of Congress. The principal interest in these measures centered in the House.²² Most of them, like the one introduced by Representative Waitman Willey of West Virginia in 1870, proposed to appropriate the proceeds of public land sales to the states for the support of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 493-95, 502 (Jan. 14, 1870). The vote on Bingham's amendment was 98 to 95.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 643-44, 720 (Jan. 14, 21, 24, 1870). The Senate vote on the Virginia bill was 47 to 101 and that of the House 136 to 58.

¹⁹ 16 *United States Statutes at Large*, 63.

²⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 1173-84, 1253-60, 1329, 1365-66, 1969-71, 2271 (Feb. 10, 14, 16, 17; Mar. 15, 29, 1870).

²¹ *Virginia Laws*, 1869-70, p. 413. See also A. A. Taylor, *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* (Washington, D. C., 1928), 146-52.

²² Allen J. Going, "The South and the Blair Bill," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (Sept., 1957), 267-71; Gordon C. Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid: First Phase* (New York, 1949), 40-87.

later be construed as providing either for mixed schools or school segregation.¹²

In the subsequent state election campaign, Gilbert Walker, the "Conservative" candidate for governor, had repeatedly assured the people of Virginia that if he and his party were elected to office and the prospective constitution adopted, its controversial provisions "would never be enforced in a manner detrimental to the people."¹³ Apparently this was generally understood to be a pledge to maintain segregated schools. In July, 1869, Walker was elected governor, his party carried a large majority in the assembly, and the constitution was overwhelmingly ratified.

Many Virginia Radicals, now despairing of achieving mixed schools otherwise, appealed in alarm to their friends in Congress.¹⁴ The Joint Congressional Committee on Reconstruction, which then had under consideration a bill to readmit Virginia to representation, accordingly incorporated the following provision in the bill as reported in January, 1870, to the floor of the two houses:

... The Constitution of said State shall never be so amended or changed . . . to prevent any person on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude from serving as a juror or participating equally in the school fund or school privileges provided for in said Constitution.¹⁵

This provision was open to a serious constitutional objection, in that it would have imposed a "condition-subsequent" upon the admission of Virginia to representation. The constitutional objection to "conditions-subsequent"—that they implied a union of unequal rather than equal states—was of long standing and had been generally recognized by all constitutional lawyers since the days of the Missouri Compromise debates.¹⁶ When the bill came up for debate in the House, John A. Bingham of Ohio, long a Radical stalwart, vigorously attacked its constitutionality. The House thereupon voted to adopt Bingham's amendment to strike out everything in the bill

¹² *Journal of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867-1868* (Richmond, 1868), 299, 301, 333, 339, 340. As finally written, the constitution provided merely for "compactly located school districts" and for "a uniform system of free public schools." Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, VII, 3891, 3892.

¹³ Representative Hulbert Paine of Wisconsin and other indignant Radicals quoted Walker to this effect on the floor of both houses. *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 402, 543 (Jan. 12, 1870). See also H. J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction* (Baltimore, Md., 1904), 120-25.

¹⁴ In January, 1870, a Washington convention of "loyal Republican citizens of Virginia" petitioned Congress to intervene. *Cong. Globe*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., 390, 440-41 (Jan. 13, 1870).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 362 (Jan. 11, 1870).

¹⁶ Cf. Attorney General George F. Hoar's opinion of August, 1869, on the matter. *Ibid.*, 404 (Jan. 12, 1870).

some support of Sumner's cause and even for an occasional congressional vote, but not for any decisive attempt to enact a mandatory federal mixed school statute. With the exception of a few idealists, the Republican Radicals used the mixed school question merely as a party stalking horse.

Sumner's attempt to attach a mixed school requirement to the second Reconstruction bill was a rather shrewdly chosen opening move, for it was evident that his Radical colleagues might well be far more willing to impose mandatory desegregation on the "rebel states" than upon their own constituents. The maneuver nonetheless failed,⁸ and a like attempt in July, 1867, to amend the third Reconstruction bill met a similar fate.⁹

At the same time, Sumner had succeeded in inspiring some degree of self-consciousness with respect to mixed schools both in Congress and in southern Radical Republican ranks. Two of the constitutions drafted by the Radical-controlled conventions in the states then undergoing reconstruction, those of South Carolina and Louisiana, specifically prohibited racial segregation in the public schools. The other five constitutions of 1868, those of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina,¹⁰ carried more general provisions directed toward equality in education without specifically guaranteeing mixed schools as such. These provisions, particularly those of South Carolina and Louisiana, called forth several expressions of conservative and Democratic condemnation on the floor of Congress without evoking any Radical response.¹¹

Two years later, in 1870, the mixed school faction in Congress succeeded in incorporating guarantees of racially mixed schools as "conditions-subsequent" in the acts to readmit Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to representation. This development grew out of Radical concern for the situation in the state of Virginia, where a fight over school segregation had been under way for some time. The constitutional convention of 1867-1868, after protracted debate on the subject in which both sides failed to carry their objective in any specific provision, had adopted deliberately vague and ambiguous school district and county organization provisions which everyone recognized might

⁸ After some discussion, the Senate voted the proposal down, 20 to 20. *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., 165-70 (Mar. 16, 1867).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 580-81, (July 11, 1867).

¹⁰ Francis N. Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories and Colonies now or heretofore Forming the United States of America* (7 vols., Washington, D. C., 1909), I, 149, 322; III, 716, 868, 1465; V, 2817; VI, 3301.

¹¹ In a bitter condemnation of the Louisiana and South Carolina constitutional mixed school provisions, for example, James Beck of Kentucky asserted indignantly, "I can scarcely conceive of a more despotic, galling, and degrading provision in the fundamental law of a state pretending to be free." *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., 2449 (May 13, 1868).

in his celebrated argument in the Roberts case, where he had condemned segregation as contrary to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.⁶ He never rested thereafter from the exposition of the thesis that school segregation was inimical to the best interests of American democracy.

Sumner's leadership of the Radical crusade against segregated schools was at once its inspiration and a revelation of its political weakness. For the plain truth of the matter was that he was for the most part unable to command an effective majority of his Republican colleagues on any definitive vote. A number of the senatorial faithful, among them Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Richard Yates of Illinois, Samuel Pomeroy of Kansas, George Edmunds of Vermont, John Sherman of Ohio, and Levi P. Morton of Indiana, showed themselves willing to support the Massachusetts idealist on most occasions, but they generally allowed Sumner to lead the way. In the House, George F. and Ebenezer R. Hoar were consistently loyal to the cause, while Ben Butler, for whatever dubious reasons of his own, also eventually became an ardent champion of mixed schools.⁷ But it is significant that virtually the only occasions in which Sumner found his cause sufficiently popular to command effective support in either house occurred when it happened to coincide with the momentary tactical or strategic interests of the Republican party. This was the case both in the protracted congressional fight over southern amnesty in 1872 and during the partisan maneuvering incident to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

Republican politicians sensed, correctly enough, that there was comparatively little popular interest in national mixed school legislation. Even in the North most communities were content to allow the issue to be settled as a local or state matter rather than by a federal law. The demand from Negro voters for mixed school legislation, to be sure, was powerful and insistent, and Republican politicians on occasion were obliged to pay some attention to it. Mixed schools also offered a potential device to confirm the loyalty of southern Negro voters and so to strengthen the Republican party in the South. But it soon became clear that virtually all southern whites were extremely hostile to school desegregation, so that advocacy of mixed school legislation promised to weaken the Republican party below the Mason and Dixon line rather than strengthen it. Sound party tactics therefore called for

⁶ The argument is in Charles Sumner, *His Complete Works* (Boston, 1900), III, 51-100.

⁷ Butler and the Hoar brothers were, of course, deadly political enemies. Cf. George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), I, 329-30, 340-48.

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commonly designated, was not altogether new even in 1865. In fact, however, it had involved solely local and state policy. Most of the states had long provided for racial segregation in some form of schools, since the institution had made its appearance wherever communities of any size had developed.³ In a number of alitarian idealists had attacked school segregation in the state of Massachusetts, in particular, a long and spectacular campaign which had been climaxed by the celebrated "separate but equal" Roberts case, and by the subsequent passage of a statute outlawing segregation in the public schools of the state.⁴

Instruction era for the first time gave the school segregation status of a national problem, because emancipation had created Negroes whose legal status and caste position became the chief concern of the nation. Also, the triumphant Radical Congress included numerous idealists who were intent upon a new casteless American society. And finally, the adoption of the amendment, itself in large part the product of the Radical drive for a new society, provided a plausible constitutional foundation from which proponents of racial segregation were enabled to launch their

of the Radical Reconstruction drive in Congress for mixed schools. It is important to recognize at the outset that the force of the campaign was due to the efforts of one man, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who had first distinguished himself as a champion of mixed schools

³; *New York Laws*, 1850, chap. 143, sec. 4; *Pennsylvania Laws*, 1854, p. 623; 1838), 21; *Indiana Revised Statutes*, 1850, p. 321; *Illinois Laws*, 1857, p. 292; 1855, chap. 99, par. 6; *Laws of Michigan*, 1841, p. 48; *Statutes of California*, 1855,

vs. Board of Education, 9 Ohio 407 (1859); *Draper vs. Cambridge*, 20 Ind.

City of Boston, 59 Mass. 198 (1850). *Massachusetts Statutes*, 1855, chap. 256, Leonard W. Levy and Harlan B. Phillips, "The Roberts Case: Source of the 'Separate But Equal' Doctrine," *American Historical Review*, LVI (Apr., 1951), 510-18. The controversial question of whether the Fourteenth Amendment was itself intended to prohibit school segregation is outside the scope of this paper. The author of this article elsewhere has shown that, while the framers of the Amendment were little concerned with the question as such, they deliberately struck broadly at all caste and class legislation, so that any legislation against school segregation might reasonably be construed generally as unconstitutional. That is, they were adopting an amendment setting forth broad purpose, John A. Bingham of Ohio made this distinction clear on the floor of the House, "The Fourteenth Amendment Reconsidered: The Segregation Question," *Congressional Record*, LIV (June, 1956), 1049-86. Howard Jay Graham, "Our 'Declaratory' Amendment," *Stanford Law Review*, VII (Dec., 1954), 3-39, presents the same argument. The same is found in John Frank and Robert F. Monroe, "The Original Understanding of the Fourteenth Amendment," *Columbia Law Review*, L (Feb., 1950), 131-69. For a careful argument to the contrary, see Alexander M. Bickel, "The Original Understanding of the Segregation Decision," *Harvard Law Review*, LXIX (Nov., 1955), 1-65.

The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW



Vol. LXIV, No. 3

April, 1959

The Congressional Controversy over
School Segregation, 1867-1875

ALFRED H. KELLY

ON a certain day in March, 1867, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts arose from his seat in the United States Senate to offer an amendment to the Second Reconstruction Act, then under consideration by the Congress. His proposal would have required the states under reconstruction to establish "public schools open to all without distinction of race or color."¹ The amendment, itself of little import, was the opening move in what proved to be an eight-year campaign for federal legislation to abolish racial segregation generally and in particular to prohibit segregation in the nation's public schools. The campaign was ultimately to culminate, with frustration and substantial failure, in the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1875.

Controversy over the "mixed school" question, as the school segregation

¹ *Cong. Globe*, 40 Cong., 1 sess., 165 (Mar. 16, 1867).

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HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Subscriptions, without membership, may be sent to The Macmillan Company, Box 2-W, Richmond 5, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11. The price of subscription is \$7.50 a

evidence of plagiarism in Stedman's volumes is so overwhelming as to cast doubt upon the entire work. Passages from Stedman's *History* should not be accepted as original sources until they have first been checked against the *Register*, Tarleton's *History*, and other works from which they could have been taken.

The fact that Stedman's *History* is contaminated by large quantities of plagiarized material raises an important question. The question is: How much, if any, original material is sandwiched in between the plagiarized passages? If there is sufficient original material between the "bad," the further question arises: Is the "good" material of sufficient importance to justify the time-consuming process of testing it for possible plagiarism?

Let me suggest tentative answers to the questions posed above. Stedman accompanied Lord Cornwallis during the strenuous campaign that took place in North Carolina and Virginia in 1781; he was an eyewitness and a participant in the most important events of the campaign. In the circumstances, it is possible that there is some valuable source material in Stedman's Volume I which does seem to exist in Stedman's account of the campaign in North Carolina and some of it appears to be of sufficient value to justify considerable effort on the part of scholars to check its validity. For example, Stedman's account of his efforts to round up cattle, hogs, and provisions of all kinds for Cornwallis' army at Hillsboro, North Carolina, in February, 1781, appealed upon personal experience. "Such was the situation of the British army," Stedman tells us, "that the author, with a file of men, was obliged to go from house to house, throughout the town, to take provisions from the inhabitants." (*The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War*, 2 vols., London, 1794], II, 335.) That passage rings like good coin and casts strong light on Lord Cornwallis' difficulties shortly before the battle of Cowpens and the subsequent retreat of the British army to Wilming-

tonne Fear River.

To summarize, Mr. Newmyer did well to ring the alarm bell for us. None of us will be unaware of the plagiarism that invalidates so much of Stedman's *History*. There is, however, some eyewitness material in Stedman's Volume I which is of such value to the student of the American Revolution as to justify considerable effort on his part to separate the good coin from the counterfeit.

High University

GEORGE W.

reason to suppose that these behaviors are general and universal in disaster. If one believes that group, collective, and institutional behavior are products of both psychological and sociological factors—and here Professor Langer gives scant credit to the progress of social psychology and the other social sciences, which, among other things have discredited single-factor theories and explanations—he must at least consider very carefully the question of whether the same stimulus would produce the same results in the populations of medieval Europe and of modern Europe or of America.

Professor Langer's paper almost completely ignores the large amount of research which has been done, and published, on the reactions of people to World War II and postwar disasters. (The valuable paper by Diggory and Pepitone, which he cites, is also a historical study of past events.) He cites Martha Wolfenstein's book, *Disaster: A Psychological Essay*, in support of the thesis that the sense of sin is "naturally enhanced by the impact of vast and uncontrollable forces threatening the existence of each and every one." In her introduction, however, Dr. Wolfenstein very carefully and explicitly explains that in her book she advances a series of hypotheses to explain behaviors observed in disaster but that she was not able from the data she had and that she did not intend to make statements about the frequency of occurrence of these different kinds of behaviors.

Studies in World War II and many postwar disasters, as well as the historical and literary accounts of many other great disasters of the past, such as William James's account of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 and Ignazio Silone's account of the Messina, Italy, earthquake of 1915, directly challenge what appears to be Professor Langer's main conclusion, as quoted in the first paragraph, above. We have here, I think, not just a problem of reconciling data and methodologies, but also a problem of analysis which takes adequate account of psychological and sociological factors.

Disaster Research Group

HARRY B. WILLIAMS

National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I fail to find in my address the ideas which Mr. Williams attributes to me. Far from trying to establish the psychological effects of all disasters, I was merely raising the question whether historically speaking certain psychological attitudes might be explained by some social trauma. I was unable to see that recent research on World War II and postwar disasters had any bearing on this problem.

Harvard University

WILLIAM L. LANGER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. R. Kent Newmyer has rendered an important service to students of the American Revolution by making available to them his most careful and scholarly analysis of the writings of Charles Stedman in his article, "Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*," in the July issue of the *American Historical Review*. Mr. Newmyer has pointed out, quite correctly, that a major part of Volume I of Stedman's *History* is copied from the *Annual Register*. He has shown, also, that there is serious plagiarism in Volume II in which there are various passages that have been stolen from the *Annual Register* as well as some which have been taken from Banastre Tarleton's *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*. All told,

Merrill appointed associate professor. *University of Wisconsin*: Lee Law promoted to professor and John Leddy Phelan to associate professor; Reg Horsman appointed instructor.

RECENT DEATHS

Bernhard Vollmer, president of the association of German archivists between 1946 and 1952 and the founder of the quarterly *Der Archivar*, died on March 1958, at the age of seventy-two. In 1926 he negotiated an exchange of archival materials between the archives of Düsseldorf, Maastricht, and Arnhem. In 1929 to 1952 he was director of the Düsseldorf State Archives, and the manner in which he fulfilled his responsibilities between 1940 and 1944 as head of the Archivamt beim Reichskommissariat für die Niederlande did not lessen the respect in which he was held by his Dutch colleagues. He took an active part in the establishment of the Federal Archives at Koblenz after the last war.

Norman W. Caldwell died in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, May 31, 1958, at the age of fifty-three. Born in Thebes, Illinois, he received his B.A. degree in 1934 from Southern Illinois Normal University and his M.A. and Ph.D. in 1936 respectively from the University of Illinois. During World War II he was a historical researcher and writer in the United States Air Force. Before joining the staff of Southern Illinois University, where he remained until his death, he was chairman of the history department at the College of the Ozarks, Clarksville, Arkansas.

His major publication was *The French in the Mississippi Valley* (1946). He served two terms as vice president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society and was assistant editor of the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* in 1946-47.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

This is in comment upon the article by Professor Langer entitled, "The Black Death and the Assignment," in the January, 1958, *Review*. I can have no quarrel, of course, with the plea of a distinguished historian that his colleagues pay more attention to psychological principles and factors in their work. Nor, do I disagree that psychoanalytic theory is one important source of theory for the historian to consider and use. I do wish, however, that Professor Langer had not given the impression that the way people reacted to the Black Death indicates the way people always react to disaster—i.e., "it is perfectly clear that disaster and death threatening an entire community will bring on a mass emotional disturbance, based upon a feeling of helpless exposure, disorientation, and common guilt."

If one accepts Professor Langer's description of the reactions of the people of the Middle Ages to the great pestilences, if one accepts that some of the psychoanalytic explanations of this behavior are useful and probably valid, and if one accepts that the usefulness and validity of psychoanalytic explanations of human behavior have continued to increase during the years, one still has no ade-

ant professor. *Pomona College*: Margaret Gay Davies appointed associate professor and Burdette C. Poland assistant professor; Hubert C. Herring retired after holding a joint appointment on the staffs of Pomona and Claremont Colleges since 1944; Herbert B. Smith on leave of absence during 1958-59 on a Fulbright fellowship in Thailand. *Potomac University* (Washington, D. C.): Charles B. Hirsch, of La Sierra College, appointed professor and named chairman of the department. *Rice Institute*: Frank E. Vandiver promoted to professor. *Roosevelt University*: Jack Roth promoted to associate professor; Donald Weinstein, of the State University of Iowa, appointed assistant professor; Richard J. Hooker on leave of absence during the first semester 1958-59. *San Jose State College*: Benjamin F. Gilbert promoted to professor; H. Brett Melendy and E. P. Panagopoulos promoted to associate professors; Jacob M. Patt and Charles B. Burdick promoted to assistant professors; Charlene M. Leonard and David I. Kulstein appointed assistant professors.

Smith College: Vere B. Holmes retired after being on the faculty for thirty-four years. *Southeast Missouri State College* (Cape Girardeau): Thomas Woodrow Davis appointed to the staff. *Stanford University*: Richard W. Lyman, of Washington University, appointed associate professor; Gavin I. Langmuir, of Harvard University, appointed assistant professor. *State University of Iowa*: Frederick G. Heymann appointed visiting professor for 1958-59; Stow Persons named acting chairman to replace W. O. Aydelotte, who has been granted a year's leave of absence. *Syracuse University*: Robert Jones Shafer promoted to professor. *Temple University*: Clement G. Motten promoted to professor and Frances M. Manges to assistant professor. *Texas Technological College*: George Hilton Jones appointed assistant professor. *University of Toledo*: Arthur R. Steele promoted to assistant professor; Cecil E. Cody granted a year's extension of leave to continue teaching and research on a Fulbright grant in the Philippines. *United States Naval War College* (Newport, Rhode Island): Lawrence O. Ealy, of Temple University, appointed Ernest J. King Professor of History for 1958-59. *Wabash College*: Wendell N. Calkins promoted to professor and Stephen G. Kurtz to associate professor; J. L. Boone Atkinson, of the Air University, appointed associate professor. *Wagner College* (Staten Island, New York): Richard H. Heindel, of the University of Buffalo, named president. *Washington and Lee University*: Thomas P. Hughes on leave to do research in Germany.

Wayne State University: Fred C. Hamil promoted to professor, T. F. Mayer-Oakes and Margaret Sterne to associate professors; Finley Hooper and Edward Lurie appointed assistant professors; Roberto Giannanco appointed visiting assistant professor for 1958-59; Alfred C. Jefferson appointed instructor. *Western Illinois University* (Macomb): John G. Westover, of Central Missouri State College, appointed to the staff. *Westminster College* (New Wilmington, Pennsylvania): Harry G. Swanhart appointed instructor. *Whittier College*: James M.

59. *University of Cincinnati*: Gene D. Lewis, of Southern Illinois University, appointed assistant professor; Daniel Beaver, of Northwestern University, and Herbert F. Curry, of the University of Wisconsin, appointed instructors; Oscar E. Anderson granted a leave of absence to work with the Atomic Energy Commission. *Cornell University*: Clinton Rossiter appointed John L. Senior Professor of American Civilization. *University of Delaware*: Walter L. Woodfill promoted to associate professor. *University of Denver*: Allen D. Breck named chairman of the department, succeeding Raymond G. Carey. *Drexel Institute of Technology*: Samuel Osgood, of Brown University, Frank Huntington, of Yale University, and Russell Weigley, of the University of Pennsylvania, appointed assistant professors.

East Texas State College: Timothy L. Smith, of Boulder, Colorado, named head of the department. *Emory University*: J. Harvey Young promoted to professor, Francis S. Benjamin to associate professor; Walter D. Love promoted to assistant professor and granted leave for research in England and France; Franklin H. Littell, director of Franz Lieber Haus in Bad Godesberg bei Bonn, appointed professor; James I. Robertson appointed instructor for 1958-59. *Grove City College* (Pennsylvania): Larry Gara named chairman of the department. *Hiram College*: James Neal Primm, of the University of Missouri, named dean. *University of Idaho*: William S. Greever promoted to professor, Siegfried B. Rolland to associate professor, and Fred H. Winkler to assistant professor; Ahmet Sukru Esmen, of the University of Ankara, Turkey, appointed visiting professor for the first semester 1958-59 on a John Hay Whitney Foundation fellowship; John C. Hough appointed instructor. *Kansas State University*: Charles Glaab appointed assistant professor. *Louisiana Polytechnic Institute* (Ruston): Phillip A. Walker, of Mississippi Southern College, appointed associate professor; John E. McGee retired after twenty-seven years on the staff. *University of Minnesota*: John Bowditch named chairman of the department to succeed Herbert Heaton, who is retiring. Professor Heaton has been appointed visiting professor at Pennsylvania State University for the first semester 1958-59. Paul W. Bamford and Burton Stein appointed assistant professors; Paul L. Murphy granted a leave of absence to teach at Northwestern University during 1958-59. *University of Mississippi*: William T. Doherty named chairman of the department.

University of Missouri: Richard Kirkendall, of Connecticut Wesleyan University, appointed to the staff. *New York State Teachers College* (Oneonta): Maynard G. Redfield appointed professor. *University of North Dakota*: Louis G. Geiger promoted to professor. *North Dakota State Teachers College* (Dickinson): Erwin F. Karner appointed to the staff. *University of Oregon*: Robert Worthington Smith promoted to associate professor, Ramsay MacMullen and Gustave Alef to assistant professors; Kenneth W. Porter, of the University of Illinois, appointed professor. *Park College* (Parkville, Missouri): Ellerd M. Hulbert appointed assist-

being conducted by Dr. Kwang-ching Liu (16 Dunster Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts), who will be glad to know of research in progress and researchers interested in this field.

A ten-year investigation of the development of free institutions in the United States is starting at Harvard University, under an administrative committee headed by Paul H. Buck, American historian. Other members of the committee are: Oscar Handlin, American historian; Myron Gilmore, European historian; Bertrand Fox, Director of Research, Harvard Business School; Carl Kaysen, economist; V. O. Key, Jr., political scientist; Crane Brinton, European historian; Paul Freund, historian of the United States Supreme Court; and David Riesman, sociologist. The Committee will establish a new Center for the Comparative Study of the History of Liberty in America, to operate under the direction of Professor Handlin. Through its research and instruction, the Center will attempt to answer objectively a wide range of questions about the development of American liberty.

The Research Division of the National Education Association recently reported the following median salaries for nine months of full-time teaching in colleges and universities, for 1957-58 (the per cent of increase over 1955-56 follows each figure): professors, \$8,072 (14.1%); associate professors, \$6,563 (14.5%); assistant professors, \$5,595 (13.7%); instructors, \$4,562 (11.65%). The per cent of increase, 1955-56 to 1957-58, for all ranks, by type of institution, was as follows: state universities, 12.8%; nonpublic universities, 10.6%; municipal universities, 22.9%; land-grant colleges, 13.4%; state colleges, 17.8%; teachers colleges, 12.7%.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Adelphi College: Robert Ernst promoted to professor. *Arizona State College*: William H. Lyon appointed to staff. *Boston College*: M. Kamil Dziewanowski appointed a Ford Foundation exchange scholar to lecture at six Polish universities. *University of California (Berkeley)*: Thomas S. Kuhn promoted to associate professor and Richard T. Drinnon to assistant professor; David S. Landes, of Columbia, appointed professor, A. Hunter Dupree, Adrienne Koch, and Martin E. Malia associate professors; Frederick B. Tolles, of Swarthmore College, appointed visiting professor for the second semester 1959; Stanley I. Mellon, of the University of Michigan, appointed visiting professor. *Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences* (Stanford, California): Thomas S. Kuhn and Joseph R. Levenson, of the University of California, Berkeley, appointed for 1958-

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

versity Press, New York, will publish the volumes, the first of which is ex to appear in 1960. Beginning with the post-Reformation period, the volume present the major documents from the thought of main movements si Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, Puritanism, the Wesleyan revival ending with American and European thinkers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More than half of the material will be translations of ings that have never before appeared in English.

A quarterly journal of *Inter-American Studies* will be published by the viversity of Florida Press, under a grant from the Pan American Foundation to the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida. First is the *Journal*, which will contain articles primarily in the social sciences at humanities, written in English, Spanish, Portuguese, or French, will app January, 1959.

The Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs has in a project to establish a National Register of American Catholic scholarship, ning with the period 1930-1960, and with the intention of keeping it up to The project will include a record of all Catholics who, through significant research, writing, or other creative activity, have made or are making note contributions to any field of intellectual endeavor. Herbert H. Fockler, for associated with the Library of Congress, has been appointed director of the ter, with headquarters at 620 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D. C.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The Conference Group for Central European History, organized in New on December 28, 1957, has appointed a standing committee for the study problems of the Habsburg monarchy. Working in cooperation with similar g in Austria and elsewhere, this committee is to encourage study in Austrian h in the United States. Members of the committee are: Hans Kohn, chai Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Robert A. Kann, Arthur J. May, S. Harrison Tho and R. John Rath, secretary. Inquiries should be sent to the secretary, Depart of History, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

A program in support of American Far Eastern policy studies has been ducted since 1956 at Harvard University under a committee of the history c ment headed by Professors Oscar Handlin and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. The to recruit and train first-rate talent and mobilize materials for the more int study of American policy toward East Asia. The program has given fellow to a small number of graduate students especially recommended by depart of history over the country. Lecture and seminar instruction will be giv Dr. Robert Blum in 1959. Bibliographical studies and a survey of archiv

lished, as for example, on the Summit conference and on East in 1956. These volumes contain much material that been classified.

With regard to the Foreign Relations volumes, it is imp to the mass of documentation, to publish everything. In or publication, more marginal documents must be excluded, : value omitted.

The central problem is clearance. Regulations going b this matter. They call for the omission, to cite the most i materials that would violate the confidence reposed in t dividuals and by foreign governments, or give needless o alities, or individuals, or impede current negotiations. T that regulations of this kind will seem reasonable to all the edge of the diplomatic process. At the same time it is e apprehensive view of the impact of historical materials o and this is particularly true in a country such as the U: press catches up and publishes so much material on fore interest of the public and of the Department to secure a as possible. The Historical Division should contend vigor freedom in the selection and publication of materials. If t clearance is denied affect the integrity of the scholarly re sary not to publish at all until the problem of clearance the other hand the objections relate to relatively small matt in any important way the general picture or lead to false desirable to publish with some indication of the fact t omitted.

The committee affirmed in the strongest terms its conf fine training, and high competence of the members of t mittee believed that they can be trusted to exercise thei judgment and with the desire that the record be as compl a genuine dilemma involved in the justified desire of the to be informed and the necessity for maintaining confide other governments. The public interest is, of course, the tion. The published record should be as full as is consis

A project in religious scholarship that will result ir least twenty volumes of source material in the history o now under way, under the editorial supervision of the Co of Protestant Thought," of which John Dillenberger, Dr man. A grant of \$11,000 from the Edward W. Hazen Fo Connecticut, will help defray editorial expenses of the C

history of the Wilkes Expedition in the South Pacific, Antarctic, and Columbia River region, during 1838-42; Myra L. Uhlfelder, State University of Iowa, history of ancient Roman religion; Lynn T. White, jr., University of California, Los Angeles, study of technology and social change during the European Middle Ages.

During the academic year 1958-1959 the Social Science Research Council will accept applications from permanent residents of the United States and Canada for the following types of fellowships and grants for training or research: Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Research Training Fellowships, to provide more advanced research training than that afforded by the usual Ph.D. program; Fellowships for Dissertation Completion; Fellowships in Political Theory and Legal Philosophy; Grants-in-Aid of Research and Faculty Research Grants, to defray direct costs or provide free time for individual research, or both, available only to scholars who are no longer candidates for degrees and whose capacity for effective research has been demonstrated by previous work (awarded twice, with closing dates for applications November 1, 1958, and February 1, 1959); special grants for social science research in American governmental processes, Near and Middle East, and Slavic and East European studies. Interested scholars may write to the SSRC, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York, for a detailed announcement and for application forms.

The Social Science Research Council will offer approximately thirty-six International Conference Travel Grants to historians residing in the United States who will attend the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1960. Grants are equivalent to round-trip, tourist-class fare. Forms for application for travel grants will be supplied by the SSRC (230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York) on request. Applications for the 1960 meeting of the ICHS will not be accepted until the fall of 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

At the request of the Historical Division of the State Department, the Association appointed three of its members to serve with representatives of the Political Science Association and the American Society of International Law on an advisory committee on the Foreign Relations of the United States. The committee met on December 6 and 7, 1957, and Dexter Perkins was elected chairman. A summary of its report follows:

The lag in the publication of Foreign Relations volumes is due to the increasing volume of documents, to the requests made by several senators for a special series of documents having to do with the various international conferences, and to problems of clearance.

The Historical Division has tried to meet the need for more contemporary material by the volume *American Foreign Policy 1950-1955*, containing 1,700 pages, and another volume is in preparation for 1956-1957. It is then hoped

Caminos, Brown University, history of the XXII Egyptian Dynasty; Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, development of American business corporations and their business management structures; Rosalie Littell Colie, Barnard College, John Locke's work and development during his Dutch sojourn, 1683-1689; William P. Cummin, Davidson College, historical studies of southeastern North America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Charles T. Davis, Tulane University, medieval religious history, with particular reference to Ubertino da Casale and the Spiritual Franciscan movement; David Brion Davis, Cornell University, American antislavery movement, with special reference to the motives of its proponents; Florence Ely Day, Cambridge, Mass., early Islamic art; Katherine Fischer Drew, Rice Institute, the fusion of Lombard and Frankish institutions in Italy between the eighth and tenth centuries; Edwin Emery, University of Minnesota, history and development of American press associations; Joseph Fontenrose, University of California, Berkeley, study of the cults of Delphi in ancient Greece; David N. Freedman, Western Theological Seminary, history and culture of Biblical Palestine; Wytze Gorter, University of California, Los Angeles, economic study of the dissolution of the Dutch empire in the Far East; William S. Greever, University of Idaho, study of certain social and economic aspects of the western mining rushes; Louis M. Hacker, Columbia University, early history of the United States Steel Corporation; John W. Hall, University of Michigan, political, social, and cultural institutions of the feudal domain of Okayama, Japan; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania, development of law of colonial Massachusetts; Jacob C. Hurewitz, Columbia University, history of the relationships of Europe and the Middle East, 1798-1914; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University, economic history of Venice; Richard Lyman, Washington University, St. Louis, life and times of James Ramsay MacDonald; Dumas Malone, Columbia University, life and works of Thomas Jefferson; Ernest R. May, Harvard University, America's emergence as a great power, 1895-1900; Gerald M. Meier, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., international trade and economic development in the British Tropics, 1870-1914; James M. Merrill, Whittier College, naval operations in the American Civil War, with special reference to river warfare; Ralph E. Morrow, Washington University, St. Louis, the role of the evangelical clergy in the life and society of the middlewestern frontier in the first half of the nineteenth century; John F. Muehl, University of Michigan, historical study of the British East India Company; Reginald H. Phelps, Harvard University, early evolution of the National Socialist movement in Bavaria, 1919-24; Jacob M. Price, University of Michigan, Anglo-American tobacco trade, 1660-1775; Benjamin Arthur Quarles, Morgan State College, the role of the Negro in the American Revolutionary War; Chester G. Starr, Jr., University of Illinois, studies of early Greek civilization, 1100-500 B.C.; Stanley J. Stein, Princeton University, the role of the merchants in the Mexican independence movement, 1778-1827; David B. Tyler, Wagner Lutheran College,

policy; David Bushnell, Air Research and Development cooperation between the United States and Colombia; Korean War and the recall of General O'Connor, Stanford University, role of the Navy in the formation of American naval policy, 1939-45; Theodor Sebeok, politics of military conscription in the British Commonwealth.

Grants for Slavic and East European Studies—John C. Campbell, Cornell University, research on the documents in the Trotsky Collection; Herman Freudenberger, Brooklyn College, woolen and Moravia, 1750-1850 (alternate); Ivo J. Ledercic, University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia on Nikola Pasic, the transition from Serbia and Yugoslavia at the Paris Peace Conference; Bolles, Boston University, research in Western Europe on relations between France concerning China in the seventeenth century; John Thaden, Pennsylvania State University, research on conservative nationalism in Russia, 1800-1917; S. F. Dickey, University of Colorado, for research in Western Europe or in the field of history.

The Conference Board of Associated Research in International Exchange of Persons, has announced the following awards and travel grants in history for 1958-59: John C. Campbell, Denison University, University of Southern California, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; William M. Dabney, University of New Mexico; Harold E. Davis, American University, University of Washington, University of Saarland; E. Hollon, University of Oklahoma, University of Montagno, Simpson College, University of Helsinki; University of Florida, Tokyo University; Philip I. Jones, University of Nottingham (England). *Travel Grants*—John C. Campbell, Amerika Institute, Cologne University; Northwestern University, Oxford University.

Among the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowships for 1958-59, the following are of interest to historians: Military Institute, history of military operations in Korea; Thomas N. Bonner, University of Omaha, influence of American medicine, 1870-1914; Carl Bridenbach,

IOWA UNIVERSITY; ERIC R. KIMMEL, IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA; Thomas E. Skidmore, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; Richard H. Ullman, OXFORD UNIVERSITY; of dissertations for the Ph.D. degree; and Oswald P. Bassas, for study at HARVARD UNIVERSITY OF RUSSIAN LEGAL HISTORY.

Grants-in-Aid of Research—Bailey W. Diffie, CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK ON THE CONDITIONS THAT ENABLED HENRY THE VIII TO MAKE THE AFRICAN-ATLANTIC DISCOVERIES; Harold J. Gordon, JR., INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RESEARCH IN GERMANY ON THE PROBLEM OF POWER IN THE RECENT PAST; Richard W. Griffin, ALABAMA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, CO-PILOT OF THE RESEARCH ON THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH; William J. Griffith, TULANE UNIVERSITY, RESEARCH ON BRITISH COLONIZATION PROJECTS IN GUATEMALA, 1834-1840; University of PENNSYLVANIA, TRADITION AND DESIGN IN THE IRISH CHURCH; Emmet Larkin, BROOKLYN COLLEGE, RESEARCH ON THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRISH AFFAIRS DURING 1900-1910; Madeline R. Robinton, BROOKLYN COLLEGE, RESEARCH IN THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES IN ESTABLISHING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; John L. Snell, TULANE UNIVERSITY, RESEARCH ON THE UNITED STATES REPUBLIC; Theodore H. Von Laue, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RESEARCH ON WESTERN EUROPE ON THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA.

Faculty Research Grants—J. Leonard Bates, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, RESEARCH ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TEAPOT DOME AFFAIR; David L. Dowd, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, RESEARCH ON THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL ROLE OF THE ARTISTS IN THE REVOLUTION; Henry B. Hill, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, RESEARCH ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1789-91; Doris E. King, Stephen F. Austin State College, RESEARCH ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY IN AMERICA FROM 1865 TO THE PRESENT; Owen Lattimore, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, RESEARCH IN FRANCE ON CHINA IN THE CONTEXT OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS; Donald B. Meyer, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, RESEARCH ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY; James M. Rae, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, RESEARCH ON TECHNOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES (ALTERNATE).

Grants for Research on National Defense Problem—John Blum, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, THE DRAFT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

research professor. The book, to be written in English, will be used for teaching in colleges and universities.

The Harvard University Press Faculty Prize has been awarded to Franklin L. Ford for his book *Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789*. The award of \$2,000 goes annually to the author of the most distinguished contribution to scholarship by a member of the Harvard faculty to be published by Harvard University Press.

The Library Company of Philadelphia has announced the granting of its Fellowship in American Studies for the academic year 1958-59 to Francis Wilson Smith, of Princeton. Information concerning applications for the fellowship for 1959-60 should be sent to the Library Company, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia 47, Pennsylvania.

Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University, has received a North Atlantic Treaty Organization fellowship for a study of the ideological basis of NATO.

John Hugh Hill, Texas A and M College, has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society to work on a translation of the crusading history of Raymond d'Aguilers.

John C. Burnham, Stanford University, has been awarded a three-year training grant from the Foundation's Fund for Research in Psychiatry, New Haven, Connecticut. Burnham will deal with the history of mental health and mental health efforts from the point of view of intellectual and social history.

The American Association for the History of Medicine has awarded its William H. Welch Medal to Charles F. Mullett, University of Missouri, for his book, *The Bubonic Plague and England: An Essay in the History of Preventive Medicine*. The award is presented for contributions of outstanding scholarly merit in the field of medical history published during the five years preceding the award.

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society, London, has been awarded to Thomas G. Barnes, Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania, for his essay "County Politics and a Puritan Case Celebre: Somerset Churchales, 1633." The award is given annually for an essay based on a work of original research in any historical subject. Barnes is the second American to receive the prize since its establishment in 1897.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the following fellowship awards in history: *Faculty Research Fellowships* (two years)—George Fischer, Brandeis University, to explore a new concept, telescoped modernization, through comprehensive historical study of Russia from 1917; Ernest R. May, Harvard University, for research on political institutions, public opinion, and

meeting of the Fellows of the Academy, held on April 25, Richard E. S. Michigan State University, spoke on "Monasticism and the Origins of Western Civilization."

The National Lincoln-Civil War Council held its first historical forum at Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, on May 31 and June 1. Speakers included Bell I. Wiley, Allan Nevins, and Bruce Catton. The following officers were elected: Holman Hamilton, University of Kentucky, president; Carl I. Lin, New York, R. Gerald McMurtrey, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Justin G. Gerner, Los Angeles, vice-presidents; Wayne C. Temple, Lincoln Memorial University, secretary-treasurer. Inquiries concerning membership should be addressed to the secretary-treasurer.

The Ohio State University will be host for a Mediaeval Conference on October 31 and November 1, 1958. Lectures will center on the fourteenth century and its dynamic pattern, covering the fields of the languages, the fine arts, philosophy and history. Interested medievalists should write Professor Frank Pegues, Executive Secretary of the Mediaeval Conference, History Department, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

The second annual Civil War Conference, sponsored by Gettysburg College, will be held November 16-18. Conference theme is "Why Did the North Win the Civil War?" Papers will be presented by T. Harry Williams, Loyola State University, Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina, David M. Potter, Yale, and Norman A. Graebner, University of Illinois, under the direction of David Donald, Columbia. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor Robert Fortenbaugh, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

The first annual Civil War Study Group sessions, sponsored by Gettysburg College, were held August 4-8. Program included lectures by Bell I. Wiley, Emory University, discussions, and tours to battlefield sites.

An International Congress of the History of the Discoveries will be held in Lisbon, August 7-15, 1960, as part of the celebrations of the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry the Navigator. Principal themes relating to the time discoveries and overseas expansion will be discussed. Inquiries concerning the congress should be sent to Professor J. Caeiro da Matta, Palácio de São Bento, Lisbon, Portugal.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The University of Pittsburgh has received a three-year grant of \$24,750 from the Ford Foundation for completion of a source book of readings on Slavic history. The project will be directed by Dr. James Clarke, associate professor of history at the University, in association with Joseph Strmecki, a

writer, explorer, and army officer, has been received by the Library from Mrs. Roosevelt. This segment contains more than 200 letters received by Theodore Roosevelt between 1890 and 1918, the earliest of which are "picture letters" written for "Blessed Ted-Ped" before he could read.

The Library has acquired approximately 270 letters written by members of the Izard family, 1801-26. A majority are from Ralph Izard, Jr., son of Revolutionary patriot and senator from South Carolina, to his mother, Mary DeLancey Izard; many of these date from the period of his service in the United States Navy and tell of his experiences, from 1801 to 1810, at stations on the Atlantic coast and during voyages to England and to the Mediterranean during the Tripolitan War.

A program of publishing registers of manuscript collections of this period has recently been inaugurated by the Library of Congress. Registered thus far describe the papers of Frederick Lewis Allen, Henry Wendell Berge, Charles Joseph Bonaparte, Tom Connally, Florence Jaffray, Emory Scott Land, George Fort Milton, Whitelaw Reid, Charles Summerall, and Booker T. Washington. Copies are for sale by the Manuscript Division Card Division.

Dr. C. Percy Powell assumed the duties of director of research of the Sesquicentennial Commission on May 18, 1958. Mr. Fred Shelley, member of the Library's staff and librarian of the New Jersey Historic Collection since 1955, is serving as head of the reader service section of the Manuscript Division during Dr. Powell's leave of absence.

Mr. Lloyd Allen Dunlap, who was assistant editor of *The Collected Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, published by the Rutgers University Press in 1953, has been appointed consultant in Lincoln studies and is assigned to the Manuscript Division. Mr. Dunlap's appointment is responsive to the nationwide observance in 1959 of the sesquicentennial of Lincoln's birth.

MEETINGS

The Corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America held its third annual meeting at the Harvard Faculty Club in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 26, 1958. The president of the Academy, Dr. Ernest Hatch Wilkins, Newton, Massachusetts, president emeritus of Oberlin College, presided. The following officers were elected: second vice-president, Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin; third vice-president, Phyllis Goodhard Gordon, New York City; treasurer, John Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island; councillors: G. Bergin, Yale University, George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania, Kibre, Hunter College, and Dorothy Miner, Walters Art Gallery. The Gold Medal was awarded to Ernest Hatch Wilkins for his *Studies in the History of the Mediaeval Academy of America*.

Libraries an.

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tively. Each data sheet also bears the num-
contains the described material. The roll
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Any questions about classified material
Adjutant General, Department of the Arm-
A researcher wishing to consult the origi-
United States custody, should apply to th-
the National Archives in Alexandria and fi-
item number of the desired document.

LIBRARIES AND

The Library of Congress has been presented by Brooks Parker (1852-1926), which number is in memory of Mrs. Amelia C. Parker, and his granddaughters, Mrs. Parker served as justice of the Supreme Court of Appeals, Second member of the Court of Appeals of New York.

* * * * *Historical News* *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has granted the American Association \$49,000 for a two-year study of graduate education in history. The committee in charge is headed by Dexter Perkins. Other members are Robert M. Coates, George E. Barzun, Fred Harrington, Edward Kirkland, Leonard Krieger, and Bruce Cole.

The Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis has made \$31,000 available to the American Historical Association for continued work upon the General Index to War Documents in the United States. The project, which began in 1956, will extend to about the end of 1959. Oron J. Hale of the University of Indiana is chairman of the Committee for the Study of War Documents.

The Littleton-Griswold Committee of the American Historical Association, established to encourage the study of legal history in the United States, is considering the establishment of grants-in-aid for research and publication in American legal history. Projects might include the editing of legal documents and the preparation and publication of articles and books, particularly those which involve the cooperation of lawyers and historians. Anyone interested should apply to The Honorable Edward Dumbauld, The Court of Common Pleas, Beaver County, Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

The American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents has now filmed over 1,500,000 frames of the German records (see *AHR*, July, 1958, p. 1125). In addition to the documents listed in the *Index*, the following are being filmed: (1) records of the Reichsführer SS und Polizei (filming of this collection is not yet completed); (2) records of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, primarily of the Wehrmacht und Rüstungsamt (filming in the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht is complete).

Scholars who wish to use this material should direct inquiries to the Reference and Publications Branch of the National Archives. In requesting information about the documents or in ordering copies of the film, the researcher will be asked to furnish the following information:

The German records deposited in Alexandria are controlled by record numbers. Documents within the same record group number were filmed and assigned one microcopy number, which is preceded by the letter "M" and the basic control number within the National Archives microfilm file.

Other Books Received

- With introd. by AUBREY GWYNN, S.J. Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 205. £2.
- WILBER, DONALD N. *Iran: Past and Present*. 4th ed.; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 312. \$5.00.
- WILKINS, ERNEST HATCH (tr.). *Petrarch at Vaucluse: Letters in Verse and Prose*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 215. \$7.50.
- WILLIAMS, JOSEPH E. (ed.). *Prent World Atlas*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. [1958.] Pp. iii, 96, 25. \$9.
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM APPLEMAN. *American Foreign Policy in the Middle East: Open Door Imperialism or Enlightened Leadership?* Source Problems in World Civilization. New York: Random House. 1958. Pp. 58. 75 cents. Textbook.
- WOOD, JAMES PLAYSTED. *The Story of the English Revolution*. New York: Ronald Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 512. \$6.50.

- Trans. from the German by OSCAR A. HAAC. 2d ed.; Boston: Beacon Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 144. \$5.00.
- SCRAMUZZA, VINCENT M., and MACKENDRICK, PAUL L. *The Ancient World*. New York: Henry Holt. 1958. Pp. xvii, 779. \$8.50. Textbook.
- SEDLMAIR, HANS. *Art in Crisis: The Lost Center*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1958. Pp. x, 266. \$6.50.
- SHIRLEY, GLENN. *Buckskin and Spurs: A Gallery of Frontier Rogues and Heroes*. New York: Hastings House. 1958. Pp. xi, 191. \$5.00.
- SILBERNER, EDMUND. *The Works of Moses Hess: An Inventory of His Signed and Anonymous Publications, Manuscripts, and Correspondence*. Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1958. Pp. 125.
- SMITH, VINCENT A. *The Early History of India: From 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*. 4th ed. rev. by S. M. EDWARDES. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 535. 42s.
- SMITH, WILLIAM FIELDING. *Diamond Six*. Ed. by GARLAND ROARK. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday. 1958. Pp. 383. \$4.50.
- SOULE, ALLEN (ed.) *General Petitions: 1793-1796*. State Papers of Vermont, Vol. X. Montpelier: State of Vermont. 1958. Pp. xx, 469. \$5.00.
- STAVRIANOS, L. S. *The Balkans since 1453*. New York: Rinehart. 1958. Pp. xxi, 970. \$12.00. Textbook.
- STEWART, GEORGE R. *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States*. Rev. ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1958. Pp. xiii, 511. \$6.00. See rev. of 1st ed. (1945), *AHR*, LI (Jan., 1946), 381.
- SWAIN, JOSEPH WARD. *The Harper History of Civilization*. Vol. II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xiv, 785. \$6.75. Textbook.
- SZARKOWSKI, JOHN. *The Face of Minnesota*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 302. \$5.00.
- TAYLOR, PHILIP A. M. (ed. with introd.). *The Industrial Revolution in Britain. Triumph or Disaster? Problems in European Civilization*. Boston: D. C. Heath. 1958. Pp. xix, 90. \$1.35. Textbook.
- TAYLOR, T. F. *A Profest Papist: Bishop John Gordon*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Historical Society. 1958. Pp. 51. 7s.6d.
- TEMPLE, WAYNE C. *Indian Village Illinois Country: Historic Tribes*. Papers, Vol. II, pt. 2. Springfield State Museum. 1958. Pp. 218.
- TICKEHURST, NORMAN F. *The Mute England: Its History, and the Accustom of Swan Keeping*. London: Hume Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 133. 3s.
- TRAGER, FRANK N. *Building a Wall in Burma, 1948-1956*. New York: of Pacific Relations. 1957. Pp. x, 11.
- TROWBRIDGE, HOYT. *General Education Colleges of Arkansas*. Little Rock: Experiment in Teacher Education. Pp. 156.
- TSUNODA, RYUSAKU, DE BARY, WM. T and KEENE, DONALD (comps.). *The Japanese Tradition. Records of Civilization Sources and Studies*, Introd Oriental Civilizations, No. LIV. New Columbia University Press. 1958. 928. \$7.50.
- VAN DER KROEF, JUSTUS M. *The W Guine Dispute*. New York: Ins Pacific Relations. 1958. Pp. 43. \$1.00.
- VAN DER WANSEM, C. *Het Ontstaan Geschiedenis der Broederschap Gemene Leven tot 1400*. Université vain Recueil de Travaux d'Historie Philologie, 4^{me} Sér., No. 12. Louvian Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. xii, fr. B.
- WALKER, MARGARET (ed.). *Warwick Records. Hearth Tax Returns, Vol. Lingford Hundred: Tamworth and Stone Divisions*. Warwick, Eng.:shire County Council. 1957. Pp. xc.
- WALLBANK, T. WALTER. *A Short History of India and Pakistan*. Mentor Book. New York: New American Library. Pp. 320. 50 cents. See rev. of 1st ed *India in the New Era*, *AHR*, LV (1952), 752.
- WEBB, CHARLES R., JR., and SCHAEFFER, B. *Western Civilization*. Vol. I, *F*rom *Cient Times to the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand. 1958. Pp. xii, 442. \$6.75. Textbook.
- WEBER, HERMANN, and PERTINAX, *Schein und Wirklichkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Stuttgart: Verlags-Anstalt. 1958. Pp. 303. DM.
- WHITE, NEWPORT B. (ed.). *The "Decani" of St. Patrick's Cathedral*.

Other Books Received

- MOWRY, GEORGE E. *The Progressive Movement, 1900-1920: Recent Ideas and New Literature*. Washington, D. C.: Service Center for Teachers of History, American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. 22. 50 cents (in lots of 10 or more 10 cents each).
- Negro in American Society*. Florida State University Studies No. 28. Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1958. Pp. viii, 89.
- NEUFELD, MAURICE F. *A Bibliography of American Labor Union History*. Bibliography Series No. 2. Ithaca, N. Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations. 1958. Pp. 64.
- New Dimensions of Learning in a Free Society: Seminar Addresses, Discussions, Public Lectures, Inaugural Address Delivered on the Occasion of the Inauguration of Edward Harold Litchfield, Twelfth Chancellor, University of Pittsburgh, May 9, 10, 11, 1957*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 289.
- NICHOLSON, T. R. *Adventurer's Road: The Story of Pekin-Paris, 1907 and New York-Paris, 1908*. New York: Rinehart. 1957. Pp. 235. \$4.50.
- NOGUERA, EDUARDO. *Tallas Prehispanicas en Madera*. Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Guarania. 1958. Pp. 80, 29 plates.
- NOYES, PIERREPONT B. *A Goodly Heritage*. New York: Rinehart. 1958. Pp. 275. \$4.00.
- Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte*. Band 81-82. Herausgegeben von dem Historischen Verein von Oberbayern. Munich: the Society. 1957. Pp. 184.
- PALM, FRANKLIN C., and WEBB, CHARLES R., JR. *Western Civilization*. Vol. II, *From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. 2d ed.; Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand. 1958. Pp. xii, 468. \$6.95. Textbook.
- PEI, MARIO. *One Language for the World*. New York: Devin-Adair. 1958. Pp. xvi, 291. \$5.00.
- PERSONS, STOW. *American Minds: A History of Ideas*. New York: Henry Holt. 1958. Pp. xii, 467. \$5.00. Textbook.
- PIGGOTT, STUART. *Scotland before History: An Essay*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1958. Pp. viii, 112. 15s.
- Poll-Books of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire, 1710*. Thoroton Society Record Ser. Vol. XVIII. Nottingham, Eng.: the Society. 1958. Pp. 189.
- REXINE, JOHN E. *Solon and His Polity: The Contemporary Significance of the Basic Contribution to Political Theory by One of the Seven Wise Men*. New York: William-Frederick Press. 1958. Pp. 1. \$1.00.
- REYNOLDS, JAMES A. (ed.). *Historical and Studies*. Vol. XLV. New York: States Catholic Historical Society. 1958. Pp. 137.
- RICHARDSON, RUPERT NORVAL. *Texas Lone Star State*. 2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1958. Pp. xi, 350. \$10.35.
- RITTER, GERHARD. *Stein: Eine politisch raphie*. 3d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlaganstalt. 1958. Pp. 656. See rev. of (1931), *AHR*, XXXVIII (Apr., 1933).
- RÖSSLER, HELLMUTH, and FRANZ, GÖTTSCHE. *Sachwörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte*. 8-9. Lieferung. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 1121-1472. DM 34.
- RØSTVIG, MAREN-SOFIE. *The Happy Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Social Ideal*. Vol. II, 1700-1760. Oslo in English, No. 7. Oslo: Oslo University Press. 1958. Pp. 478. Kr. 18.
- SAALAS, UUNIO. *Reinhold Ferdinand Saalas*. Tietokirjumaiskailija, luonnontieteellinen kääri ja tilanomistaja 1811-1874. 1. Hyönteistieteellinen Seura, No. 1. Helsinki: the Society. 1958. Pp. 255.
- SAINTE-BEUVE, C. A. *Monsieur de Tallien*. Introd. and notes by LéON NOËL. 1. Éditions du Rocher. 1958. Pp. 259. 1.
- SANDERSON, CHARLES R. (ed.). *The Canadian Papers, Being the Canadian Papers Confidential, Private, and Demi-Official of Sir George Arthur*. Pt. IV, Vol. 1839-Mar. 1840. Toronto: Toronto Libraries and University of Toronto. 1957. Pp. 265-477. \$5.00.
- SANDOZ, MARI. *The Cattlemen: From Grande across the Far Marias*. A Procession Ser. New York: Hastings. 1958. Pp. xiv, 527. \$6.50.
- SAWICKI, JAKUB. *Concilia Poloniae; 2 Studia Krytyczne [Councils of Source Materials and Critical Studies IX, Synody Diecezji Chełmskiej Olęcińskiego z XVI-XVIII Wieku i Liturgia [Synods of the Chełmno Diocese Latin Rite during the 16th-18th C*

- KER, W. P. *The Dark Ages*. Mentor Book. New York: New American Library. 1958. Pp. vii, 11-236. 50 cents.
- LEE, DWIGHT E. (ed. with introd.). *The Outbreak of the First World War. Who Was Responsible? Problems in European Civilization*. Boston: D. C. Heath. 1958. Pp. xv, 74. \$1.35. Textbook.
- LEETE, HELEN AMES. *Peace through War Insurance*. New York: Vantage Press. 1958. Pp. 99. \$2.75.
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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton

GENERAL ARTICLES

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sity Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 316. \$7.00.) The first great center of Brazilian coffee production was the Parahyba Valley in what is today the state of Rio de Janeiro. Drawing upon a wealth of public and private documents as well as upon the oral testimony of aged freedmen still living in Vassouras—one of the *municípios* in the valley—Stanley Stein has reconstructed the main patterns of development and decline in this important region. The pattern is a familiar one: extensive and inefficient production of a single commodity for the world market, brief but palpable opulence, mismanagement of natural resources, technological stagnation, inexorable ruin. The tale of the Parahyba coffee boom and bust conforms in essence to the other Brazilian tragedies acted out around sugar, cotton, rubber, and gold. Stein's special contribution to this well-known socio-economic syndrome lies in the personalized, intimate detail with which the motives, hopes, and disappointments of the specific human actors are depicted. By narrowing his canvas to one *município*, the author successfully combines sound historical perspective with the microcosmic insights characteristic of contemporary community studies. The book is alive with vivid glimpses into the daily life of the coffee plantations, which add immensely to our understanding of the subjective aspects of the process by which the virgin forests were replaced by a wilderness of denuded slopes and ruined buildings. Although Stein seems to have worked with a rather narrow interpretive prospectus in mind, it must be pointed out that his description of Vassouras plantation life raises critical comparative issues. Hitherto, our picture of Brazilian plantation life and slavery has been dominated by Gilberto Freyre's classic studies of the sugar *engenhos* along the northeast coast. The heavy emphasis placed by Freyre upon the humanizing influence of the patriarchal plantation family has come to be widely accepted as the salient characteristic of the Brazilian slavocracy. On this basis sharp contrasts have been drawn between the slave systems of the United States and Brazil. Relations between masters and slaves in Vassouras, however, do not sustain these contrasts. The dominant note struck by Stein's account is one of relentless exploitation of both the land and the men and women who were forced to labor upon it. Master-slave relations in Vassouras were clearly a question of profit and loss rather than sentiment. It was not the whim of the patriarch but rather the logic of the account books which seems to have ruled life in Vassouras. Before abolition finally came, the whole Parahyba Valley smouldered with insubordination, bitterness, and civil strife. Although Stein refrains from the conclusions which might be drawn, this book stands as a challenge to a number of current theories concerned with the origin of differential forms of slavery in the New World.

Columbia University

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Articles

General History

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| <p>LEO J. ALILUNAS. Bestor and the "Social Studies." <i>Social Educ.</i>, May, 1958.</p> <p>IVAN AVAKUMOVIC. World Communism in Figures. <i>World Today</i>, May, 1958.</p> <p>VIKTOR BÖHMERT. Zentralisation und politischer Machtverfall (Karl XII., Napoleon und Hitler). <i>Welt als Gesch.</i>, no. 1, 1958.</p> <p>SEYMOUR V. CONNOR. The Problem of Literary Property in Archival Depositories. <i>American Archivist</i>, Apr., 1958.</p> | <p>LÉON EMERY. Marx et Gandhi. <i>Contrat social</i>, May, 1958.</p> <p>ROLF ENGELSTED. Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten im 19. Jahrhundert: Eine Periodisierung. <i>Welt als Gesch.</i>, no. 2/3, 1958.</p> <p>FRIEDRICH FISCHER. Das Verhältnis der USA zu Russland von der Jahrhundertwende bis 1945. <i>Hist. Zeitsch.</i>, Apr., 1958.</p> <p>ALLEN R. FOLEY. Dartmouth's Course in</p> |
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of the Moslems during the reconquest period. A Mercedarian accompanied Columbus on his first voyage and within a few years the order was converting all the way from Mexico to Charcas. Another Mercedarian came to the Río de la Plata with Mendoza in 1535, and by 1600 the order had established a province in the newly founded Tucumán. Across the Andes in Peru members of the order took part in the Almagro-Pizarro quarrels. After Buenos Aires was reestablished, Mercedarians appeared there and soon were converting and instructing throughout present Argentina. At the peak of its importance, the middle of the eighteenth century, the Order of Mercy comprised eight provinces and one vice-province in the Americas with 193 houses and over four thousand members. Much of this book comprises a detailed account of the founding and physical construction of the convent of San Ramón de Buenos Aires and the neighboring church maintained by the order. A lengthy appendix contains documents from the Archivo General de Indias selected to illustrate the early growth of the order in the La Plata region. Included is a list of the "commanders" of the convent of San Ramón. There are fourteen interesting plates and plans of the church and convent as well as a double index of persons and place names. It is unfortunate that so much of the valuable information in this useful book was relegated to numerous lengthy footnotes.

University of Georgia

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

MARTÍN LÓPEZ: CONQUISTADOR CITIZEN OF MEXICO. By *C. Harvey Gardiner*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 193. \$6.00.) We know much about the spectacular deeds of the Spanish conquistadors, even those of some of the lesser ones, during their campaigns of conquest. Not enough, however, has been written about the ordinary conquistadors after they became colonists of the lands that they helped to subjugate and applied their varied talents to the workaday task of permanent occupation and the establishment of the pattern of Spanish civilization in the new territories. As Professor Gardiner very aptly points out in this study, there were two contrasting aspects in the life of a conquistador. As a soldier he was a "wrecker of native cultures"; as a colonist he was a "citizen-creator, the founder of a new way of life in the Americas." Martín López was a rather representative member of the forces which Cortés led to the conquest of Mexico, and in his life story the author gives us both aspects of the life of a conquistador. López emerges as something of a symbol for many conquistador-colonists in many areas. His life could be recaptured only through extensive research in original documents. The life-span of López extended from the period of New World discovery into the seventh decade of the sixteenth century—the epoch of Spain's resurgence in Europe and the solidification of her overseas empire. The motives that took him from his ancestral home in Andalusia to the New World, his achievements during the conquest of Mexico, outstanding among which was his role in the building of the brigantines that played such an important part in the taking of the Aztec capital, his economic and administrative participation in the upbuilding of the colony, and his life as a responsible and devout citizen of the city of Mexico and head of a family are related in clear, balanced fashion. We are given a lucid picture of his character, ambitions, and purposes in life. Gardiner has set Martín López into the background of his time and place and has skillfully interwoven his career into the events of the period. In this scholarly, well-written study he has given us a book of unusual interest and value.

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

VASSOURAS: A BRAZILIAN COFFEE COUNTY, 1850-1900. By *Stanley J. Stein*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXIX.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univer-

reed upon which to lean, for Smith and anyone else. Perhaps the really remarkable thing is that Smith won four terms as governor, his party's nomination for the presidency, and despite his disappointing behavior in later years a place of eminence in the esteem of his fellow countrymen. Beyond a doubt, unseemly prejudice has worked against Catholics, Jews, Negroes, and other minority groups in the United States, but it will hardly do to rest the case for discrimination on the career of Al Smith.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1939. In five volumes. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 6493.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957. Pp. v, 827. \$4.00.) This volume of diplomatic papers portrays the status of inter-American relations at the outbreak of World War II. The documents on the Panama Consultation of Foreign Ministers, which evolved the three-hundred-mile neutrality zone, show the connection between this rule and the presence of eighty-two German vessels in American ports at the outbreak of hostilities. The papers on the establishment of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee and the Graf-von Spee incident are valuable in the same connection. The record of negotiations concerning the claims growing out of Mexican expropriation of the foreign-owned petroleum industry reveals a serious effort, supported by the British and apparently defeated by the United States companies, to secure a settlement on the basis of an agreement for the oil companies to share the direction and profits of the industry with the Mexican government. In this connection, there is an intriguing omission of a memorandum submitted by Donald Richberg to President Cárdenas in the name of the United States oil companies, which is referred to but not published. President Cárdenas' letter broaching arbitration is not published, but the excellent reply of President Roosevelt that eventually led to an agreement appears. This volume also includes important documentary background on the settlement of agrarian claims with Mexico. The documents on the claims of the Standard Oil Company for the 1937 cancellation of its concession in Bolivia prove what has usually been assumed—a close connection with the arrangements for the purchase of Bolivian tin. On the whole, the chief value of this volume of documents lies in showing how the American republics met the political and economic crisis resulting from the outbreak of war in Europe, utilizing the credit resources of the Export-Import Bank, the stockpiling of critical materials, and the devices of inter-American consultation.

American University

HAROLD EUGENE DAVIS

LATIN AMERICA

LA ORDEN DE LA MERCEDE EN LA CONQUISTA DEL PERÚ, CHILE Y EL TUCUMÁN, Y SU CONVENTO DEL ANTIGUO BUENOS AIRES, 1218-1804. By Andrés Millé. (Buenos Aires: the Author, 1958. Pp. 423.) The impression is widespread that the conversion of the Indians and establishment of the Church in the Americas was the work of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, the better known religious orders, while in reality much of this labor was performed by the lesser known orders. It is therefore interesting that Andrés Millé writes about the activities of the Order of Mercy in southern South America during the entire colonial period. This new book, the third published by Millé, combines the story of the growth of the order with the political and social development in his native Argentina. The Order of Mercy was founded by St. Peter Nolasco in Barcelona in 1218 to ransom and rehabilitate Christian prisoners

books. William Leuchtenburg makes an interesting case for recognizing the years from 1914 to 1932 in American history as a special time with distinguishing characteristics. While the focus of the book is on the familiar twenties, the addition of a few years at both ends to provide context and to round out this particular period is sensible. Professor Leuchtenburg declares that in these eighteen years "the events of half a century finally caught up with America" and that "the productive capacity of the American economy suddenly exploded at the very same time that, in large part because of the growth in productivity, the United States became the greatest of world powers, and the city overtook the country in the race for dominance." Then, "all the institutions of American society buckled under the strain." With an evident grasp of developments during this time, Leuchtenburg has written a general history that nicely meets the requirements of the University of Chicago History of American Civilization. The purpose of the series is a low-pressure introduction to American history written by recognized scholars for a wider audience than historians. After a misleading title and an unfortunately designed dust jacket, the reader is pleased to find an informal general history with substance. Leuchtenburg has admirably surveyed the years from 1914 to 1932 in a book that is a pleasure to read. To cover American history during these formative and portentous years necessarily involves some omission and much generalization. The omissions are not important, but the generalizations and interpretations often hit a new mark and are useful to historians for their fresh insights. More social than economic, more political than intellectual, the treatment is sometimes uneven. Emphasis is placed upon changing institutions, and a consistent theme is the rural-urban conflict of attitudes, which is seen in public issues of foreign policy, immigration, religion, prohibition, and the presidential elections. Leuchtenburg is no sentimental partisan for the twenties nor is he an avenger of its errors; he is simply a detached observer who perceptively views these years as a time of change. Historians will regret the absence of footnote citations for many familiar and not-so-familiar quotations, but they will be interested in the long critical bibliography of "Suggested Reading," which includes many titles not available to the general reader.

University of California, Davis

JAMES H. SHIDELER

AL SMITH AND HIS AMERICA. By *Oscar Handlin*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1958. Pp. x, 207. \$3.50.) What chance in the United States has the able representative of a minority group to achieve the eminence for which his abilities qualify him? This to Professor Handlin is the principal query posed by the life of Al Smith. More precisely, could an Irish Catholic boy from the sidewalks of New York rise to the presidency of the United States, or was that prize to be denied him, however competent he might be, because of his ancestry, his accent, and his religion? To the extent that it can be done in two hundred pages, this book provides us with all the fundamentals of the Al Smith story—the humble origins, the family, Church and Tammany loyalties, the process of learning by experience, the acquisition of political principles, the successes as state administrator, the bid for the presidency, the road downhill. That Smith had what it took to deal effectively with the problems of the highest office in the nation, few who have looked carefully at his record will deny. Certainly it was no fault of this reviewer that he failed to win in 1928. But is it quite fair to ascribe Smith's defeat that year so completely to his immigrant origins, his religious convictions, and his urban background? Is it likely that any other Democrat could have won? Running without Smith's handicap, Cox went down to defeat in 1920 and Davis in 1924. Moreover, had Smith been nominated in 1932, he almost certainly would have won. The Democratic party during the 1920's was a frail

majesty."⁵⁴ And Sir Robert Walpole resigned from office in 1717 because he did not wish to incur responsibility for measures adopted by the cabinet.⁵⁵ Once again a minister in 1723, Walpole told the Commons that the "ministry . . . knew themselves to be accountable . . . for their actions."⁵⁶ These innumerable attacks upon "the ministry" and frequent appeals to cabinet responsibility slowly and imperceptibly crystallized into something approaching a convention of the constitution. In 1749 one of the Pelham brothers sought to avoid responsibility for public measures by pleading that he was not a member of the cabinet, and in 1778 Lord North demanded a share of responsibility because he was a member.⁵⁷ These, however, were years far distant from 1711. Of collective responsibility in that year perhaps only one assertion can be made with safety: English politicians were not unacquainted with the idea of a ministry who advised Anne and whom they could criticize for advising her badly. Indeed, they were so familiar with the idea that they felt no great need to demand the revival of the Privy Council's authority.

The last years of William's reign and the twelve years of Queen Anne's also witnessed a continued attack upon irresponsible advisers. The opinion found ever-increasing favor that ministers should resign if their counsels were not heeded. John Toland, Harley's friend, maintained that wise and honest men should resign their places "if the king should go about to put them on any indirect measures. . . ."⁵⁸ Another pamphleteer of the same persuasion concluded "that ministers of state and Privy Councillors in England ought not only to be so honest as not to concur with those that give ill advice to their Prince, but likewise to have so much fortitude and self-denial as to quit any post whatever in the Prince's service, rather than be obliged to concur in anything that may be to the dishonour and disadvantage of the Crown or Country."⁵⁹ But none stated the new doctrine so succinctly as James Drake, a vigorous High Tory pamphleteer. If ministers "advise, they are answerable . . . if they do not advise, they ought to resign their places."⁶⁰ Lord Godolphin acted upon this admonition in 1701 when he resigned his staff as First Commissioner of the Treasury because William had refused his advice against the dissolution of Parliament; and so too did the Earl of Not-

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 204.

⁵⁵ William Coxe, *Memoirs of . . . Sir Robert Walpole* (London, 1798), II, 170.

⁵⁶ Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, VIII, 198.

⁵⁷ E. R. Turner, *The Cabinet Council* (Baltimore, Md., 1930-32), II, 218; Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, XX, 89.

⁵⁸ John Toland, *The Art of Governing by Partys* (London, 1701), 102.

⁵⁹ Anon., *The Dangers of Europe from the Growing Powers of France* (in *State Tracts, William III*, III, 366).

⁶⁰ James Drake, *History of the Last Parliament* (London, 1702), 188.

tingham in 1704 when he resigned from the Secretary's office because the Queen hearkened to the counsels of the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire rather than to his.⁶¹ Irresponsible advisers continued to whisper counsels behind the backs of responsible ministers long into the eighteenth century, but the weapon which would finally rout them from the closet was being forged in the years from 1680 to 1714. That weapon was the insistence that those who had access to the king because they held high office and sat in the cabinet should be held responsible for any advice upon which the monarch acted. Not for another two generations would this weapon be perfected; but in its crude state of manufacture it worked sufficiently well to silence any further demands for the written responsibility of privy councilors.

The conclusions that arise from these considerations are manifest. The clamors that led to the Privy Council scheme of 1679 and the Privy Council clause in the Act of Settlement of 1701 arose from no mere nostalgia for the Elizabethan past, nor from an advocacy of the Clarendonian theory of the supremacy of the Privy Council in the English government. They resulted rather from an attempt to make ministers answerable to Parliament for advice which they gave to the king. Yet when the leaders of the opposition in Parliament finally discovered other means than the written responsibility of Privy Council members to ferret out the authors of evil advice, they dropped their demand for the revival of the Privy Council. They turned instead to the principle that those who held high office and sat in the cabinet council should answer for all advice upon which the king acted. If the king acted on the advice of irresponsible courtiers, and if cabinet councilors did not wish to bear the odium of that advice, they should resign. To the challenge that Parliament should designate those individuals who in fact gave the ill advice, the leaders of the opposition in Parliament answered that the ministry as a whole was at fault. Though these new principles did not become recognized conventions of the constitution for another century, they did serve to reconcile two indispensable elements of good government, secrecy in administration, and ministerial responsibility, and so to make possible the ultimate growth of cabinet government in Great Britain.

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⁶¹ Edward Harley's *Memoirs*, B.M. Add. MSS 34,515 f. 13; Burnet, *History*, V, 139.

Along the Road Back to France 1940*

JOHN C. CAIRNS

EVEN now, almost twenty years after, the fall of France in the summer of 1940—by which is meant here both the military collapse and the surrender of the parliamentary Republic at Vichy—remains for some of us a vivid memory. It was indeed, as the then British Foreign Secretary so rightly recalled, “an event which at the time seemed something so unbelievable as to be almost surely unreal, and if not unreal then quite immeasurably catastrophic.”¹ And yet it is not perhaps so very surprising that this almost fantastic occurrence, which electrified the Western world and marked an immense and irrevocable progress in the downward course of European fortunes, should have tended to slip away (in the minds of most men) into the limbo of the past, mostly forgotten now. So much about that odd war of 1939–1940 seems to have belonged to another time, not to the great days of the Grand Alliance which have somehow come to be considered the real Second World War. The Battle of Britain might be taken as the beginning of all that is much remembered, especially by younger generations. It stemmed, temporarily at least, the rip-tide of German aggression. It retrieved the lost campaigns in Finland,² Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France. In

* This paper was read (more or less in this form) at the annual meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies held in Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, January 31–February 1, 1958. In reading for some time on the general problem of the disaster of 1940, I have incurred substantial debts to the Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of Toronto. The references here, of course, are often little more than suggestive of the kind of sources and studies that must be taken into account.

¹ The Earl of Halifax, *Fullness of Days* (London, 1957), 215.

² The Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940 is not always directly associated with the main current of events at that time. The question of aid to the Finns was of course inextricably confused with the issue of halting Swedish iron ore deliveries to Germany and with the search, on the French side, for a diversionary front against the enemy. No clear line was developed in either London or Paris, and serious differences existed between them, although the Supreme War Council did decide on an intervention in Finland in principle (February 5, 1940). The issue was debated in the public press with a terrifying lack of concern for the risks it would entail. And for many reasons—not least because of Popular Front memories and the antipatriotic activities of the outlawed French Communist party—it was used after the Treaty of Moscow (March 12, 1940) as a weapon with which to compel Premier Edouard Daladier to abandon office. Indeed, more than the political Right chose to make the Finnish armistice a French defeat. But the British were not agreed. “Does Darlan want war with the Russians?” Admiral Sir Dudley Pound had asked. “That’s the whole question. As for me, I do not.” (Jacques Mordal, *La campagne de Norvège* [Paris, 1949], 77–78). Evidently François Darlan was prepared to run this risk until April (Admiral Raymond de Belot, *La marine française pendant la campagne 1939–1940* [Paris, 1954], 36 and fn.). Daladier, convinced that this northern theater

the Atlantic world from 1941 on, and despite further heavy losses for another year, there was little looking back on the past, the lost war. And so rapidly as still to seem amazing, the French nation was accepted as having come to the end of its political and military greatness. There was a realization that this disaster was neither 1814 nor 1870. And the French would have to wait, like the Poles, the Dutch, the Danes, and the others, for rescue. In the minds of those who, for whatever reasons, did not go down, the French had become the defeated, the *déclassés*. Surely every Anglo-American felt secretly that they just had not had victory in them; they had come to the end of the road. It was too bad, of course, contemporary observers seemed to say, but what could you expect from a country that had been so frivolous and from a national way of life, a system that had for so long borne the marks of something less than greatness?

To the man in the street, if he pondered upon it very much at all, the fall of France did not require an inordinate amount of thought. Everyone who read the papers knew that old Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain had been faint hearted from the first, prepared to give up even during the difficult days of the war of 1914. Pierre Laval (was there a single commentary that did not make something of the soiled white tie?), thought to be the Marshal's evil genius, had been marked out a quarter century before in the famous Carnet B, listing potentially dangerous pacifists and revolutionaries who might have to be arrested. Men like Georges Bonnet, so recently transferred from the Foreign Ministry to the Ministry of Justice in Edouard Daladier's last cabinet, who symbolized an even more suspect variety of appeasement than that associated with Neville Chamberlain, were thought to have exerted a disastrous influence behind the battle and in the parliamentary *coulisses*. Lesser-known persons, such as the Italophile former Minister of Public Works Anatole de Monzie, were evidently shifty and unreliable. Plainly the fall of France was the result of conspiracy, subversion, and a distasteful bargain, as that disillu-

was of "capital importance for the war's outcome," had become increasingly critical of Halifax's "too constantly temporising and negative attitude" as his own critics in the Palais Bourbon prepared his downfall (Daladier to Charles Corbin, Jan. 17, 1940, Germany, *Auswärtiges Amt*, 1939-41, no. 6; *Secret Documents of the French General Staff* [Berlin, 1941], no. 18). A word on the domestic uses of the Finnish campaign is in John C. Cairns, "The Fall of France, 1940: Thoughts on a National Defeat," *Proceedings of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1957, 64-65; cf. Angelo Rossi, *Les communistes français pendant la drôle de guerre: Une page d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), 134-45; Vainö Tanner, *The Winter War: Finland against Russia, 1939-1940* (Stanford, Calif., 1957); C. Leonard Lundin, *Finland in the Second World War* (Bloomington, Ind., 1957), 42-79; John H. Wuorinen, ed., *Finland and World War II, 1939-1944* (New York, 1948), 33-79; J. R. M. Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II, September 1939-June 1941 (London, 1957), 91-117. As the then deputy chief of air staff put it: the possibility that Great Britain and France might accept the risk of war with the Soviet Union "really makes one's hair stand on end." *The Central Blue: The Autobiography of Sir John Slessor, Marshal of the Royal Air Force* (New York, 1957), 270.

sioned champion of the mortally smitten League of Nations, Lord Robert Cecil, put it, "by which a sordid adventurer induced a Marshal of France to sell the honour of his country for the satisfaction of his servile ambition."³ This conspiracy thesis, in its all-embracing vagueness, was destined, of course, to wander disconsolately in search of proof.

It was true that the Germans had Pétain marked down as a pacifist, as an enemy of the existing regime and of the war, at least as early as the fall of 1939. "France's greatest mistake," he was reported in Berlin to have told close associates the following spring, "had been to enter the war. In the present state of the country, when peace was concluded the internal distintegration of France which would then clearly emerge would exclude her from European politics for decades to come." But there was no evidence that he was privy to any conspiracy, although his pessimism evidently hardened to the point of his believing in the imminence of defeat and of foreseeing for himself a role in possible army *défaillances à la 1917*. He had even, it is true, discussed the question of forming a new government (although in September he had refused to associate himself in a ministerial capacity with the colleagues of Daladier). He had gone so far as secretly to summon his friend Senator Henry Lémery to San Sebastian to pursue the matter.⁴ But all that was

³ Foreword to the anonymous, *Pétain-Laval: The Conspiracy* (London, 1942), iii. Other versions are in André Schwob, *L'affaire Pétain, faits et documents* (New York, 1944), C. F. Melville, *Guilty Frenchmen* (London, 1940), and André Simone, *J'accuse! The Men Who Betrayed France* (New York, 1940). The guilt, if not actual conspiracies, of the Third Republic's politicians is a kind of countertheme in the literature published in France during the occupation, e.g., Georges Champenois, *La croisade des démocraties* (Paris, 1943-44). Cf. the discussion of this approach in Paul Farmer, *Vichy—Political Dilemma* (New York, 1955), 122-25. Needless to say, plot theses are not the stock in trade of post-1945 writers, e.g., Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *La mort de la troisième république* (Paris, 1951) or Robert Aron and Georgette Elgey, *Histoire de Vichy, 1940-1944* (Paris, 1954), nor of foreign books such as William L. Langer, *Our Vichy Gamble* (New York, 1947) or D. W. Brogan, *The French Nation, from Napoleon to Pétain: 1814-1940* (New York, 1957), which give balanced accounts, whatever their length. Suggestive essays raising difficult questions about "the failure of *l'âme vital*" and "the dessication of the bourgeois spirit," by John B. Wolf and John B. Christopher respectively are in *Modern France: Problems of the Third and Fourth Republics*, ed. Edward Mead Earle (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 19-31, 44-57. And as every reader knows, there are no better general discussions of the whole background of the Republic's demise than David Thomson, *Democracy in France: The Third and Fourth Republics* (New York, 1946, 1952, 1958) and François Goguel, *La politique des partis sous la troisième république* (Paris, 1946), and no more lively contemporary chronicle than Alexander Werth's books on the 1930's, distilled finally into *The Twilight of France* (London, 1942). Though there can be no pretense here of discussing French writings of all kinds, the author believes that there has really been less "widespread and persistent" soul-searching about this defeat on the part of Frenchmen than Donald C. McKay has suggested in "The Third Republic in Retrospect," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XXXIII (Winter, 1957), 48. Ilya Ehrenburg's graphic novel of the last years of the Republic, *The Fall of Paris* (New York, 1943), is unlikely to be remembered as great literature, but it is full of *actualités*, both real and as prescribed in the world of the party faithful.

⁴ Memorandum by State Secretary, Nov. 16, 1939, Auswärtiges Amt, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, ser. D, VIII, no. 363 (hereafter cited as DGFP); an embassy official to Foreign Ministry, Mar. 19, 1940, *ibid.*, IX, no. 5; Colonel Eckhart Krahmer to Foreign Ministry, Madrid, May 21, 1940, *ibid.*, no. 297; Pétain to General Paul Vauthier, Jan. 15, 1940, in

hardly incriminating. The best support for the plot thesis was the sort of thing General Francisco Franco reported that Pétain said as he left the embassy in May, 1940: "My country has been beaten and they are calling me back to make peace and sign the Armistice. You are right. This is the work of thirty years of Marxism. They're calling me to take charge of the nation...."⁵ Or there was Anatole de Monzie's well-known diary quotation of the Marshal's saying, "They'll need me in the second half of May"—words impossibly dated March 30 (he was that day still in Spain), but which might have been spoken on May 5, 1940, after Paul Reynaud had probably offered to take him into the council of ministers.⁶ The idea of conspiracy, however, was fixed. And the denial of Georges Loustaunau-Lacau that Pétain had had relations with the mysterious Cagoulards did not upset preconceived notions here,⁷ much less discredit the rather reliable report that Edouard Daladier had been unable to sleep quietly in his bed during the war when the ambassador to Spain had been in town.⁸

It was not hard to believe, then, that the fall of France was at least partly the result of conspiracy and general political skulduggery; the famous Stavisky scandal of 1934 stood as a kind of permanent reminder of this continuing element in French public life. At the same time, the events of 1940 came to be interpreted as having been marked out by the very nature of things: inevitable. This grand fatality was proclaimed while the war raced across the fields of France in the fierce heat of splendid summer days. General Maxime Weygand, recalled at seventy-two years of age to succeed General Maurice Gamelin, remarked the very day the Battle of France opened on the Somme, "What we are paying for is twenty years of blunders and neglect. It is out of the question to punish the generals and not the teachers who have refused to develop in the children the sense of patriotism and sacrifice."

Louis Noguères, *Le véritable procès du maréchal Pétain* (Paris, 1955), 38. Lémery told his story (as did Jean Mistler, who subsequently visited Pétain on behalf of Anatole de Monzie) to Beau de Loménie. Beau de Loménie, *La mort de la troisième république*, 170–73.

⁵ Franco reported his talk in an interview with Arriba, quoted in General Pierre Héring, *La vie exemplaire de Philippe Pétain* (Paris, 1952), 77.

⁶ Anatole de Monzie, *Ci-devant* (Paris, 1941), 207; Noguères, *Le véritable procès*, 27–35.

⁷ Testimony of July 30, 1945, *Le procès du Maréchal Pétain devant la Haute Cour de Justice* (Paris, 1945), 120–21; Georges Loustaunau-Lacau, "Lettre ouverte au Général de Gaulle," *Le monde*, Oct. 30, 1954. Cf. Paul Reynaud, *La France a sauvé l'Europe* (Paris, 1947), II, 421–22, *Au cœur de la mêlée* (Paris, 1951), 914–15, *In the Thick of the Fight* (London, 1955), 571–72; [André Géraud] Pertinax, *Les fossoyeurs* (New York, 1943), II, 33–34, *The Gravediggers of France* (New York, 1944), 334–35; Noguères, *Le véritable procès*, 46–59. Like the official biography, General A. M. E. Laure, *Pétain* (Paris, 1941), Glorney Bolton's pleasant but ineffectual *Pétain* (London, 1957) is of no assistance here.

⁸ Maurice Dejean, *Vichy and France: The Rulers—the People* (London, 1941), 5. Cf. the report of a conversation that the Spanish ambassador had with Pétain in Paris on June 3, in which Pétain was said to have ruled out a coup as impossible and added that he must therefore wait on events, DGFP, D, IX, no. 376.

The school system alone had brought about the crumbling of the nation; and those reserve officers who had abandoned their units, the Marshal was to inform Ambassador William C. Bullitt afterward, were the products of "teachers who were Socialists and not patriots." The country had been "rotted" by politics, he told Major General E. L. Spears. "We must pay now, and pay dearly, for the anarchy we have indulged in for so long." Weygand even put such dark thoughts down formally on paper. "The old order of things," ran a memorandum he drew up shortly after the battle had been lost, "a political regime made up of masonic, capitalist and international deals, has brought us where we stand. France has had enough of that."⁹ In defeat the soldiers assuaged their pain and humiliation by appeals to the utter hopelessness of the situation they had inherited from the politicians. But it was not only the generals who condemned the situation in which France found herself.

Even the civilian great of the Third Republic who had played the game of politics down to the very end did not hesitate to damn themselves in condemning the regime. "The simple people of the country are as fine as they have ever been," Camille Chautemps, one of the *chefs* of that Radical Socialism on which the political life of France had balanced for decades, remarked somewhat vaguely after the Armistice. "The upper classes have failed completely." Or as Adrien Marquet, Pétain's second Minister of the Interior, explained to the press on June 28, "It is not France that has been conquered. It is a complaisant regime of opportunism and weakness that has collapsed." This conclusion he had in any case reached seven years earlier when, frightening Léon Blum "out of his wits," he proclaimed "a new historic era" (before the Thirtieth Congress of the French Socialist party), and the demise of nineteenth-century liberty and justice.¹⁰ Without in any way suggesting that pessimism had entirely characterized the public servants of France during the war, one would have to note its manifestations. "The game is lost," Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry Alexis Léger told Bullitt on the last day of September. "France stands alone against three dictatorships. Great

⁹ Paul Baudouin, *Neuf mois au gouvernement, avril-décembre 1940* (Paris, 1948), 122; *The Private Diaries (March 1940 to January 1941)* of Paul Baudouin . . . (London, 1948), 79; Bullitt to Secretary of State, July 1, 1940, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1940* (hereafter cited as *FR*), II, 464; Maxime Weygand, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1950-57), II, *Rappelé au service*, 298-99, *Recalled to Service: The Memoirs of General Maxime Weygand* (London, 1952), 229-30; Major General Sir Edward L. Spears, *Assignment to Catastrophe* (London, 1953-54), II, *The Fall of France, June 1940*, 84, 174. A defense of the schools is in Roger Denux, *Le drame d'enseigner* (Issy-le-Moulineaux, 1944).

¹⁰ Bullitt to Secretary of State, July 1, 1940, *FR*, 1940, II, 469; Louis Georges Planès and Robert Dufourg, *Bordeaux, capitale tragique, et la base navale de Bordeaux-le-Verdon, mai-juin 1940* (Paris, 1956), 168-69. The Neo-Socialist pronouncements are recorded in Barthélémy Montagnon, *Néo-socialisme? Ordre—autorité—nation* (Paris, 1933).

Britain is not ready. The United States has not even changed the Neutrality Act [such a revision was of course Léger's purpose, and Bullitt's too, perhaps, in reporting this statement]. The democracies are again too late. The Germans know that at this minute with Russian and Italian support they can crush the French Army."¹¹ From this kind of observation—and Léger's was a point of view that Bullitt considered to be shared by Premier Daladier who, as his own foreign minister, was greatly dependent upon this official—it might be not too difficult to accept the conclusion that the debacle had been militarily and politically inevitable, that the parliamentary Republic had never had a chance of survival. Thus Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *littérateur*, Germanophile, at once a latter-day Bonapartist and an admiring historian of the German Army, sometime secretary of state to the Vichy government, whose eclectic historical skill was as remarkable as his credentials of objectivity were suspect, encountered no great obstacles in tracing through three stout volumes the implacable course of a malignant fate because the state had become "too weak to guarantee its defense."¹² Dazzled still by his old admiration for the fire and youth of the Nazi movement and military machine, compelled to justify a course of action that had brought him a death sentence at the hands of the Fourth Republic, Benoist-Méchin closed his eyes to any alternative outcome in 1940 and invited his readers to do the same.

Other patterns of interpretation emerged. Conspiracy and ineluctability, secular causalities in Clio's muddled realm, were joined by yet a third and supernatural agent. In the immediate aftermath, amid the wreckage of the Republic and all its military glory, the old gods lived again. And on the banks of the Gironde and the Allier the Marshal's attentive ear caught the sound of Jehovah's thunder directed against an erring people. It was not news to him, this Old Testament wrath. Heaven knew he had warned against it for years, begging his fellow countrymen not to forsake their spiritual role, pleading with them to abandon that "very wantonness which is the cause of our divisions. In the midst of magnificent post-war achievements," he told ex-servicemen in 1938, "it was the country's soul that suffered

¹¹ Bullitt to Secretary of State, Sept. 30, 1939, *FR*, 1939, I, 460; Gordon Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt and the Fall of France," *World Politics*, X (Oct., 1957), 79. Léger remains a somewhat enigmatic figure, but see Elizabeth R. Cameron, "Alexis Saint-Léger Léger," in *The Diplomats, 1919-1939*, ed. Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, N. J., 1953), 378-405. His memoirs are promised: "I have been trusted with many secrets which not even the Foreign Ministers knew about." *Time*, LXXII (Aug. 25, 1958), 58. However, he told François Mauriac, December 4, 1958, that he preferred not to make money by publishing these memoirs at that time because the story did his country no honor. *L'Express*, VI (Dec. 11, 1958), 40.

¹² Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *Soixante jours qui ébranlèrent l'Occident, 10 mai-10 juillet, 1940* (3 vols., Paris, 1956), I, 12. This is a day-by-day analysis of the campaign in the west, with a full complement of errors and distortions, an extremely lively set of essays on personalities in the third volume, and a full but uncritical—and occasionally mystifying—bibliography.

most—because the ideals that bound us together had been lost sight of." For all this the army of France was not to blame; it alone had remained pure, faithful to the religion of France. Sure of this before the outbreak of war, Pétain was unshaken by the conduct of the battle. "Our defeat," he explained as the Armistice went into effect, "is punishment for our moral failures. The mood of sensual pleasure destroyed what the spirit of sacrifice had built up."¹³ God and family and country, they had all been sacrificed. It was so obvious that all right-thinking people must agree. (But Raoul de Roussy de Sales in far-off Washington did not. "If the French think this defeat is a punishment from heaven for their sins," he wrote in his diary, "that is evidently one solution: but I do not like the idea of having men like Pétain or Peyrouton saying it."¹⁴ But De Roussy de Sales was now an *émigré*, and *émigrés* were never more suspect.)

Even the often warring world of letters seemed almost to close ranks on this score. André Gide, hitherto not especially notable for his close attention to public affairs, said amen. Louis-Ferdinand Céline, to the limits of the law, heaped abuse on the defunct régime and the enemies of France. And Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, with his usual bewildering eclecticism, carefully distinguished the "rotten apples" from the rest of the barrel. "The France which had read Sorel, Barrès, Maurras, Péguy, Bernanos, Céline, Giono, Malraux, Petitjean," he pointed out, "was not strong enough to impose itself on the France which read A. France, Duhamel, Giraudoux, Mauriac, Maurois." But indeed that resilient chronicler of bourgeois France, François Mauriac, showed himself undeserving of the reproach, for on hearing the Marshal's voice he experienced something like a transport of revelation. "The Marshal's words sounded like something not of this world," he told the readers of *Le Figaro*; "it wasn't a man speaking to us, but from the very depths of our history we were hearing the appeal of the great and humbled nation rising toward us."¹⁵ And if Mauriac stopped short of some identification of Pétain and divine providence, that chaotic character Gustave Hervé—his revolutionary ardor far behind him now—did not. After all, despite Pétain's

¹³ Philippe Pétain, *Paroles au Français: Messages et écrits 1934-1941* (Lyon, 1941), 18-19, 27-28, 51. Cf. Henri-Dominique Noble, O.P., *Dieu a-t-il puni la France?* (Paris, 1942). The answer, of course, is affirmative.

¹⁴ Raoul de Roussy de Sales, *The Making of Yesterday* (New York, 1947), 136-37. Posthumously published, this diary is an intelligent commentary on events as seen from Washington between 1938 and 1942.

¹⁵ André Gide, *Pages de journal 1939-42* (New York, 1944), 36, *The Journals of André Gide* (New York, 1948-51), IV, 23; Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Les beaux draps* (Paris, 1941); Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, *Notes pour comprendre le siècle* (Paris, 1941), 173; François Mauriac, *Le Figaro*, July 3, 1940, quoted in "Orion," *Nouveau dictionnaire des girouettes, précédé de l'oubli en politique* (Paris, 1948), 250.

contempt for him, he had been publicly suspecting this identification for some time, as his 1935 pamphlet *C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut* had suggested. "The ways of Providence are mysterious and impenetrable," he wrote from occupied Paris in his tiny sheet, *La Victoire* (one of the few organs briefly surviving the German entry into the capital). "Perhaps we needed this atrocious catastrophe in order to be saved from the enormous stinking morass into which we had plunged ourselves—especially since our Revolutionary ancestors' mistake."¹⁶ In defeat and disarray nothing was so useful as the hand of God, especially when it could be used to bludgeon the hated revolutionary tradition. And there was in any event something timeless about the mobilization of providence in a secular cause. For, as Léon Blum reflected from his confinement as a personal prisoner of the Marshal at Bourassol, "from the beginning of time national calamity has been linked with the idea of sin or error, and with its natural extension: contrition, expiation and redemption."¹⁷

With changing times and the reversal of fortunes, as every reader knows, fashions in history also change. And in the aftermath of 1945 what one might call the providential approach to the fall of France seemed less than congenial. Historians tended not to pick it up. But for a little while it had shared honors with conspiracy and ineluctability in the search for explanation of this stunning collapse. And although each of the three may not now be considered equally respectable, one suspects that this little unholy trinity still has its various followings and may yet at a propitious moment echo back from 1940.

In a general way it is probably true that primitive doctrines prove to be rather strong medicine and have to be watered down, or they produce counterbeliefs. It was hardly surprising, then, that from the ranks of the army—which could not continue forever to cling unitedly to the official explanation that civilian decrepitude, subversion, and immorality weighed down the professional soldiery of France—should come a fourth explanation, summed up in the haunting phrase "la guerre des occasions perdues." Taking this for his title and theme, an old soldier from the First World War, a regimental commander in the Second, and a sometime assistant professor of history at Saint-Cyr, Colonel Adolphe Goutard, proceeded to show that France had been defeated through a succession of command mistakes, ignorance, failure of nerve, lack of foresight, and, above all, one abandoned opportunity after

¹⁶ Gustave Hervé, *C'est Pétain qu'il nous faut* (Paris, 1935); *La Victoire*, June 18, 1940. Cf. Lucien Leclerc and Georges-Émile Dulac, *La vérité sur Gustave Hervé* (Paris, 1946), 19–23.
¹⁷ Blum, *A l'échelle humaine*, in *L'Oeuvre de Léon Blum* (Paris, 1954–), II, 411–12, *For All Mankind* (New York, 1946), 24–25.

another.¹⁸ Naturally this thesis was no more novel than the phrase itself.¹⁹ It had appeared at the curious and confused Riom trial in 1942, when the government at Vichy had sought to establish the criminality of the Popular Front and the culpability of General Maurice Gamelin. The rather anarchic proceedings, however, had tended to make such uncomfortable reading for everyone, French and German alike, that Berlin submitted its complaints and displeasure, and the trial was adjourned sine die. But now Goutard, better armed than the defense counsel of Daladier, Blum, *et al.*, and drawing on the enemy's revelations and the findings of the postwar Parliamentary Commission investigating—in an extraordinarily hit-and-miss fashion—events in France between 1933 and 1945 (until it also ground to a halt²⁰), demolished the army's former charges of matériel deficiencies, at least to his own satisfaction. The ultimate conclusion was simply that "our defeat may be attributed essentially to an intellectual deficiency expressing itself in conservatism, conformity, preconceived ideas and unreal speculations; in short, to a colossal command mistake, made irremediable by a current lack of resilience, much more than to basic impotence of the Army and the country from which it issued."²¹ To a reader without the smallest military competence all this seemed ingenious and impressive. And it might be that the demonstration was militarily sound. But even an uninformed layman could have his suspicions that Goutard's argument was somewhat too neat—that indeed it was very much a *pièce d'occasion*, rather like those relentlessly unending, sober-faced, multimapped studies of the campaign of 1870 that filled

¹⁸ Adolphe Goutard, 1940: *La guerre des occasions perdues* (Paris, 1956), trans. as *The Battle of France* (London, 1958). See also General Paul Ely, "La leçon qu'il faut tirer des opérations de 1940," *Revue de Défense Nationale*, IX (Dec., 1953), 563–82.

¹⁹ Long before the defeat in the west, in the bitterness of debate after the Finnish armistice, Camille Fernand-Laurent had suggested "la guerre des occasions perdues" might be an appropriate name. Comité Secret, Mar. 19, 1940, *Journal Officiel de la République Française. Débats Parlementaires. Chambre des Députés, Comités Secrets, Numéro Spécial*, Apr. 7, 1948, p. 51 (hereafter cited as *JOC*). Cf. Pierre Bernus in *Journal des Débats*, Jan. 13, 1940: "Things must not happen to permit Frenchmen one day writing a similar one."

²⁰ The Riom proceedings have never been published in a full and official form, although the records are said to be in the National Archives (Georges Bourgin, "La justice et la guerre," *Revue de Synthèse*, LXI (1946–47), 35–43). Pierre Tissier, *The Riom Trial* (London, 1942) is of use. As comprehensive as any of the partial accounts is Paul Soupiron, *Bazaine contre Gambetta, ou le procès de Riom* (Lyon, 1944), which is poorly edited and generally maddening. See also Maurice Ribet, *Le procès de Riom* (Paris, 1945); James de Coquet, *Le procès de Riom* (Paris, 1945); Léon Blum, *La prison et le procès*, in *L'Oeuvre*, II, 137–404; *id.*, *Léon Blum before His Judges at the Supreme Court of Riom, March 11th and 12th, 1942* (London, 1942). The Parliamentary Commission proceedings are in *Commission d'enquête parlementaire sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945* (2 vols. of reports, 9 vols. of documents, Paris, 1951–54 [hereafter cited as *CE*]). Cf. Henri Michel, "L'œuvre de la commission parlementaire chargée d'enquêter sur les événements survenus en France de 1933 à 1945," *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, I (June, 1951), 94–96.

²¹ Goutard, 1940, 401. See also Tony Albord, *Pourquoi cela est arrivé, ou les responsabilités d'une génération militaire (1919–1939)* (Nantes, 1946) and Colonel Fulcien Soulet, *Roncevaux 1940* (Grenoble, 1954).

the army journals and the respectable bourgeois periodicals of the *belle époque*. Lost opportunities, but real ones: that was the lesson. And no doubt that is a healthy enough attitude to adopt before the young military minds shortly to be responsible for the security of the nation. Laymen, however, are notoriously, incorrigibly unmilitary, and they may retain a doubt or two.

Thus to the leitmotifs of conspiracy, fatality, and providential retribution was added in the military sphere the theme of intellectual incompetence: the unnecessary defeat. From this it was not much of a step to the grand idea of the absurd defeat. This fifth (and in this place arbitrarily final) explanation was announced by a common soldier of the army of 1940 after just thinking about it for the better part of two decades. Whatever other values it might possess, his book had the immense advantage of being by far the most hilarious account of the fall of France. Novelist and satirist, Jean Dutourd seemed in his *The Taxis of the Marne* to be making good Henri Peyre's estimate of him as "one of the rare entertaining writers of an age that prefers to wallow in its anguish rather than to laugh at it."²² Dutourd made it plain that at the time he had rather wallowed, but that he had grown tired of this and tired of a France that had continued to wallow. Looking back, he decided that the debacle had been not only unnecessary but disgraceful and absurd. Without quite saying so, he suggested that it had been entirely senseless. The paradox here, of course, was that in combatting current philosophies of the absurdity of everything, Dutourd had arrived at a not unrelated conclusion. The strong point of his account, however, was neither logic nor method, but rather a wild kind of splenetic anger that resulted in a good many hits on target—it could scarcely have been otherwise since the target was France—and a lot of broad misses. The scene was set as attractively as possible and the players were costumed with sufficient realism to be recognizable as historical characters. But they were manipulated so madly as to reduce the whole event to fantasy. Across the years the sun still shone down on the fair land of France. "The weather," Dutourd recalled, "was as beautiful as it was in August 1914. I see again the nut trees standing motionless along the unpaved roads. . . . The leaves seemed polished by the light. . . ." Every prospect was pleasing, and only man was foul. For across this idyllic landscape trooped such an unlovely collection of patriots and warriors that the gods must have rocked in mirth and anger: peace-loving generals whose highest ambition was to die quietly at home with their boots off; officers not yet so far advanced in the hierarchy

²² Henri Peyre, *The Contemporary French Novel* (New York, 1955), 314.

fleeing westward in well-laden cars, abandoning an undisciplined soldiery whose special concern was to bury its arms, escape the enemy, and loot the local populace; a government that was the very symbol of decay, crowned by a president who "trotted behind the Government like an usher"—all of them evidently watched by a stolid, solid peasantry who on occasion summoned up courage enough to cry, "Get out. If you had fought, you'd be fed now instead of having to beg."²³ Exceptions to this general panorama Dutourd admitted. But the prevailing mood, he insisted, had been a lighthearted abandonment. From start to finish the war had been absurd. Nothing could be more absurd, then, than this defeat.

No mere reader cares to be accused of missing the joke. But perhaps one or two observations may be permitted, without in the least suggesting that the Dutourd version of the fall of France does not contain elements of truth. In the first place, this thesis of the absurd defeat rested on an unwarranted assumption. "Without realizing it," wrote Dutourd, "the *Canard Enchaîné* discovered the motto of slavery. By repeating and repeating, 'What do we care?' we ended up not caring about losing the war, being occupied, dishonored, and trampled on."²⁴ Would it be necessary to cite chapter and verse to the contrary? Would not a survey of the wartime public press, crippled by censorship as it was and inferior to its responsibility as it might have been, suggest that France had cared? If the domestic struggles of the Republic consequent upon the disillusionment of 1919, the emergence of the Hitlerian menace, and the vast internal social struggle of the 1930's had not been ended but rather intensified by the war, surely the conclusion of mass indifference was unjustified. Not everyone had breathed fiery defiance with Henri de Kérillis in *Epoque* or even a quieter determination with Émile Buré in *Ordre*²⁵—that was undeniable. It was no exaggeration to say that the war had found France in "a certain disarray, as regards our state of mind," as Daladier so delicately and elliptically put it during a secret session debate.²⁶ As no observer could doubt, energies and aggressions were directed against Frenchmen that might better have been harnessed to the war effort. The unanimous applause in the Chamber greeting the Premier's famous remark in December, 1939, about the determination of the government to be "sparing of

²³ Jean Dutourd, *The Taxis of the Marne* (New York, 1957), 37, 50, 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁵ However controversial the man himself might be, Buré's editorials make some of the most instructive reading on the political and social scene of 1939–1940, reflecting, however indirectly because of the censorship, the continuing domestic woes of a nation no longer enjoying the luxury of international peace.

²⁶ *JOC, Comité Secret*, Feb. 9, 1940, p. 42.

French blood"²⁷ might have been as unrealistic as the promise was politically expedient and eventually worthless. The one thing it did not indicate was indifference.

This ex post facto thesis of national apathy, it might be suggested, arose elsewhere. It was at the very least the creation in part of the generals and the enemies of the parliamentary republic—not that the two were always the same. It had been one thing for clever young intellectuals like Lucien Rebatet and Thierry Maulnier to spend the night of September 3, 1939, out on the town, singing "Ich hatte eine Kamarade" and the "Horst Wessel Lied" in bars along the Boulevard Saint-Germain ("so that the joke should be complete," as Rebatet thought it necessary to explain²⁸), but quite another to propose that the French nation as a whole surrendered itself to such despairing hilarity when confronted by the prospect and eventually the certainty of war. Indeed it might be argued that it was the brilliant little group around Robert Brasillach and his protofascist organ *Je suis partout*, self-appointed arbiters of literary taste and self-styled spokesmen for the vital forces remaining in France, who were among the most ardent progenitors of this thesis, the absurd defeat. Never very many, they were by no means all-powerful, though their influence among what the French call "the elite" was considerable. By origin they were a by-product of *Action française*. Incapable of carrying Charles Maurras with them after September 3, they denounced him as a foolish old man. For Maurras (though heaven knew he had had his doubts before the outbreak and was to underline them after the collapse of the regime) refused to ally himself with the party of despair, to subscribe, as he put it, to "this dangerous nonsense."²⁹ And how far France had refused to be carried along by this *avant-garde* with its Germanophile propensities, Brasillach himself seemed to suggest in one of those sad, lyrical, egotistical last poems written in his cell at Fresnes shortly before they shot him in 1945:

Mon pays m'a fait mal par ses routes trop pleines,
Par ses enfants jetés sous les aigles de sang,
Par ses soldats tirant dans les déroutés vaines,
Et par le ciel de juin sous le soleil brûlant.³⁰

²⁷ JOC, Dec. 23, 1939, p. 2315.

²⁸ Lucien Rebatet, *Les décombres* (Paris, 1942), 181. This is a long, violent, and scintillating memoir by a thoroughgoing French fascist.

²⁹ Testimony of Jan. 24, 1945, *Le procès Charles Maurras* (Lyon, 1945), 46. See Rebatet, *Les décombres*, 358.

³⁰ Robert Brasillach, *Poèmes de Fresnes* (Louvain, 1946), 35. Similar minor expressions are scattered through his revised essays, originally written for *L'Action française* in the 1930's. *Les quatre jeudis* (Paris, 1951). See also his *Notre avant guerre* (Paris, 1941) and *Journal d'un homme occupé* (Paris, 1955).

Indeed, romantics that they were, racked by pride, arrogance, and, finally, self-pity, longing for the lost days of their youth and dreams, they did not have the satisfaction of having carried with them even all the bright young men to whom they chiefly appealed—as the rather moving journal entries of an obscure and talented philosophy student, Pierre-André Guastalla, would show. For try as he did, dedicated to the groves of academe as he was, young Guastalla did not in the long run, when the terrible days arrived that summer of 1940, remain above the battle. "I know I'm cowardly and weak for not working well right now," he wrote on June 8, the day Weygand told General Charles de Gaulle that he could not stop the German assault;⁸¹ "but I just can't; and that isn't a sophism. Set beside what is happening, all that has no importance."⁸²

And then, like the fallacy of national indifference, Dutourd's assumption of two generations, 1914 and 1939, one brave, one spineless, seemed less than convincing. Evidence of shockingly bad morale existed, of course. That General Maurice Gamelin had spent part of his last days on active service drawing up an indictment of the common soldier is true. "Disposed to criticize ceaselessly all those having the least authority," ran his report which the government had requested on the eve of his dismissal from the supreme army command, "encouraged in the name of civilization to enjoy a soft daily life, today's serviceman did not receive in the years between the wars the moral and patriotic education which would have prepared him for the drama in which the country's destiny is going to be played out."⁸³ The allies of France were equally critical, and Lieutenant General Sir Alan Brooke, commanding the Second Corps, British Expeditionary Force, stood appalled beside General André G. Corap as a slovenly winter parade passed in review. Brooke recalled, "I can still see those troops now.... What shook me most ... was the look in the men's faces, disgruntled and insubordinate looks...." That night in November, 1939, he wrote in his diary, "I could not help wondering whether the French are still a firm enough nation to again take their part in seeing this war through."⁸⁴ As it happened, of course, disaster was to strike this Ninth Army, scattering its units before a massive assault of armor and air power in the first days of the German drive west. But the French Army was nothing if not diverse. Not every division belonged to the

⁸¹ Charles de Gaulle, *Mémoires de Guerre* (Paris, 1955-57), I, *L'appel, 1940-42*, 44-45, *War Memoirs* (New York, 1955-), I, *The Call to Honor 1940-1942*, 54-55.

⁸² Pierre-André Guastalla, *Journal (1940-1944)* (Paris, 1951), 16.

⁸³ Maurice Gamelin, *Servir* (Paris, 1946-47), I, 357; III, 425.

⁸⁴ Arthur Bryant, *The Turn of the Tide 1939-1943: A Study based on the Diaries and Autobiographical Notes of Field-Marshal The Viscount Alanbrooke, K.G., O.M.* (London, 1957), 71-72.

reservist, undertrained, and underequipped Series B formations, or to the "apartment-house janitors" of the Maginot Line, as described by Dutourd, "trailing about the corridors in slippers, playing innumerable games of cards under the silent guns, yawning from morning to night."⁸⁵ The whole French Army had not simply waited to be captured or bolted before the enemy, as Adolf Hitler was soon informed. "Very marked differences become apparent in the French when their military ability is evaluated," he wrote to the Duce on May 25. "There are very bad units side by side with excellent ones. On the whole difference in quality between the active and nonactive divisions is extraordinarily noticeable. Many of the active units have fought desperately, the reserve units are for the most part obviously not equal to the impact of battle on morale."⁸⁶ The reality and the record then were more complicated than many critics suggested. If it had not been so there would have been no evacuation at Dunkirk—and not even a six weeks' war.

General Joseph-Simon Galliéni's taxicabs at the First Battle of the Marne may well have been a prodigy of logistical ingenuity. But the vast and indisputable errors of 1939–1940 were not to be reversed so primitively. One need not take sides with either Premier Paul Reynaud or Marshal Pétain in questioning the competence, the training, and the will of various commanders. That the fifteen generals who were sacked in May at the height of the battle and under the impact of the German eruption across the Meuse deserved this fate may well be true, although the author of all their woes did not think so.⁸⁷ That appallingly inadequate formations such as the Thirty-fifth or the Fifty-fifth Infantry Divisions were equipped and led in a manner bordering on the disgraceful seems certain.⁸⁸ But there are names to coun-

⁸⁵ Dutourd, *Taxis*, 37.

⁸⁶ Hitler to Mussolini, May 25, 1940, DGFP, D, IX, no. 317. Hitler did remark to General Juan Vigón on June 16, however, that the French and British soldiers of 1940 were worse than those of 1914. *Ibid.*, no. 456; cf. General Guenther Blumentritt, as quoted by B. H. Liddell Hart: "In the 1940 campaign the French fought bravely but they were no longer the French of 1914–18—of Verdun and the Somme." *The Other Side of the Hill* (rev. ed., London, 1956), 152.

⁸⁷ "When I think, Duce, that precisely M. Reynaud is one of the chief culprits in this catastrophe, and when on the other hand I keep in mind the treatment and fate meted out by these parliamentary Democrats to those who are nevertheless still patriotic soldiers, and the fate in store for them in the future, then I am filled with immeasurable contempt for a system and an era which hands over the fate of great nations to these inferior products of nature." May 25, 1940, DGFP, D, IX, no. 317.

⁸⁸ Henri de Rolland, "La 35^e D.I. au combat 1939–1940," *Revue militaire suisse*, XCIII (Feb., Mar., 1948), 87–101, 134–51 (but see the more favorable account by a staff officer of this division, Robert Dufourg, *Brassard rouge, foudres d'or: Souvenirs d'un officier d'état-major 1939–1940* [Bordeaux, 1951]); Jacques Mordal, "La tragédie de la Meuse," *Miroir de l'histoire*, VI (Jan., 1955), 60–69. It was not unknown for commanders who wished to continue the fight to be assassinated by their men. For instance, see the account given by Saul K. Padover, *et al.*, *French Institutions: Values and Politics* (Stanford, Calif., 1954), 72–74; cf. [?] Richecourt: "Who will ever say how many officers were assassinated during the Battle of the Meuse

dance whatever stigma still are attached (if unjustifiedly) to men such as unfortunate Corap—for the poor man died before he could be properly exonerated. One could list such commanders as René Prioux of the cavalry and Henri Giraud and Aubert Frère of the Seventh Army.³⁹ And if French soldiers in retreat behaved badly and indulged in pillage, simple honesty would compel a Canadian to point out that Lieutenant General A. G. L. Nauington's untried First Division was no stranger to what the official historian called drunkenness, indiscipline, and reckless driving in the streets of Brest during the hectic last effort before June 14 to send and then to evacuate British reinforcements. "Although there was evidently no enemy in 200 miles," a Canadian war diary noted, "the withdrawal was considered as a rout."⁴⁰ All in all, without wishing in any way to contribute to the Dutourd called the myth of the glorious defeat in French history, might still feel that comparisons between 1914 and 1940 were difficult.

even impossible, and that whatever purpose they served, it was that of demonstrating that the generation of 1940 was unworthy of its fathers. An army in defeat is unlikely to look very well at any time. After ten years it may look even worse to an angry, not-so-young man with a taste for satire, a sense of shared guilt, and perhaps a not entirely trustworthy memory of that summer when the walls along the roads of Brittany were so hot that when we sat down on them we scorched our behinds through the thick khaki cloth of our trousers."⁴¹

The point is that clever and telling though a social critic like Dutourd may be, he does not in this instance prove much more illuminating than an Marshal of France who before the event had diagnosed the malady, predicted the demise of the patient, and arranged a program for his resurrection! in the certainty that almighty providence had delegated powers and that result was sure. "It's an accepted fact," Pétain told war veterans in 1938, "that defeat always brings Frenchmen to life."⁴² The thesis of the absurd, like the thesis of defeat by conspiracy or by incredible bungling (the unnecessary defeat), has the attractiveness and the conviction of simplicity.

to regroup men of the units in flight?" *La guerre de cent heures 1940* (Paris, 1944), 268.

¹ See René Prioux, *Souvenirs de guerre 1939-1943* (Paris, 1947); General [?] Fagalde's two articles in the *Revue militaire suisse* for 1952; Marcel Lerecouvreux, *L'Armée Giraud en Inde* (Paris, 1951); Maxime Weygand, *Le Général Frère: Un chef, un héros, un martyr* (Paris, 1949).

² Colonel C. P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War* (Ottawa, 1955-), I, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*, 279-80,

³ Dutourd, *Taxis*, 37.

⁴ Pétain, *Paroles*, 14.

Moreover, as it requires little thought and apparently eliminates every technical difficulty as irrelevant, it has a certain therapeutic value (spurious or real?) in a disintegrating domestic situation where the national psyche has been the object of a thousand prescriptions. But anyone who tried to wrestle with the question of the French Army alone, as being the principle problem of 1940 would have to do more than blacken the generals and ridicule the men. ("For in the last analysis," Daladier insisted before the Parliamentary Commission, "this French defeat was a military defeat. Its causes were profoundly military."⁴³) The careful studies already made of this army, its leaders, its doctrines, and its struggles with the civilians show the complications involved in trying to estimate the state of the French war machine and the responsibilities for its condition and employment.⁴⁴ It would not do simply to repeat after Robert Darcy the improbable slogan, "France hates its army," or after Daladier the very evident half-truth that legislature and people never refused the army anything it wanted.⁴⁵ It would not do simply to fix on the Marshal's notorious preface to General Louis Chauvineau's unhappily titled and timed book *Une invasion, est-elle encore possible?* (it appeared in March, 1939), because one would at once be confronted by Pétain's article in the *Revue des deux mondes* for 1935, warning against a blitzkrieg and the menace of aircraft which were, he said, becoming "more and more formidable."⁴⁶ For the fact was that if one combed the pages of

⁴³ Testimony of May 21, 1947, CE, I, 8. Of the many military accounts, see especially Theodore Draper, *The Six Weeks' War: France May 10-June 25, 1940* (New York, 1944); Colonel Pierre Lyet, *La bataille de France* (Paris, 1947); Colonel Raphael Bardies, *La campagne de 1939-1940* (Paris, 1947); Commandant Jacques Minart, *P. C. Vincennes, secteur 4* (Paris, 1945); Lieutenant Colonel [?] Lugand, et al., *La campagne de France (mai-juin 1940)* (Paris, 1953). Partisan accounts by the various generals abound: one of the more interesting and controversial is that of General Victor Bourret, *La tragédie de l'armée française* (Paris, 1947).

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Richard D. Challener, *The French Theory of the Nation in Arms 1866-1939* (New York, 1955) and the important doctoral dissertations of Philip F. Bankwitz, "Weygand, a Biographical Study" (Harvard University Library, 1952) and Alvin D. Coor, "French Military Doctrine, 1919-1939; Concepts of Ground and Aerial Warfare" (Harvard University Library, 1951). The spirit of the hour, especially in the lower echelons, has been the subject of many diaries, journals, and other writings; one hesitates to single out any particular examples. But among those which seem particularly revealing are Hans Habe, *A Thousand Shall Fall* (New York, 1941), Daniel Barlone, *A French Officer's Diary (23 August 1939-1 October 1940)* (New York, 1943), Jean Malaquais, *Journal de guerre* (New York, 1943), Jean Malaquais' *War Diary* (New York, 1943), Henry Cheynel, *Carnet de route d'un médecin de l'avant* (Paris, 1946).

⁴⁵ Robert Darcy, *Oraison funèbre pour la vieille armée* (Paris, 1947), 51; Daladier testifying at Riom, Soupiron, Bazaine, 174-175. Cf. Raoul Girardet, *La société militaire dans la France contemporaine 1815-1939* (Paris, 1953), 316.

⁴⁶ Pétain's preface to General Louis Chauvineau, *Une invasion, est-elle encore possible?* (Paris, 1939); Pétain, "La sécurité française pendant les années creuses," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXVI (Mar. 1, 1935), v-vi. On the Pétain preface see the explanation, or partial explanation, given by General Alfred Conquet, *L'éénigme de notre manque de divisions blindées (1932-1940) avec une réputation de certaines responsabilités imputées au Maréchal Pétain* (Paris, 1956), 86-89.

the military journals he could find pretty much whatever he sought.⁴⁷ The notion that French military thought between the wars was entirely sterile would certainly not stand. The great problem was rather to discover who fixed the pattern, when and why. For, as was pointed out years ago, generals like Pétain and Weygand had "haphazardly talked about everything, merely increasing the confusion."⁴⁸

And naturally not only French military doctrine was in question. What about the vast and vague subject of morale? What about the human material the nation provided, the indictment of their fellow countrymen by the great commanders? What had happened, for instance, to the complaints about the poor quality of officers being turned out?⁴⁹ What truth was there in that unforgettable and shattering portrait Lucien Rebatet sketched of his army comrades—an undisciplined armed horde, broken down, utterly out of condition, potbellied and humpbacked, with the doctors taking almost anyone capable of simple locomotion?⁵⁰ Such statements might be shown to be mere literary exaggerations, or matters of fact; they could hardly be ignored. Problems and questions multiplied as soon as one undertook to investigate any aspect of the collapse. And before them, the sweeping answers of Dutourd seemed less than adequate, distinguished more by wit than illumination. What of the unending social wars of the Republic, of the effects achieved by the outlawed Communist party in its increasingly defeatist publications

⁴⁷ For instance, so perceptive an analysis of tank break-through and the necessity for defense in depth as General [?] Barrard, "Réflexions sur la défensive devant les chars en guerre de mouvement," *Revue d'infanterie*, LXXXVI (June, 1935), 1029-47, or General Julien Brassé, "L'appui d'infanterie par les chars rapides et l'artillerie," *Revue militaire générale*, I (June, 1937), 653-78. And on the other hand, so incredibly hollow a mishmash of pretense and verbiage as the influential General H. Bineau's "Réflexions sur la guerre," *Revue des questions de la défense nationale*, I (July, 1939), 377-95, and such outworn and erroneous appraisals of French infantry as "Curris," "La rénovation de notre armement d'infanterie," *Revue d'infanterie*, XC (May, 1939), 861-82. (It was not entirely without interest that Gamelin removed General Bineau from his key position as *major-général* during the phoney war, which decision evidently elicited the displeasure of Pétain. Bineau later became Pétain's chief of staff. See the letter of General Alphonse Georges to General Émile Laure, June 21, 1941, in Noguères, *Le véritable procès*, 38-39.)

⁴⁸ Arpad F. Kovacs, "Military Origins of the Fall of France," *Military Affairs*, VII (Spring, 1943), 31. In the light of 1940, nothing is more interesting than to read the prewar writings of General Gamelin who, perhaps, best represented that middle-of-the-road position, confident and accommodating, that *immobilisme* which was tradition and the lessons of the past dressed up, from time to time, in progressive sentiment. See his "Réflexions sur le chef," *Revue de France*, XI (May 1, 1931), 25-30, "Allocutions prononcées devant les élèves de l'Ecole Polytechnique et de l'école spéciale militaire," *Revue militaire française*, CVI (May, 1936), 137-42, and "Hier et demain," *Revue militaire générale*, I (Jan., 1937), 25-28.

⁴⁹ Besson testifying at Riom, Mar. 17, 1942, Soupiron, Bazaine, 148-49.

⁵⁰ Rebatet, *Les décombres*, 261-62. Cf. the rather lyrical *Paris-soir* variety of memories of these men which Joseph Kessel sketched in *Témoin parmi les hommes* (Paris, 1956), III, *L'heure des châtiments*, 127-61, which is not quite what the soldiers themselves recalled, e.g., Maurice Fombeure, *Les godillots sont lourds* (Paris, 1948), 113-14.

and activities during the long, wretched winter of 1939-1940?⁵¹ What of the provocative—though in wartime veiled—diatribes of *Gringoire*, *Candide*, and *Je suis partout* among Frenchmen of another social milieu?⁵² What of that deep-seated tradition of pacifism which in the 1930's gained ground with the intelligentsia of the Right (where earlier it had been the preserve chiefly of the Left) and was to lead everywhere to a militant neutralism opposed to the policy of external commitments east or west, expressing itself in literary, political, business, and labor circles, feeding upon the social struggle, driven temporarily underground by the outbreak of war, until it emerged in the dark days as a full-fledged and insistent defeatism?⁵³ So many considerations converged on that ultimate question involved in explaining the fall of France.

And back of it all were things not only military and French. Before that gloomy first day of the war—blue Monday if ever there was one—when Gamelin, deep in his fortress at Vincennes, stood jabbing the map of the western front where he intended to make a sortie (such was the end of the Anglo-French guarantee to Poland), saying to General Sir Edmund Iron-

⁵¹ ". . . Both Reynaud and Mandel now expect Communist uprising and butcheries in the city of Paris and other industrial centers as the German Army draws near." Bullitt to Secretary of State, May 28, 1940, *FR*, 1940, II, 453; Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt," 85. Such fears, of course, proved to be groundless. The fundamental work on this question is the vastly detailed Angelo Rossi, *Les communistes pendant la drôle de guerre* (Paris, 1951). The post-June 22, 1941, party revision and interpretation of its clandestine activities may be seen in Maurice Thorez "autobiography," *Fils du Peuple* (Paris, 1950), 153-69.

⁵² *Gringoire* (Oct. 19, 1939) could get a cartoon past the censor showing Léon Blum ringing a bell in the portico of the Chamber of Deputies, with the caption "La mobilisation de la salive." But *Je suis partout* was not permitted to publish a cartoon depicting Reynaud leading Marianne along, her hand to her head in distress. The caption was, "Where are you taking me, miserable petit Reynaud?"—"Come along! Churchill will tell us!" (It appeared finally, for the record, February 7, 1941.) *Candide* got away with a patently defeatist expression when Alexis Léger was sacked from the Quai d'Orsay, saying this was "an adaptation to circumstances of the foreign policy championed by M. Léger, and of which the least one can say is that it took no account of events after defying common sense." (May 29, 1940.) See the important article of Raoul Girardet, "Notes sur l'esprit d'un fascisme français," *Revue française de science politique*, V (July-Sept., 1955), 529-46.

⁵³ See Thierry Maulnier's essays dating from 1939 and 1941, which he thought good enough, or sufficiently unembarrassing, to reprint as *La France, la guerre et la paix* (Montreal, 1942); Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, *Ne plus attendre: Notes à leur date* (Paris, 1941); and earlier expressions of similar views in Pierre Dominique, *Après Munich. Veux-tu vivre ou mourir?* (Paris, 1938) and Emmanuel Berl, *Frère bourgeois mourez-vous? Ding! Ding! Dong!* (Paris, 1938). Pierre-Étienne Flandin was a leading exponent of accommodation to the post-1936 situation, as he made plain in "interviews." See Raymond Recouly, "Une visite au Président Flandin," *Revue de France*, XVIII (Aug. 1, 1938), 289-96. Many indications of the pacifist current are in Charles Micault, *The French Right and Nazi Germany 1933-1939* (Durham, N. C., 1943) and Henry W. Ehrmann, *French Labor from Popular Front to Liberation* (New York, 1947). Most French businessmen, Ehrmann concluded in another study, "accepted the demise of the republic coming in the wake of defeat with equanimity and sometimes with glee." *Organized Business in France* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 57. All of these pacifist or defeatist currents ran not very far beneath the surface during the war, drawing criticism occasionally and demands for government action against them, e.g., Jacques Madaule, "La France en guerre," *Esprit*, VIII (Feb., 1940), 328.

side, "It's a little test, you see—a little test,"⁵⁴—before that was a tangled French diplomacy and a gradual, unwilling involvement at the side of an ally who was unnervingly unprepared for war. Indeed, official histories did not always quite reveal the extent of that unpreparedness.⁵⁵ The difficult matter of Franco-British relations on the policy and military levels could scarcely be avoided. Without suggesting that the two governments and armies experienced, before June at all events, any greater friction than they had during the First World War, it might still be held that the troubles they ran into before the French request for an armistice were neither small nor without serious consequences for the battle. For they were strange allies, these two peoples: essentially suspicious of each other, perhaps never entirely emotionally convinced by the diplomatic revolution effected in 1904, making the best of it and teetering along in a sentimental mood of music hall jokes and creaking old references to "Mademoiselle from Armentières." As a basis for a war coalition it was a pretty fragile combination. If ever there had been a bloom on the wartime romance of 1914–1918, twenty-five years of varied and sometimes acrimonious relations had largely contrived to take it off. The last grand July 14 *défilé* along the Avenue des Champs Elysées in 1939 had heard shouts of "Ooray" for good old Tommy marching along out of the haze of the glorious and bloody past,⁵⁶ but this public demonstration of mutual fidelity and respect was fated not to last: the storm swept all before it. A few weeks after the Armistice at Compiègne, Pierre Laval told Robert Murphy "off the record" that he "hoped ardently that the English would be defeated." And some months later he remarked to Freeman Matthews, "Well, the British may be fighting your battle; they certainly did not fight ours."⁵⁷ This point of view was at that time, at least, predominant in France.

But long before these bitter confidences of the vice-premier, on the morning of July 6, 1940, the important and sober newspaper *Le temps* let loose a blast that might have seemed to herald the end for the work of Théophile

⁵⁴ Slessor, *Central Blue*, 243.

⁵⁵ Major L. F. Ellis, *The War in France and Flanders, 1939–1940* (London, 1953) and Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II. (T. K. Derry, *The Campaign in Norway* [London, 1952] is admirably frank.) Some of the generals have been less guarded. "What might have happened if the Germans had attacked before the winter [1939–1940] makes one shudder to think," was Brooke's remark (Bryant, *Turn of the Tide*, 66). Cf. Major General Sir John Kennedy, *The Business of War: The War Narrative of . . .* (London, 1957), 1–22. In some ways the Civil Series of the United Kingdom Official History is more revealing on the state of British preparedness. See especially Sir Keith Hancock and M. M. Gowing, *British War Economy* (London, 1949), 11–72, and M. M. Postan, *British War Production* (London, 1952), 1–114.

⁵⁶ "Genet," "Letter from Paris," *New Yorker*, XIV (July 29, 1939), 51. "The French Army looked as magnificent as ever. It never entered our heads that their morale was rotten at the core." Kennedy, *Business of War*, 11.

⁵⁷ Robert Murphy to Secretary of State, July 29, 1940, *FR, 1940*, II, 379, H. Freeman Matthews to Secretary of State, Nov. 14, 1940, *ibid.*, 406.

Delcassé and his ambassadors of forty years before. "For twenty years," ran the editorial, "Great Britain—while aiding German recovery in order to hamper the development of France, which was in any event so small a threat—has always prevented every rapprochement between Paris and Berlin, and every intimacy between our country and Italy."⁵⁸ The date, of course, is essential: July 6. Three days earlier had occurred the lamentable action against the French fleet, principally in order to ensure that it did not one day fall intact into the hands of the Axis powers. The threats, the seizures, and the thousand and more sailors dying and dead in the horrifying holocaust Winston Churchill so questionably ordered as a last resort, and Admiral Sir James Somerville so reluctantly created in the Mediterranean anchorage of Mers-el-Kébir, explained a lot.⁵⁹ But the discontents with Great Britain were older than that.

All this, then, merely suggests that the fall of France poses a problem not only in internal matters, military and civil, political and social (of which nothing can be said here), but in diplomacy and allied warfare also. And if one adds the necessity of taking account of the policies and chance occurrences on the side of the enemy also—for instance, the events flowing out of the fundamental alteration of plan after October, 1939⁶⁰—it becomes evident that simple formulas explaining defeat or lost opportunities for victory will not suffice. More seriously, perhaps, they are misleading. Possibly at this point the haunting title of Marc Bloch's little study may be recalled, the best title anyone has yet chosen: *Strange Defeat*. And there comes to mind also

⁵⁸ *Le temps*, July 6, 1940. Cf. Jacques Bardoux, "La rupture franco-britannique," *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXII (July 15, 1940), 54–63. Some of the wartime difficulties between the two countries have been briefly discussed in John C. Cairns, "Great Britain and the Fall of France: A Study in Allied Disunity," *Journal of Modern History*, XXVII (Dec., 1955), 365–409, and in Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das Ende des Entente Cordiale. Eine Studie zur Entwicklung der englisch-französischen Beziehungen während des Westfeldzuges 1940* (Frankfurt am Main, 1956). See also Hancock and Gowing, *British War Economy*, 179–96, and the reflection of French discontents and suspicions in Bullitt to Secretary of State, November 11, 1939, *FR*, 1939, I, 568; Wright, "Ambassador Bullitt," 76–77.

⁵⁹ On Mers-el-Kébir, see Pierre Varillon, *Mers-el-Kébir* (Paris, 1949); Albert Kammerer, *La passion de la flotte française de Mers el Kébir à Toulon* (Paris, 1951), 145–221; De Belot, *La marine française*, 232–95; Major I.S.O. Playfair, et al., *The Mediterranean and the Middle East* (London, 1954), 131–38; Philip Bell, "Great Britain and the French Fleet June–July 1940," *Aberdeen University Review*, XXXVII (Spring, 1957), 42–56; and Klaus-Jürgen Müller, "Die britischen Aktionen gegen die französische Flotte vom Juli 1940 in Rahmen der britischen Frankreichpolitik," *Marine Rundschau*, LIII (Oct., 1956), 144–55. Pétain attributed the attack to the snap judgment of the British Prime Minister, "who is capable of almost any rash act when drunk as he frequently is." The alcoholic interpretation of British policy evidently reigned in Vichy as it did in Berlin, for François Darlan likewise spoke of that "drunkard Churchill who had crawled to him on his knees during 10 months only to turn on him at Mers-el-Kébir." Murphy to Secretary of State, Dec. 12 and 14, 1940, *FR*, 1940, II, 418–19, 491.

⁶⁰ See Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Fall Gelb. Der Kampf um den deutschen Operationsplan zur Westoffensive 1940* (Wiesbaden, 1957); Louis Koeltz, *Comment s'est joué notre destin: Hitler et l'offensive du 10 mai 1940* (Paris, 1957).

those evocative opening words of that other, very different book, Antoine de Saint Exupéry's *Pilote de guerre*, "Surely I must be dreaming. . . ."⁶¹ Historians, of course, demand more solid fare, and would turn their back on anyone who presented some such explanation as defeat by bewilderment. It will not be put forward here. The war ended, however, not because it was absurd—it was afterward that the nation learned that the war had been *imbécile*—but because for a whole concatenation of reasons it had become impossible. "We did not go on fighting," De Saint Exupéry remarked later, "because the whole army understood instinctively that it was no use."⁶² However vague and partial such a formula as defeat by bewilderment might be, it would at the very least seem superior to defeat by conspiracy, defeat through fatality, defeat at the hands of outraged providence, or merely the unnecessary defeat. As for the absurd defeat and the golden memory of Galliéni's taxicabs in that other war which for twenty years was the cause of pride, fear, and sorrow, comparison of the two seems unprofitable—the product of nostalgia for a lost and comfortable past: a remembrance of happier things past.

So Jean Dutourd, crying *mea culpa* for himself and his generation, who, he insisted, had neither cared nor fought, will stand for that serio-comic view of the war of 1939–1940 which suggested that the levity of 1870 had met its match seventy years later. Probably the spirit of *Tout va très bien, Madame la Marquise* was not the spirit Charles Péguy, leaving for "the last of wars" a quarter century before, had carried with him to his death along that road at the first Battle of the Marne. But was it so simple a matter as spirit in 1914 or in 1940? Surely a great many events and developments of the twenty years between would have had to be suppressed; a great many irremovable elements from the 1914 situation would have had to be transported across the years in order to right the balance of 1940. And that sort of magic was impossible. That is why Clio, aged though she be, is such a wicked old temptress. And the impossibility of such a historical removal, it might be added, was even suggested by one of the last motion pictures to be advertised in Paris as the enemy columns rolled toward the stricken capital lying under a pall of black smoke and as the taxis drove off this time to the southwest. It was called *You Can't Take It with You*.⁶³

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⁶¹ Marc Bloch, *L'étrange défaite* (Paris, 1946; 2d ed., 1957), *Strange Defeat* (London, 1949); Antoine de Saint Exupéry, *Pilote de guerre* (New York, 1942), *Flight to Arras* (New York, 1942).

⁶² Quoted Jan. 4, 1941, by De Roussy de Sales, *Making of Yesterday*, 176.

⁶³ New York *Herald Tribune* (Paris ed.), June 11, 1940.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General

KRITIK DER HISTORISCHEN VERNUNFT. By *Alois Dempf*. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1957. Pp. 319. DM 34.)

BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT: AN ESSAY ON HISTORY. By *Nathan Rotenstreich*. With a foreword by *Martin Buber*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xxix, 329. \$5.00.)

HISTORICAL theory and historical practice usually exist in separate realms. The practicing historian, even though aware of the need for a philosophical inquiry into the nature of his discipline, tends to shy away from the risks and rigors of such a critical study. The philosopher of history, on the other hand, all too often dwells in a realm of abstract generality that is rarely informed by an intimate knowledge of the problem of the workaday historian. A few masters have been equally creative in both realms; among moderns, one thinks at once of Croce and especially of Dilthey. The books of Alois Dempf and Nathan Rotenstreich do not bridge the gulf despite the title of the first, which recalls Dilthey's central hope of writing a critique of historical reason, and despite Martin Buber's assertion in his foreword to Rotenstreich's work that the latter's study helps to fill the need that Dilthey first diagnosed.

Both books seek to perpetuate the renewed critical, metaphysical concern that entered historical thinking around the turn of the century. Both of them are, to some extent at least, epistemological inquiries into historical knowledge, and both are critical of the presuppositions and practices of the prevailing historiographical mode, of historicism. Their dissatisfaction may heighten the uncertainties of the practicing historian, but it will do little to alter current practices.

This is particularly true of Dempf's work, couched as it is in that impenetrable style so exasperatingly familiar to readers of German second-rate metaphysics. Nearly thirty years ago Dempf, a Catholic philosopher-historian, published a study of medieval political thought, *Sacrum Imperium*, which, despite its erudition and its willful originality, was decried even by German historians for its murkiness. His present and even more ambitious effort is marred by the same flaw. His basic premise is "that since we have again the courage to talk of a universally valid organization of the human mind and body, since we again perceive the laws of its structure [*Gestaltgesetze*], it is possible to attempt a critique of historical reason from the vantage point of pure reason, which now is once again recognized." His major concern, however, is not with an epistemological or

critical scrutiny of historical knowledge but with systematically integrating into an eternal body of truth the residues of the successive manifestations of historical reason. Dempf's dense analysis of the different types of reason and of law has an avowedly practical aim: to transcend all the previously prevailing, time-bound philosophical systems and to arrive at eternal norms. A large part of his work consists of an analytical summary of the historical spirit in its successive forms: of philosophic reason in Greece, of believing reason in the Christian era, of scientific understanding in the modern age. Beyond the civilization of modernity lies the coming age of culture, an age in which "the integration of the results of converging [scientific] research" and the reconciliation of science and pure philosophy will yield a universal concept of community. The coming world epoch will be "an age not of time-bound philosophy, but of supratemporal philosophy, of the return of reason and of the eternal law." In some manner Dempf seems to have cast himself in the role of a Kantian investigating the relation of pure reason and historical knowledge; but in his aim and tone, in his search for universal laws, and in his review of the spirit of previous civilizations, his work seems more like an obscure mixture of Saint Thomas and Spengler. The practicing historian's lamentable distrust of philosophy will be strengthened, not dispelled, by this supreme example of pretentious mystification.

Nathan Rotenstreich's *Between Past and Present* is a far more rewarding and important work, and it fully deserves the painstaking reading it requires. The author, a professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, successfully combines "a dialectical inquiry into some basic problems in history with a critical evaluation of some current views." The problems he analyzes are the perennial problems of the historian: the relation in history of object and subject; the relation of the historical process in the past working toward the future and of historical knowledge in the present working toward the past; the questions of objectivity, causality, prediction, historical laws, and the relation between history and social science. Rotenstreich illuminates all these questions by his carefully wrought definition of historical time, which he deems central to an analysis of historical knowledge. His principle strictures are directed against historicism, and his critical elaboration of the philosophical and problematical nature of history demonstrates by contrast the essential poverty of contemporary historical positivism. From the premise "that the essence and the task of historical knowledge are to discover how the past determines the present and what the past is," Rotenstreich is perforce led to stress the search for meaning and causality in history, and to emphasize the rationality inherent in the historical process and in historical reflection. On many of the traditional questions he arrives, rather elaborately to be sure, at common-sense answers: for example, "historical knowledge imposes on itself the provisionality of its perspective," objectivity is not attainable but the historian must strive after it, and he must realize that his work can be judged on the basis of well-determined criteria. He also shows common sense in his insist-

ence that causality is inherent in historical knowledge but that history neither possesses predictive power nor allows for the inference of general laws. But common sense philosophically analyzed and buttressed is of immense value, and Rotenstreich's study is a persuasive reminder that historical theory illuminates the philosophical depths in which the practicing historian carries on his work, often without realizing the precariousness and the promise of his terrain. For as Rotenstreich concludes: "Reflection is the metaphysical and cognitive presupposition of history. It is related to the essence of man and not to the nature of history. . . . Man is historical precisely because he is more than historical."

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. THE COUNTRIES OF DECISION: RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION, by *Warren Bartlett Walsh*; THE NEAR EAST, by *William Yale*; THE FAR EAST, by *Nathaniel Peffer*; LATIN AMERICA, by *J. Fred Rippy*. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 640, xxiii; x, 485, xix; vi, 489, xii; xiii, 579, xx. \$35.00 the set.)

THE announcement of this new history of the modern world, to be completed in fifteen volumes by American and British historians who are recognized authorities in their fields, has already aroused the interest of historians and history teachers. Now that the first four volumes are available it is certain the project will also interest a wide circle of the reading public. Speaking for himself and his collaborators, Professor Nevins states, "We have done our utmost to make this series a beaconlight to all American families who wish to grasp the development of the modern world, and the part we must play in it." Though aimed at the intelligent layman, the volumes may well serve as texts and will certainly find a place on the lists for additional reading in many college history courses.

The need for more up-to-date histories conceived on a global scale, written with authority, and comprehensible to all citizens with adult minds has been manifest since World War II. This new series has been conscientiously planned for a major purpose—the education (and re-education) of the American public in the complex historical movements that shaped and are shaping the contemporary world.

Allan Nevins planned and directed the series during its earlier stages. In the later stages he has had the assistance of Howard M. Ehrmann as coeditor. The University of Michigan Press has made the volumes more than usually attractive in design, type, and format. Each of the four volumes already published is organized as an independent unit and merits an individual evaluation.

The author of *Russia and the Soviet Union*, Warren Bartlett Walsh, has made a contribution that is remarkable for clarity, balance, objectivity, and

modesty. Approximately one-fourth is devoted to the geographic background and the course of Russian history to 1800, one-fourth to the nineteenth century, and one-half to the twentieth century. When he comes to discuss Soviet foreign policy since Munich, Walsh frankly concedes: "So many items are still controversial that all conclusions must be regarded as tentative. . . ." Nowhere, however, does his caution and modesty lead him to withhold his own informed and judicious opinions where these are in order. His familiarity with an enormous body of material is evident from the text, the twelve pages of chapter notes, and the thirty-six pages of suggested readings. These last constitute in reality a select bibliography of more than a thousand titles. This scholarly impedimenta, presented in each of the volumes after the close of the narrative, need not delay or intimidate the casual reader and will be appreciated by the serious student.

William Yale's firsthand knowledge of *The Near East* and its peoples gives his regional study immediacy, charm, and lucidity. His rapid survey of the geography and history of the region from early times to the nineteenth century is admirably clear; his deft and detailed analyses of the cumulative trends of the last 160 years correlates internal events and external pressures with unfailing skill. Half the volume is reserved for developments since 1914. The motives and effects of European imperialism and the American misjudgments that have damaged our prestige throughout the Near East are discussed with instructive candor. Amplified with sixteen maps, thirteen pages of chapter notes, and three pages of suggested readings, this volume is a valuable and informative study on an area undergoing a critical transition.

Professor J. Fred Rippy's awareness of the individuality of the Latin American regions and peoples, the lasting significance (too often minimized) of their constricted development in the colonial period, and the resources and ambitions that are now making them a force in world affairs lend vigor and vision to his eloquent survey. Because of his open-minded approach to the acute problems—ethnic, religious, cultural, political, economic—faced by our southern neighbors, Rippy is particularly well fitted to interpret their aspirations in terms we can comprehend. He has divided his volume into three roughly equal parts: the colonial, the early national, and the recent periods; and he concludes with a penetrating appraisal of "Latin-American Civilization at Mid-Century." In addition to fourteen maps, eighteen pages of notes, and nine pages of suggested readings, he includes seven pages of statistical tables. The style, grace, and perception with which he writes exemplify the aims and standards announced for the series.

Nathaniel Peffer confines his volume very largely to China and Japan since 1800. Of his fifty-two chapters the first two describe the traditional Chinese and Japanese systems; near the close he has three chapters on southeast Asia and Korea. His major theme, "the impact of the new and freshly invigorated West on the old and static East," introduces a motivation and logic that make the march of events appear consistent and almost predictable. "Between 1800 and

1950 there was more change in East Asia than there had been in the previous two thousand years," he observes, and emphasizes the point that the contemporary revolution transforming East Asia is being effected by modern industrialism. His diagnoses and conclusions are vigorously phrased, but the evidence on which he bases them is not always indicated. This volume differs from the others in that it has no chapter notes, no subsection headings within the chapters, and fewer maps. The suggested readings are limited to works available in English.

With eleven more volumes slated for publication by 1961, it would be premature to form more than a tentative judgment now on the value of the series. Some deductions may be drawn, however, from the four volumes in print and the forecast of those to come. The most arresting characteristic of the first four volumes, viewed collectively, is their foreshortening of the time perspective. Half their total space is reserved for the developments since 1900, three-fourths for developments since 1800. Among the volumes in preparation, two deal with the United States, one with Canada, and one with Australia and the southwest Pacific. These considerations suggest that the editors regard modern history, or more correctly modern world history, as very largely, if not exclusively, the history of the past two hundred years.

A second inference may be drawn from the collective caption, "The Countries of Decision," under which the first four volumes are presented. It implies that the Near East, the Far East, Soviet Russia, and Latin America are considered critical areas in which the shape of things to come may be decided. Such a view is in accord with the editors' concern to prepare readers for the world in which they must live. One may surmise that the same concern accounts for the allotment of one whole volume to Canada and one to Australia. Americans now reaching maturity may expect to see these rising commonwealths approach the population and weight in world affairs enjoyed today by France or Italy, which are also allotted one volume apiece.

"The Second World War," Professor Nevins wrote in 1943, "has plainly ended an era and has thrown all preceding events into a new perspective." The attempt, implicit in this new series, to explain contemporary world conditions by their proximate causes rather than their remote historical antecedents, represents a major effort to achieve such a new perspective. Both the published volumes and the general plan transcend the parochialism of national annals and the constricting bonds of an outmoded Europocentric historiography. "The highest function of education," in the words of Cornelis de Kiewiet, "is to make human experience contemporary; that is, to make it available in the life of a man or a nation." If this *History of the Modern World* fulfills the promise of its opening volumes, it should discharge this highest function with commendable success.

Yet all historians, however independent, must make some concessions to "the irrelevance of their traditional vocabulary." As a title "The Near East" is a legacy

of Europocentric thinking. It is, moreover, an indefinite label already largely superseded by another ambiguous phrase, "The Middle East." "The Far East" as a designation for China and Japan is open to similar objections. It consorts oddly with the adjacent area described in a later title as the southwest Pacific, and it obscures the fact that Tokyo lies nearer to our shores than does Baghdad.

For general comparison the *History of the Modern World* may be measured against the *Rise of Modern Europe* series edited by William L. Langer. When both are completed the Nevins and Ehrmann series promises to run a million words longer in text matter. But the really significant differences lie in focus and organization. The Langer series is concentrated on Europe; each of its volumes has its own specific time span to cover; and half the volumes deal with events preceding 1789. In the Nevins and Ehrmann series three-fifths of the volumes are devoted to regions outside Europe; every volume has a different geographical area to cover; and half the space available will apparently be reserved for the twentieth century.

The most disappointing limitation evident in the *History of the Modern World* is that its volumes are apparently to remain fifteen discrete unnumbered units. In the four that have appeared only the similarity of format and two lines facing the title page make it clear that they are related volumes intended to fill a place in a comprehensive set. The average reader wrestling with problems of global history needs all reasonable aids to help him trace parallel developments in disparate regions and correlate contemporaneous events. In the absence of cross references, an editorial introduction briefly explaining the scope, use, and purpose of the series would be a helpful addition for all volumes. If it also included comments on the particular volume concerned, such comments could serve to identify the author by something more than his name, indicate the significance of his contribution, and relate it to its companions in the series.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

DIE WELTGESCHICHTLICHE ERFASSUNG DES ORIENTS BEI HEGEL
UND RANKE. By Ernst Schulin. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958. Pp. x, 325. DM 32.)

FROM Voltaire to Toynbee the place of the Orient in world history has been shaped by shifting tides of Western thought and by alternating waves of expectation and fear aroused in Europe as a response to its own expansion in Asia. In this tradition Hegel and Ranke stand intellectually at the watershed between Enlightened and Romantic admirers of the East and later proponents of Western superiority and militant racism.

Schulin's analysis of Hegel's position is grounded on the Oriental section

in the *Philosophy of History* and buttressed with additional materials from his other major writings and the lecture notes of his students. By carefully fitting together these diverse materials, the author shows how Hegel's concept of a unitary Orient developed in relation to the totality of his thought. The Oriental world, which geographically includes everything from China to Egypt, has as its inherent and distinctive principle what Hegel calls a substantial morality. This is a morality prescribed by law or tradition, but which is unconfirmed by subjective, individual wills. History begins with the theocratic despotism of the Chinese and Mongols, societies in which the individual has no freedom. Though Hegel intentionally foreshortened history by abstraction, he nevertheless incorporated profuse detail on China and India gathered from contemporary Western anthropological, philological, and religious literature.

In India, where there is no single political power, the individual's freedom is limited by a theocratic aristocracy. Like China, India is a closed society and outside of the main stream of world history. Yet Hegel allots more space to India than to any other Oriental state. More than any other previous world historian, he is moved to try for a reconciliation of the philologists' descriptions of India's high culture of the past with the derogatory portrayals of contemporary English detractors. Such descriptions of a chaotic Orient gave Hegel his basis for denying the Far East a place in the inner dynamics of world history. He historicized China and India as static societies in which the present is concomitant with the past.

Ranke, in the preface to his *World History*, pronounces as "unhistorical" Hegel's method of postulating the eternal stagnation of the Orient. The father of empirical history, who himself posited in 1824 the unity and world historical paramountcy of the Latin and Germanic peoples, excludes the entire Far East from history by dismissing native documents on antiquity and chronology as being either secondary or unreliable. He therefore paid almost no heed to the materials being produced on the Orient by writers in related fields. But Schulin shows how Ranke, despite his denunciation of historical presentism, is moved through his sympathy for the Serbian nationalist movement to adopt a forthright belligerency toward Turkey and Islam. Like Bossuet, Ranke centers his attention on the world historical importance of the monotheistic concept as it developed in the Near East and through the Hebrew nation. Schulin's story of the Orient's decline in Western world history concludes with a short observation on Burckhardt, who so prized the classical and medieval traditions of the West and so feared that its limpid stream might be sullied by alien infiltrations that he completely excluded China from his lectures and ended by denouncing Islam as "the victory of triviality."

Schulin's book is a distinguished pioneering effort in a difficult field. It is marred slightly by overorganization, repetition, and too little concern for appropriate secondary materials. And one looks in vain for references to Hegel's influence upon Marx's conception of Asia. Still, this work contributes significantly

to the available literature on nineteenth-century historiography and to the growing list of studies dealing with the impact of Asia on Western thought.

University of Chicago

DONALD F. LACH

THE COURSE OF MODERN JEWISH HISTORY. By *Howard M. Sachar*.
(Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. 617. \$6.00.)

HOWARD Sachar, at the beginning of his professional career, has done what the late Ismar Elbogen of Berlin did at the end of a life of learning and scholarship: he has written and published the history of the Jewish people since 1789. Elbogen's work, written in the classic manner of Ranke and Graetz, is a description of the facts and of their historical interrelations. Mr. Sachar, as a student of the modern schools of historiography, is concerned with sociology, anthropology, and the insights of Freud, Jung, Riesman, and others. It appears to this reviewer that Sachar has dealt fully with all these possible ramifications of cause and effect; it is to be regretted that he did not give equal weight to the economic interpretation of historical data and the consideration of the applied arts. Because of the nature of the subject, however, these latter limitations do not detract from the book's general value.

The nineteenth century is one of the great watersheds in Jewish history and Jewish life. Emancipation, both physical and intellectual, is accomplished and the Jew, the individual, enters modern society. He contributes greatly and fruitfully to all phases of modern life, politics, literature, the arts, economic development, philosophic thought, and jurisprudence. Among the Jews making contributions were Disraeli, Blum, Heine, Kafka, Reinhardt, the Rothschilds, Marx, Bergson, Buber, Rosenzweig, Cardozo, Brandeis, and those great Jewish pathfinders in science and medicine, Hertz, Freud, Einstein, Semmelweiss, Ehrlich, Waxman, and Salk.

Nevertheless, this experiment of individual emancipation was doomed to failure because it meant the ultimate elimination of Judaism and the complete submergence of the Jew in the Christian European civilization. This was the one solution of the Jewish question desired by neither the Jewish group nor the non-Jewish majority in most countries. The twentieth century, with its emphasis upon integral nationalism and on the possibility of cultural pluralism, brought to Jews both the great catastrophe in Eastern Europe and Hitler's holocaust as well as the re-creation of Israel and the fulfillment of the American promise. Sachar effectively presents the emergence of this situation and the formation of the contemporary scene. He has a good command of English: narrative and analysis flow easily and smoothly. He always sees the specifically Jewish against the background and in the setting of general history.

The last hundred and fifty pages describe the developments of the immediate past, World War II, the new Israel, and the American community of the mid-

century. We are still too close to these events to see them in their proper perspective and relevance, and thus by necessity Sachar's work becomes chronicle and biography. This reader would have wished the book were published without this addendum, which, though important, does not increase its permanent value.

At times the author of this valuable Jewish history seems to overlook that such a work should serve both the Jewish and the general reader. He assumes a degree of acquaintance with Jewish lore and history that most readers do not have. These criticisms are minor; Sachar has done a good job and the profession may expect much from this young historian.

University of Judaism

FRANK ROSENTHAL

STALIN'S FAILURE IN CHINA, 1924-1927. By *Conrad Brandt*. [Russian Research Center Studies, Number 31.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 226. \$4.75.)

THE period of the first united front between the Nationalists and Communists in China (1924-1927) involved almost impossibly complex forces and relationships in a politically fragmented country, some of them simply without pattern or organization. Many of the accounts already published have been motivated by self-justification on the part of Stalinists, Trotskyites, disillusioned Comintern agents, Chinese Nationalists, and ousted Communists. Many of the actions in China were uncoordinated, unforeseen, and contradictory, and frequently the documents are sufficiently vague that it has been possible to build all sorts of convincing interpretations of these years.

Conrad Brandt, a research fellow of the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard, has surveyed the voluminous literature dealing with this period, interviewed some of the key figures involved, and utilized special collections and private papers. In addition, he has brought to bear upon the task an ability to handle Chinese, Japanese, and Russian as well as usual Western language sources. He has produced a short volume of six highly digested chapters analyzing Moscow's relation to developments in China during the period of the United Front. After an introductory chapter dealing with the theoretical bases for Communist alliance with nationalism in China, Brandt devotes four key chapters to showing the problems and divisions caused by the alliance within both Nationalist and Communist parties. He is at his best in showing how Stalin overestimated his ability to control either the centrist or leftist leaders of the Kuomintang and how doctrine had to be twisted to explain Stalin's failures. Because the book presumes an intimate familiarity with the details of this period in China as well as an awareness of the former interpretations—such as those of Harold Isaacs, M. N. Roy, T'ang Leang-li, Chiang Kai-shek, and Stalin himself—it is likely to prove hard going for the average reader. It is, however, most interesting fare for the student of modern Chinese history.

Brandt shows how various regimes and leaders in China and the USSR have rewritten the history of this period for later political purposes. His major thesis is that Stalin revealed bull-headed stupidity in assuming that he knew the forces operative in China and could call the turn there. (Brandt does not bring out Stalin's failure to understand class and property relations in China.) He demonstrates the inaccuracy of later interpretations that give Stalin credit for a grand Communist strategy in China. But Brandt also indicates that Trotsky and his supporters, who first attacked the myth of the all-sapient Stalin on the China question, were no more prescient or accurate. He shows Sun Yat-sen not nearly so naïve about the Communists as his critics have asserted, exposes the duplicity of the United Front tactics of the Comintern, and adds new details on aspects of its activities in China in this crowded period.

Brandt himself presents a view of "Maoism" that this reviewer feels is open to serious question. He shows Mao as an archopportunist at the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1923, but he maintains that in a report on the peasant movement in Hunan in 1927 Mao was a consistent heretic in maintaining that the "peasantry could take the place of the working class in the van of a 'proletarian' movement," something Mao did not say at all. This involves an acceptance of the interpretation that Mao gave later to Edgar Snow. Brandt does not point out Mao's addition of the phrase "under the leadership of the Communist Party" in key places in later editions of this work; he does not take adequate note that Mao was talking only about revolution "in the countryside"; nor does he deal with the second part of the Hunan report and the failure of the whole report to treat the crucial question of land confiscation or nationalization. He reports that on May 18, 1925, Stalin hailed a strike wave in progress in Shanghai almost two weeks before it reached its climax of May 30 and at a later date he notes communications functioning between Moscow and China on an almost hourly basis; yet he supports "Maoism" by asserting that Mao, in Shanghai, "could scarcely have seen, let alone studied" the theses of the Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in the space of a fortnight. Such items indicate the extent to which, even after exhaustive study, this period allows wide latitude in interpretation. This is not to say that within the framework he has set for himself Brandt's work is not a contribution—it is! He has researched extensively and uncovered much that is new and valuable.

University of South Carolina

RICHARD L. WALKER

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, 1936-1939. By F. Jay Taylor. (New York: Bookman Associates-Twayne Publishers. 1956. Pp. 288. \$5.00.)

OF all the international problems that mounted from crisis to crisis during the troubled decade of the 1930's, few still remain as controversial, as emotionally

intense, or as obstinate as the question of the policy of the Western democracies toward the Spanish Civil War. At the time many on both sides of the Atlantic considered the struggle to be far more than a domestic affair and saw large issues involved, ideological and international. In the intervening years, with the wisdom of hindsight added, many more people have lamented the official conduct of the democratic governments as in essence appeasement of the totalitarian powers and thus directly contributory to World War II. The universal desire in the West to avoid war and its expression as isolationism in the United States exerted strong pressures on the governments. Religious and ideological factors bred controversy and obscurity in the public opinion of the democracies.

The great merit of this study is that it examines objectively the nature of American opinion during the war and the political factors that influenced the Roosevelt administration in its formulation of policy. It penetrates the flood of propaganda and presents a careful, thorough, well-documented analysis of the impact of the Spanish conflict on the United States. Succinctly and clearly Professor Taylor relates our neutrality legislation and arms embargo to our denial in practice of the right of the Spanish Republic as a recognized government to buy arms to defend itself against an internal revolution. Today it is hard to remember why we failed to be convinced of the nature of this challenge to collective security from 1936 on, when we had clearly in view the farce of the Nonintervention Committee and the callous flouting of neutrality by Hitler and Mussolini. The author shows the reason for both political and popular acceptance of our continuing embargo and our official attitudes.

Probably the most persistent of the controversies over this civil war is that of its ideological components. In this vexed field the author has made a solid contribution in his treatment of the Catholic position in the United States and the charge of Communist control of the Spanish Republic. His treatment is balanced and judicious and, although one might argue on minor points, he again cuts through the old prejudices and propaganda stereotypes to give a scholarly interpretation and an objective view. Notably in his chapters entitled "The Great Debate" and "A Holy War" he makes a contribution to historical clarity and accounts for the gradual change in American opinion as the Loyalists came to stand out more clearly as republicans rather than communists and as fascist aid became more open and more blatant. The presentation of the Spanish background is a good summary, though the strength of the moderate parties in the Popular Front in 1936 should be indicated more clearly. Also the planes shipped by France at the outbreak of the revolt, it should be noted, had been ordered (and paid for) before the rising of the generals. But on the whole this book by its excellent study of American attitudes goes a long way to answer the question of why the democracies lost this round to the dictators.

Amherst College

E. DWIGHT SALMON

Ancient and Medieval History

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume IV, LA FONDAZIONE DELL'IMPERO.

Part 2, VITA E PENSIERO NELL'ETÀ DELLE GRANDI CONQUISTE.

Tome II. By *Gaetano de Sanctis*. [Il Pensiero Storico, 38, VII.] (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice. 1957. Pp. viii, 125.)

THIS little fascicle of 125 pages probably represents the final contribution from the pen of the great Italian historian, Gaetano de Sanctis. It continues his survey of Roman life and thought in the age of the great conquests (see *AHR*, LX [July, 1955], 867), and under the title "Dal diritto quiritario al diritto pretorio" presents a valuable summary of the development of the private law to the period of the Gracchi. The public law, which is treated elsewhere, and, to a great extent, the criminal law are excluded from this discussion. As we should expect, the five sections on procedure, the family, the will, ownership, and obligations present abundant evidence of the author's wide and precise knowledge of both the theories on the development of the law and the details, both substantive and procedural, of the law itself. But the emphasis is on the historical development in an age when new conditions created by the great conquests, vastly increased and disparate holdings of wealth, a more developed social order, more humane feeling, and a great increase in contact with foreigners and foreign systems continually raised new problems and fresh needs. In each of the sections the author traces concretely how, within the bounds of the traditionalism, consecutiveness, and formalism, characteristic alike of the Roman law and of the Roman mind, new methods were found to meet, with a minimum of legislative action, the challenge of new times. He discovers in the growth of the law an inner dynamism that was lacking in the not unrelated field of the native religion. Thus the aristocratic leadership that created the empire also laid the foundations of the Roman classical law.

In essence these needs were met by supplementing and correcting the rigid forms of the *legis actiones* through the development of the *ius honorarium*, in effect the making of new law through the growth in the hands of the magistrate with *imperium*, and in particular the *praetor*, of the formulary procedures. In family law practical ways were found of lessening the strict application of the *patria potestas* to sons, and marriages with *manus* became few. The strict application of the law of inheritance was eased to allow succession outside the lines of the ancient formulae, even to admit emancipated sons, to invalidate an *inofficium testamentum*, and, under the *Lex Voconia*, to protect the inheritance of the *heres*. No less important and pervasive were the procedures that were needed in these times to protect the ownership and possession of property that had not been acquired by Quiritary right, and those that made the law of obligations more equitable and flexible through the practical abolition of the *nexum*, the rise of more varied and simpler formulae, the growing use of the *syngrapha*, and acceptance of the doctrine of *bona fides*.

The questions relating to origins may raise more dispute. For the author the family was not the basis of the law of the Roman state, and the absolute *patria potestas* was a secondary development. The minor position of the *gentiles* in the line of intestate succession refutes the view that a union of *gentes* was fundamental for the evolution of the Roman state and the Roman law. The distinction between *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* was not related to that between real and movable property nor to the value of the objects concerned, but referred to that between rustic property in land, and the things connected with it that were important in a primitive rural economy, and other property of less concern in early times. These conceptions, he maintains, have nothing to do with collective ownership or a primitive family sovereignty. The strength of the work lies in its clear presentation of the transitional developments of the third and second centuries before Christ and in the author's position that the nature of these developments resulted concretely from the mentality of the Roman governing class and the social and economic conditions of the time. His sense of historical reality remained vigorous to the end.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

LA CIVILISATION MÉROVINGIENNE D'APRÈS LES SÉPULTURES,
LES TEXTES ET LE LABORATOIRE. Volume III, LES TECHNIQUES.
By Édouard Salin. (Paris: A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1957. Pp. 311. 2,500 fr.)

In his two earlier volumes (I, *Les idées et les faits*; II, *Les sépultures*; the fourth will be *Les croyances*) Salin has contributed greatly to our archaeological knowledge of Gaul between Clovis and Charles Martel. But since medievalists are accustomed to the testimony of graves and texts, this third installment, which emphasizes laboratory analysis of metals, will provide even greater interest, not only because of its results but because of its relative methodological novelty in the historical field. Microscopic photography of the structure of metals and chemical and spectroscopic investigation add new categories of data for our consideration.

That such metallurgical evidence may be important even for the broadest historical problems is indicated by Salin's conclusion that the Germans were better armed than the legions of Rome, despite the fact that Celtic blacksmiths in Roman Noricum were forging excellent laminated longswords for export northward. The failure of the Romans, until too late, to grasp—literally—the technical superiority of the new weapons available to them and currently used by some of their barbarian auxiliaries, may have been the decisive blunder of the declining empire. As Salin shows, the armament of the Merovingian period is purely Germanic: the Roman equipment could not stand the competition.

Perhaps in reaction against the habit of modern German scholars to assume that all innovation is Teutonic, Salin seems determined that in metallurgy the credit shall go to the Celts. The evidence, some of which he neglects, will not yet

permit so definite a judgment. B. P. Lozinski has recently noted in *Speculum* (XXXIII [July, 1958], 420) that the Gothic word for "sword," *meki*, is derived from a Slavonic tongue. It was therefore presumably picked up from superior swordmakers during that tribe's sojourn in the Black Sea region during the third and fourth centuries. And C. S. Smith of the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Metals indicates in *Endeavour* (XVI [Oct., 1957], 200) that in nineteenth-century Tibet swords were being produced essentially on the Merovingian pattern of forging. Until advanced techniques of analysis are applied to archaeological materials from all Eurasia, we must be cautious in awarding medals for the invention of the improved armament. Whatever the origins of the misnamed "damascened" longsword, the Germans made it their own, and in the period of the eighth to the ninth century, as Salin shows, Siegen and Solingen were manufacturing them in vast numbers by factory methods (developed in the seventh century to turn out great quantities of cheap jewelry) for sale in the Orient, where they were highly prized.

The book is rich in information entirely new. The skill of Merovingian metallurgists in controlling the zinc content of their brasses within a very narrow range confirms one's suspicion that Gregory of Tours's dismal record of the Frankish court does not provide the sole possible verdict on that age. Moreover, Salin's discussion of the ballistics of the *francisca*, which, since it was both a throwing-axe and one used for chopping, arrived at the perfect compromise between two functional forms, is a revelation of ingenuity.

University of California, Los Angeles

LYNN WHITE, JR.

CHURCH, KINGSHIP, AND LAY INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND, 1089-1135. By Norman F. Cantor. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume 10.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 349. \$6.00.)

It is stimulating to have the investiture controversy presented as in many ways like other world revolutions that have since then shaped the West's destiny. Here is a painstaking study of what happened in England that casts welcome light on the investiture controversy's Europe-wide stages. Mr. Cantor's thorough coverage of the sources has produced a vivid and at the same time an intelligible story, central in which are the personality of Anselm and the practical necessities that impelled Henry I, unlike his predecessors, to make concessions to the Gregorian reformers.

It seems plain in the context of this story, with the help in particular of a satisfying piece of iconographical argument, that Henry I's concessions in 1100 included with his coronation charter a change of coronation ceremony, from the Anglo-Saxon to the more "Roman" ceremony that certainly was used thereafter in England. What may deserve simultaneous emphasis is how relatively little change this meant, since the earlier ceremony spoke of the king as *ab episcopis et*

a *plebe electus*, and the new ceremony continued the anointing with chrism and the conferring of ring and rod.

For related reasons Cantor seems justified in playing down somewhat the importance at the time of the anonymous "York Tractates," most of which were anti-Gregorians. But his marshaling of evidence to show afresh that their author was probably Archbishop Gerard of York is full of interesting points and on the whole persuasive, even though unconvincing on the intricate matter of the textual agreements with the Robert manuscript then located at Rouen. In developing the Gerard hypothesis and throughout the book generally, Cantor's presentation gains strength from its able integration of evidence on the ideological currents with political narrative worked up from chroniclers and documents.

The firmness and clarity with which Cantor argues each case he takes up adds plainly to the value of his work. A notable example is his demonstration that the canonist Ivo of Chartres held views on lay investiture quite different from those of the English compromise of 1107, so that Ivo no longer deserves to be considered the latter's intellectual father. The principle behind the compromise had instead developed in the practice of the English *Curia Regis*. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Henry I won out in actual fact, and that the effort of Anselm and Paschal II to overthrow the church-state system erected by William the Conqueror and Lanfranc proved by 1135 a failure—except that the monarchy had had to relinquish its claim to sacred authority and develop instead along secular and professional lines.

Carnegie Institute of Technology

PAUL L. WARD

THE SCHOLASTIC ANALYSIS OF USURY. By John T. Noonan, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 432. \$9.00.)

THE author does not wait long to reveal his bias. This is plain for all to see in his preliminary survey of the teachings of the theologians and jurists of the High and Later Middle Ages, 1150–1450. Intent on uncovering anticipations of revisionist views, he labors every turn of phrase which might conceivably be put into play to prove the readiness of the founding fathers of scholasticism to justify pure interest on a loan.

Mr. Noonan comes into his own when he approaches Conrad Summenhart (1462–1511) and his successors in the Tübingen school. In Noonan's pages the revolution launched by Conrad in the understanding of the problem of usury is no less than Copernican. To see how much more latitude Noonan exhibits than even the most laissez faire writer of the past, one has only to compare his account of the controversy over the triple contract with that of W. J. (repeatedly called William E.) Ashley and Father James Brodrick (here rebaptized "Broderick").

In Part II of the book, when Noonan takes leave of the Middle Ages, he is in his native element. Indeed, his summaries of the teachings of the trio of

great Jesuit masters—Molina, Lessius, and De Lugo—represent something of an advance over previous writings. These pages, however, are also marred at every turn by his unconcealed and apparently irreconcilable aversion to those who allowed the pure gold of analysis to be debased by the admixture of irrelevant considerations of tradition, piety, or Christian charity. He is deaf to Bossuet's pleas against the Calvinist "transvaluation of values."

Noonan's account of the development of the post-Tridentine period dare not be read without continuous reference to the original sources and major modern studies, notably A. M. Knoll, J. Höffner, and some pages by the undersigned. Noonan notwithstanding, it is simply not the case that Molina, Lessius, and De Lugo represented the unequivocal voice of the Church Universal, however much in retrospect they may now appear to have been the "wave of the future." It was more than feeble-minded anxieties that kept traditionalists like Ballerini and Concina from scrapping the medieval teachings. Rome itself sought with all the resources at its command to restrain the revisionist excesses of the transalpine Jesuits.

It was all to no avail. The axis of trade and power had shifted. Might and main were no longer on Rome's side. The dominant theologians of the lands beyond the Alps were entranced by probabilist dialects. Bulls and encyclical letters not to their liking were brushed aside as "not having been received" or having been "insufficiently promulgated." Noonan's neglect to perceive or mention the crisis of the Church over the very foundations of moral theology and its special agony over the problem of usury disfigures all of Part II.

It is obvious that the Roman Church has never felt free to adopt the insouciant tones of Noonan; the Bulls of Pius V, Sixtus V, the ambiguous *Vix pervenit* (1745) of Benedict XIV, and the succession of cryptic decrees of the Apostolic Penitentiary early in the nineteenth century speak a language remote from his. To this day the Church has not dared to assert the propositions that Noonan so blithely assumes. The undersigned cannot conceive that the magisterium will ever clearly countenance so complete a departure from its historic position as Noonan here so blandly imputes to it.

Hofstra College

BENJAMIN N. NELSON

Modern European History

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume II, THE REFORMATION, 1520-1559. Edited by G. R. Elton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 685. \$7.50.)

THE second volume of *The New Cambridge Modern History* is evidence of the fact that multiple authorship can serve a useful purpose when a work is thoughtfully planned and well written by recognized authorities in their respec-

tive fields. G. R. Elton, the editor as well as the author of two of the chapters of *The Reformation, 1520-1559*, provides us with an introduction in which he prepares the background for all the topics discussed and draws these together into a logical coherence not always evinced in volumes of this kind. For him the word "Reformation" refers to a significant and self-contained period of history marked primarily by the disruption of Western Christendom, the rise of religious diversity, growing territorial control over the churches, increasing secularization, and the ascendancy of Europe in world affairs. Although he wonders whether economic, social, and cultural factors merit primacy in the study of history, he recognizes their importance as aids to understanding the past. Because he believes that the intellectual leaders of the Reformation looked backward rather than forward, he thinks it idle to consider the Reformation as the beginning of modern history, itself an "uncertain term."

The decline of interest in predominantly political history since the publication of the second volume of the first *Cambridge Modern History* about fifty years ago is reflected in the organization of this new one. Nearly one-half of the twenty chapters, written by eighteen different authors, are new and a number of these are treated topically rather than along national lines. The volume begins with a chapter on the economic changes in agriculture, trade, and industry, written by Friedrich Lütge of the University of Munich and S. T. Bindoff of the University of London. It is gratifying to note that on the whole the great quantities of new materials uncovered by recent research have been incorporated in the chapter. Yet some historians will regret that neither here nor elsewhere is there a discussion of the whole question of business ethics raised by Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, and R. H. Tawney. The word "usury" appears only once and then only incidentally.

The religious history of the period receives a fair proportion of the 614 pages of text and constitutes the best part of the book. E. G. Rupp's twenty-five pages on Luther's life and career to 1529 is a brilliant summary embodying the most important contributions made by Luther scholars during the past half century. His history of the Reformation in Switzerland and southern Germany includes a solid section on the movement in Strasburg, an account too frequently missing in histories of the period. Ernest A. Payne's section on the Anabaptists in the same chapter shows the results of the great amount of research done by European and American scholars in presenting an unprejudiced story of the entire left-wing movement of the period. A fresh treatment of the Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic by N. K. Andersen is followed by a chapter on "The Reformation in Difficulties" in which Ernst Bizer carries the Reformation in Germany down to 1555, R. R. Betts provides a new topical account of the religious history of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia, and F. C. Spooner covers the history of French Protestantism to the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis in 1559. The treatments of the Reformation in Germany, France, and England are along conventional lines, as

is a chapter on the new religious orders. The most original interpretation is the chapter on "Italy and the Papacy" by Delio Cantimori. It not only provides a fresh look at the religious currents within Italian Catholicism but also opens up fruitful areas for further research.

Although the political accounts are not as detailed as those in the first edition, they include a number of new chapters that reflect our increasing interests in Russia, Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and the expansion of Europe. The constitutional development and the political thought of Western and Eastern Europe receive excellent treatment in two chapters. A solid chapter on "Armies, Navies, and the Art of War" by J. R. Hale supplements his excellent essay on international relations in the volume on the Renaissance.

The intellectual and cultural history of Europe is presented under three headings in two chapters, "Literature: the Printed Book," "Science," and "Schools and Universities," treatments that contain much useful information. It is surprising, however, that Erasmus receives only occasional and incidental mention, despite the fact that his contributions were scarcely touched upon in the volume on the Renaissance. Moreover, many will find it difficult to agree with the editor that "an age whose most distinctive output consists of Protestant hymns is not primarily one of artistic distinction." Since the important developments in music in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries had not been discussed in the previous volume, they should have been included in this one.

Because of the mounting costs of printing, one should not be too critical of the absence of well-placed maps. There seems to be no good reason, however, for the absence of brief annotated bibliographies containing the most significant recent literature on each topic. Despite this omission, the volume undoubtedly will serve widely as a work of reference as well as a thoughtful narrative account of the Reformation.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

A HISTORY OF MAGIC AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE. Volumes VII and VIII, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Lynn Thorndike*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 695; viii, 808. \$10.00; \$10.00.)

WITH these two compendious volumes Professor Lynn Thorndike has brought to a close the massive survey of magic and science at which he had been at work during the greater part of his distinguished career. It is a monument to his scholarly perseverance, a formidable achievement; and few men can have pursued more unwaveringly a more tantalizing theme. When the first volume of his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* appeared in 1923, covering the period from Pliny the Elder to the end of the thirteenth century, Thorndike had already been exploring the subject for twenty years. Twenty more years, or nearly that, and five more substantial green-bound tomes, were required to bring the story

to the end of the sixteenth century. Now with these two concluding volumes, covering the great formative century of our modern science, Whitehead's "century of genius," Thorndike has reached the final proving ground of his fundamental thesis.

This thesis can be best stated in his own words: that "magic and experimental science have been connected in their development; that magicians were perhaps the first to experiment; and that the history of both magic and experimental science can be better understood by studying them together." By "magic" Thorndike does not mean Sir James Frazer's operative art, but a set of ideals, a way of looking at the world, a learned magic that includes all varieties of occultism, superstition, and systematized human credulity; astrology was its most refined and sophisticated manifestation. Thorndike's term "experimental science" is equally elastic and seems to include almost any inquiry into the natural world that is distinguishable from "occult science" and is based to some degree upon reason, observation, and experience.

It is hardly surprising that one can easily find connections, overlappings, and penetrations between these two spheres, more especially during the centuries between Pliny and Kepler when the study of nature and magic as Thorndike defines it were often, if by no means invariably and inextricably, intertwined.

From Pliny's time magical thinking, according to the Thorndike view, presided over and nurtured man's early exploration of nature; tuned his mind to certain regularities in the behavior of natural things; and led him to a probing of natural phenomena by the method of direct intervention and experiment, as in alchemy. It was a sort of chrysalis which could be, and eventually was, cast off in the fullness of time. But at the very beginning of his inquiry, it should be pointed out, Thorndike loaded the dice very heavily in favor of his thesis by accepting two very questionable viewpoints: he dismissed the rationalistic and mathematical accomplishment of the Greeks in science, especially during the Hellenistic Age; and he refused to admit that the centuries of Roman domination, especially in the West, brought a precipitate decline in genuine scientific activity. He therefore did not perceive that the magic and occultism that pervaded the Roman world might well have been a characteristic symptom of scientific decline and decadence.

It is not, I hope, unfair to Thorndike thus to review his thesis in the light of what he wrote nearly forty years ago, for I cannot find that he has altered it in any fundamental respect. He has merely carried the story of the interlocking development of science and magic to its final dramatic episode, yet, it seems to me, without in any way accounting for the emergence of a rationalistic science and its emancipation from the thrall of the magical world view.

It was surely not Thorndike's intention to give a measured account of the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century, and it would be regrettable if such were taken to be the case. He is far more interested in, and gives vastly

more space to, the prevalent if fast-fading occultism and credulity of the seventeenth century than to science and to the accomplishments of those men of genius who struggled to extricate themselves from the mire of the magical tradition. He gives no balanced picture, and he clearly expects the reader to go elsewhere to see in the round such great figures as Galileo, Harvey, Boyle, Huygens, and Newton. If he treats these men at considerable length, it is chiefly to argue that they too did not wholly escape the all-pervasive influences of their age. Yet even when this is said, his account of seventeenth-century science could be extremely misleading to the unwary. Considering the encyclopedic character of this work, there are some startling omissions: Leibniz is barely mentioned; the few lines devoted to Malpighi refer to his work on plants but not to his discovery of the capillaries. While Athanasius Kircher gets half a chapter and many other references, two lines only are given to Pascal. These are not trivial oversights. Yet perhaps the most serious gap is the absence of any suggestion that the mathematical developments of the century—the work of Vieta, Cavalieri, Fermat, Wallis, and others—may have had something to do with the emergence of a new physical science. As in his previous volumes, Thorndike displays little interest in the role that mathematics, logical analysis, philosophic criticism, and the technical tradition may have played in the growth of science. Yet it is precisely here that one might look to learn why occultism vanished from science by the end of this century, to find a haven among the cranks and charlatans.

It was part of Thorndike's aim to show, as other scholars have done in narrower compass, just how this magical mode of thought left here or there a fruitful residue in the theories and beliefs of some of these pioneer scientists. In the cases of Kepler and even Harvey the author has little difficulty in making his point, and his chapter on Francis Bacon is certainly very suggestive. But some of his other accounts verge on caricature. Robert Boyle ought not be judged by the numerous examples of innocent credulity Thorndike has collected from the English scientist's voluminous writings. Likewise, Newton's fascination with chemistry and alchemy scarcely warrants an uncritical acceptance of Lord Keynes's overdrawn portrait of him as the "last of the magicians." Indeed, Thorndike finds himself in real difficulty when trying to show magical traits in such tough-minded worthies as Galileo and Huygens and Newton himself. He is here forced to the odd expedient of citing errors (such as Galileo's theory of the tides which, ironically enough, involved a rejection of the theory of lunar influences), pardonable failures to anticipate later discoveries, evidences of a penchant for secrecy (e.g., in the practice of using anagrams to record yet conceal scientific discoveries), and a tendency to personify nature. The fact that writers like Galileo and Newton personified nature and referred to her "marvels" and "wonders" is further evidence to Thorndike that science had not freed itself from the magical habit of thought. Yet this personification and this expressed wonderment was in part mere rhetoric, mere metaphor, as it is today. It will be a sad day when

scientists lose their sense of wonder and mystery at nature's contrivances, the order of the universe, and what Walter B. Cannon called the "wisdom of the body." There is, as Sir Charles Sherrington wrote in a well-known book, a profound difference between the real mysteries of nature and those that in fact are not there; and this eminent modern physiologist added a sentence that readers of Thorndike could well ponder: "The mystery of Nature needs no superstition."

Fortunately the value of these two profoundly learned volumes does not rest on what Thorndike says about seventeenth-century science *proprement dite*. It is irrelevant, too, that his fundamental thesis contributes little or nothing to our understanding of the emerging modern mathematico-experimental science. For he has provided an exhaustive and indispensable work of reference to the seamy, and perhaps more characteristic, side of the century of genius. He has corrected, possibly overcorrected, our vision of a century we have been so prone to praise as an age of reason; he has exposed a vast underworld of superstition, flushed forth a mighty army of forgotten eccentrics, and, by the sheer weight of his citations from long-neglected books, has shown the extent to which magical ideas, conservatism, and gullibility flourished in respectable quarters. The century of genius was also, and perhaps more typically, the century of its Rosy Cross and of M. d'Astarac.

Against this background the achievement of the great seventeenth-century scientists appears all the more remarkable. How did they decide what to believe? A reading of this extraordinary record of human confusion throws into sharp relief how important it had become to establish canons of choice and judgment, ways of distinguishing the true from the fabulous, of knowing what to accept and what to reject. In the light of Thorndike's work the birth of critical philosophy, the developments in mathematics, and the seventeenth-century preoccupation with methodology should take on an even greater importance for the historian of scientific thought.

Cornell University

HENRY GUERLAC

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume III, FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, C. 1500-C. 1750. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams*. Assisted by *Y. Peel and J. R. Petty*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvii, 766, 32 plates. \$26.90, £8 8s.)

By the time this five-volume enterprise is concluded, we shall have what was badly needed, something of a modern equivalent to Pliny. In the preface to Volume II the editors expected to provide "a moderately comprehensive survey." With the present volume that hope faces its first serious challenge. The material is organized only on a first level, and cries out for an ampler and more methodic treatment. But could this be provided today, even by making the opus ten times

as big? The main difficulty is that we simply do not have, from the Renaissance to the present, the provision of monographic studies that will allow for adequate treatment. Thus excellent pieces may be rendered obsolete even before publication, as happened to Professor Usher's careful article on "Machines and Mechanisms," a whole section of which is invalidated by the recent appearance of Robert S. Woodbury's *History of the Gear-Cutting Machine*. The true form of such an enterprise, at the present state of the art, would probably have been a *Reallexikon*, preceded by many years of preparation. With a work conceived on the present plan we are not out of the woods. We cannot find, in fact, our way among the trees, although an excellent synthetic sketch is attempted in the epilogue by A. R. Hall, who is among the best specialists of the younger generation.

It occurred to us to check for a couple of important devices that were born in the seventeenth century; one was the thermal engine, and the other the digital computer. True enough, under the name of Papin we find the pressure cooker and the vacuum pump, but not a word concerning his famous steam engine, which marks a date in more ways than one since it occasioned the first insurrection of labor against mechanized innovation. Hence there is not a word about Papin's important correspondence with Huygens, who gave him the idea, nor, of course, any mention of Huygens' previous experiments with a gunpowder engine, which provided the first working type of what was to be the Newcomen machine. One may discern an editorial decision here, to shift all that has to do with prime movers to the next volume and to the Industrial Revolution. But then, what of Descartes' and Huygens' avowed intention of building up a physics capable of delivering new sources of power? While the varied contributions of, say, Hooke and Boyle are amply noted, Descartes' name occurs only twice apropos of lenses.

One will look, then, for a device which definitely had its *floruit* in the seventeenth century, and underwent no marked progress thereafter until its principles were again applied in our age of electronics, in the digital computer. We find only "in the xvii century, geared calculating machines were invented by Pascal and others." Would that "others" dispose of Leibniz? In some alarm, one searches for the name of Leibniz in the index and finds that it is not there. One runs into such names as that of James I, surely a great statesman and scholar but hardly a conspicuous technologist, for his "Counterblast to Tobacco," and of William III for window sashes. But of Leibniz, not a word. This disposes at once of all of Leibniz' contributions in many fields: from aeronautics (he invented the name), to acoustics, optical instruments, clockworks and planetariums, navigation, hydrography, canals, steering devices, carriages, wheels, wheel bearings, and machine tools. It disposes no less of his correspondence on prime movers with Huygens and Papin, which Gerland published in 1881. This is bound to leave a considerable gap. Concerning pumps alone there are three times as many devices in Leibniz (including his idea of a mercury pump) as are mentioned

in the relevant sections of this volume. Yet Leibniz was director of mines and made his devices work. The casual treatment inflicted on the calculating machine is all the more striking in that, by putting it together with the punched card brought in by weavers and with Descartes' theories of coding (unmentioned), we could survey the origins of an idea which has become so overwhelmingly important in our times.

Now we grant that a one-volume survey of two centuries cannot be complete. But systematic exclusions like these are bound to negate a fundamental feature and novelty of the seventeenth century, which was the intervention of first-rate scientific minds in technological problems. If the new underlying struggle between government projects and the needs of basic science took the shape that has become familiar to us today, an essential pattern was established then that cannot be overlooked or blithely postponed to the period after 1750, which had characteristics much different from those of the present.

Another systematic error, if minor, occurs in the section on chemistry, which relies, as did Volume II, too much on chemically implausible interpretations of the ambiguous communications of Theophilus Presbyter. There is also some misspelling of Italian names. Cellini never spoke of *braccchia* as a measure of length, nor are there places called Commachio and Novarra. When all is said, however, this history remains an impressive performance, which fulfills the needs of contemporary culture for another generation while the materials are being readied for a more systematic undertaking.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume V, THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY, C. 1850-C. 1900. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams*. Assisted by *Y. Peel, J. R. Petty, and M. Reeve*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxviii, 888, 44 plates. \$26.90, £8 8s.)

WITH this installment a great adventure planned eight years ago reaches journey's end. What a journey, from "Early Times" and "The Old Stone Age" to the end of last century! And what a travel tale, told in 4,200 pages, nearly 2,500 text pictures, and two hundred half tone plates! And what a pace of publication! Anyone who has been involved in a cooperative project will certainly marvel at the ability of the editors and of the Oxford University Press to turn out these five massive books in five years.

The final volume covers only fifty years. Its editors gave very cogent reasons for not coming beyond about 1900: too much space would be needed; recent developments cannot be described in a relatively nontechnical manner; and the choice of topics would involve a "semi-prophetic selection" of the things deemed most significant. Two topics all-important for today are specifically put

aside: first, "the emergence of the United States and Russia in the forefront of technology [which] indeed signalizes a leap from one order of magnitude in production to another"; and second, modern physics, which began about 1900 and has ushered in an era where "for the first time abstract scientific thought, carried on without concern for its practical consequences in the life of man, was to offer as an incidental reward a mastery of natural resources totally different in kind and in scale from anything contemplated in the older technology grown from remote empirical roots."

The outstanding theme of the volume is the importance of applied science. Since this is most evident in the newer industries, chemicals and electricity are given nearly a sixth of the text; but few of the older industries remained unaffected. In all cases, however, the dependence of industry on science was still "somewhat fortuitous. . . . The empirical element remained large, and progress was achieved rather through the accumulated experience of craftsmen, the enterprise of management, and the skill of individual designers, than through scientific insight. . . . Theory might still follow, rather than precede, a major technological accomplishment." Even where it did come first, as in the manufacture of soda, it might take over half a century to reach perfect industrial application. If the first half of the century needed two generations of mechanical engineers to make machines that would function smoothly and efficiently, the second half discovered that almost as much time must elapse before it could "translate formulæ into plant."

The book's pattern remains unchanged. Part I, labeled "Primary Production," contains a masterly concise survey by G. E. Fussell of food production in the Old World and the New, in the tropics as well as in the temperate zones; a lucid account of the management, processing, and preservation of foodstuffs; and good stories of how cheap steel, abundant nonferrous metals, and petroleum products became available. Part II deals with "Prime Movers"—stationary, marine, and internal combustion. Parts III and IV introduce the electrical and chemical industries, strangely omitting hydroelectricity but doing full justice to the dyestuffs, new explosives, and "fine chemicals." Part V on "Transport" is solid but stodgy on railways, fascinating on shipbuilding, illuminating on early flying, and nostalgic on early bicycles and motor vehicles. The last section is written by the "Research Historian, Veteran Car Club of Great Britain." Part VI is concerned with "Civil Engineering," including the growing use of iron, steel, and concrete in buildings, the heroic trials and triumphs of the great bridgebuilders and tunnel cutters, and the conversion of city water supplies from "little more than a crude craft" in 1850 to a science in 1900. Part VII on "Manufactures" is full of such good things as the increasing ability of textile, knitting, and sewing equipment to provide better and cheaper clothes, knitwear, carpets, draperies, and lace; the prolonged heartbreaking struggle to evolve machines for typefounding, typesetting, and rapid printing, with the cellars of the London *Times* choked

full of discarded failures; the coming of mass production in glassware; and the infancy of photography, movies, and the rubber industry.

The final part gives us three backward glances from "The Threshold of the Twentieth Century." The Cambridge economic historian Charles Wilson examines the relations between technology and industrial organization, viewing them chiefly as "a set of variations on the theme of specialization." Sir Alexander Fleck, chairman of the firm (Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd.) which has financed the whole work, surveys "social consequences" in terms of population growth, migration, education, labor and living conditions, the arts, political and philosophical trends, and the changing distribution of power in society. Sir Eric Ashby, president of Queen's University, Belfast, in discussing "Education for an Age of Technology," deals with Britain's tardy recognition that its day as the world's workshop and industrial schoolmaster was approaching twilight; the panics created by revelations of other nations' competitive strength; and the attention given to general, technical, and scientific education during the last third or quarter of the century. This story has often been told, but as one rereads its record of such shocks to British complacency as the failure to win more than a bare dozen awards at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, the recriminations and proposals for "shock programs," the evidence of educational backwardness put before select committees and royal commissions, and the pigeonholing of many recommendations made to Parliament, one seems to recall having been through this experience all over again in another land during the last two years. This is quite natural, for as every chapter in these five volumes makes clear, "there is no finality in technology" and no chosen people to monopolize it.

Pennsylvania State University

HERBERT HEATON

EUROPE AND THE EUROPEANS: AN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION.

By Max Beloff. With an introduction by Denis de Rougemont. [A report prepared at the request of the Council of Europe.] (London: Chatto and Windus. 1957. Pp. xix, 288. 25s.)

At the invitation of the Council of Europe, a European round table met at Rome in October, 1953, to examine the problems of European unity. A study group with a different personnel met at Strasbourg in March, 1956, to pursue this subject. At both meetings the participants were distinguished figures from various European countries outside the Iron Curtain. This book is not exactly a report of the discussions either at Rome or at Strasbourg, though Professor Beloff has drawn freely from the records of both meetings. It is rather a summary of the many facets of the great central problem that led to the calling together of the two groups, in which the author has felt free to range widely for his materials in varied sources, mostly historical.

It is a book essential to all interested in the big cultural and political prob-

lens of the world today. Beloff has done a remarkable job of suggestive compression—so good that his book may well prove useful as a kind of student's introductory manual to the study of Europe and its place in the world today—though clearly it was not designed for such a purpose. Notably the book lacks a good succinct list of suggested readings, yet in the footnotes there are many useful references. Beloff begins with a chapter on definition—just what is Europe?—and the book is organized topically: historical foundations, economics and politics, the cultural heritage, the "tasks" ahead, political, economic, scientific, cultural, and a brief concluding chapter, "Myth and Reality in the European Idea," a chapter in which Beloff's training as a historian comes out positively in his cautious realism, negatively in his rejection of impatient idealism and mystical notions of a European unity already existing, awaiting only a few more conferences to emerge into this world of sense experience. But the whole study is in fact good history, not publicity, not even a tract for the times.

An introduction by Denis de Rougemont, who knows a great deal of history indeed, but is more—or less—than a professional academic historian, gives to us historians an added interest in this book. For M. de Rougemont is clearly put out by, a bit ironical toward, Beloff's professional caution, his trained judicial sobriety, his avoidance of the heights and the depths of humanly conceivable landscapes of the mind. Beloff writes clearly and well, but with a deliberate dryness, with only a subdued hint of irony—as in his choice of quotations from Professor Toynbee, one of the participants in the colloquy at Rome—without epigram, without very much exposing either his heart or his head. De Rougemont is lively, epigrammatic, ironical, hopeful, disillusioned, and very clearly on the side of the angels, all in a few paragraphs. *Le style, c'est l'homme?* No doubt, but at one more remove, *le métier, c'est le style*.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE UNITING OF EUROPE: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FORCES, 1950-1957. By Ernst B. Haas. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958. Pp. xx, 552. \$8.00.)

THE stated purpose of this book is to dissect the "integration process" in its contemporary European setting and "to advance generalizations" about the manner in which "political communities are formed among sovereign States." As a case study, the author has chosen the European Coal and Steel Community during the first five years of its activity and attempts to establish the degree to which its creation reflected and then evoked "European" as distinguished from "national" responses among selected elites (political parties, labor organizations, trade associations) of the member states. He likewise seeks to measure the extent of the Community's influence in developing habits of quasi-federal conduct among

the member states as well as the degree of its integrating "spill-over" into areas beyond its jurisdictional authority.

The results represent a significant contribution to the growing literature on European integration, particularly on the Coal and Steel Community. But one is frankly disappointed, after the elaborate and somewhat pedantic formulation of the testing methods subsequently employed in "dissecting" the processes of integration, to see what little fruit they yield in the way of clarifying those processes or of providing fresh and illuminating generalizations on the manner of forming political communities among sovereign states. This book's real value should not, therefore, be measured in terms of the objectives that the author set for himself but in certain by-products of his effort: in the analysis of the institutions of the Community and the interplay of national and supranational pressures among them; and in the changing attitudes toward the Community of the leading political parties, trade associations, and labor organizations in the member states. The contribution in respect to both is important.

It is unfortunate that the author's "precise yardstick" of measurement and analysis exercised so much tyranny over his treatment of the subject. He felt obliged first to describe the Coal and Steel Community in its essential substance and then later to apply his tests of the "integrative processes" as well as of the "federal" and "supranational" elements within them to the states forming part of the Community and then to the Community as a whole. This results in overlapping and duplication which, taken together with the author's somewhat ponderous literary style, make for dull reading without really adding content to the argument. Yet if one is patient enough to endure to the end, he will be rewarded.

The task of assembling and digesting information on the attitudes and reactions of political parties, trade associations, and labor unions in each of the six countries that are members of the Coal and Steel Community and then of relating them to that Community's activities is a truly formidable one. On the whole, the author has performed this task commendably. Only in the case of Italy does one have the feeling that he failed to explore the literature on the subject, a feeling that is borne out by the lacunae in the bibliography no less than by sometimes loose and inaccurate statements of fact.

Bologna, Italy

C. GROVE HAINES

THE ART OF NAVIGATION IN ENGLAND IN ELIZABETHAN AND EARLY STUART TIMES. By D. W. Waters. With a foreword by *Admiral of the Fleet the Earl Mountbatten of Burma*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxix, 696. \$12.50.)

It is the thesis of Lieutenant Commander David Watkins Waters, RN (retired), the author of this remarkable book, that in the period of less than a century between about 1550 and 1630 the English appropriated the best information

then available as to the navigation of ships on long, deep-water voyages, and that further they developed this knowledge to a degree of accuracy and completeness unmatched by other seafaring peoples of the day. Economic and political changes at the beginning of the Elizabethan era forced the English to take an interest in the long-distance trade routes to America and the East Indies that had been opened by the Portugese and the Spaniards. By learning all they could, especially from Spain, and by employing Spanish, Portugese, French, and Dutch pilots, the English brought themselves abreast of the best seafaring practice of the day. Then a series of scholars and sailors, supported by the interest and financial backing of gentlemen and merchants ashore, went on to develop navigational instruments, charts, sailing directions, and manuals, and to apply mathematics to the science of navigation to a degree hitherto unknown.

In this book Mr. Waters provides a lucid and thoughtful account of the economic and political background before which these advances were made. The important voyages of English seafarers receive full consideration. The author gives careful attention to the state of knowledge at the beginning of his period, and follows the development of pilotage, navigation, cartography, the training of navigators, naval architecture, the lighting and buoying of the English coasts, and a host of other related matters through the eighty-odd year period of his study. This adds up to a first-rate piece of intellectual history with the relationships between the particular subject in hand and the general stream of knowledge clearly shown.

Waters brings to this study the training of a professional sailor as well as a thorough command of the historian's method. After a career as an officer in the Royal Navy from 1929 until 1950, he has continued since his retirement to be a member of the Historical Section of the Navy Staff. The reader may find that the accounts of the mathematical side of the subject are rather formidable going, but this will be overbalanced by the satisfaction of having a book in which thoroughness is not slighted in the interests of popularity. In general, the organization of the book is excellent and the style clear and lively. In addition to its five hundred pages of text, the book has thirty-three appendixes and a thirty-one-page bibliography. It is handsomely and intelligently illustrated by eighty-seven plates and forty-three diagrams.

This is a very important book. It sheds light on a host of facets of maritime history in a crucial period. Further, it adds significantly to the intellectual history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

ROBERT BOYLE AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHEMISTRY. By
Marie Boas. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 239.
\$5.50.)

As the title promises, Miss Boas' book sets itself a dual purpose, a reconsideration of Robert Boyle's chemical work, and a reconsideration of the history of chemistry in the seventeenth century. It is her achievement that in both cases she not only reaches a fundamentally new position but justifies it conclusively.

In the case of Boyle her first task is to remove him from a rather shaky pedestal. Brother of the Earl of Cork he may have been; father of chemistry he was not. Miss Boas demonstrates that the famous definition of an element is no more than a repetition of the conception standard among the "chemists" of the early seventeenth century. Furthermore, Boyle states the definition of an element only to deny that elements thus defined exist. But the discussion of Boyle's chemical work builds a new foundation for his reputation. He brought chemical theory within the boundaries of respectable natural philosophy, and by intelligent experimentation and brilliant technique did much to prepare for the chemical triumphs of the eighteenth century. Boyle emerges from the book not with faded laurels but with enhanced stature. On the basis of essentially new evidence Miss Boas shows that he was the century's most original thinker in the field of chemistry. If he did not create in chemistry a synthesis equivalent to Newton's in physics—if he was not, that is to say, Lavoisier—his work pointed chemistry toward the goal attained in Lavoisier's principles.

In assessing seventeenth-century chemistry Miss Boas is concerned to refute the notion of the delayed revolution that left chemistry a century behind physics in development. Again she has proved her case, demonstrating that the Aristotelian and spagyrical conception of elements had been virtually destroyed by the end of the century. If no satisfactory theory had been elaborated to replace the old, at least the ground had been cleared, and chemists, led by Boyle, had begun to ask the questions that were in the end to be answered by Lavoisier. Chemistry then was not isolated from the advance of the other natural sciences; by examining seventeenth-century chemistry in the light of its own problems instead of judging it by the achievements of the eighteenth century, Miss Boas has justified its inclusion in the scientific "revolution."

In her bibliography Miss Boas notes, perhaps with excessive (if unspoken) animosity toward L. T. More, that there is no adequate biography of Boyle. For few men has biography been so nearly equivalent to intellectual history as for Robert Boyle, whose outward life was only the calm material setting for his intellectual occupations. Although she has not undertaken to write a biography and has excluded important areas of Boyle's thought by the definition of her topic, Miss Boas has penetrated further into the quondam father of chemistry than any of his biographers. Surely her book is destined to take its place at the head of Boyle studies.

BUSINESS AND POLITICS UNDER JAMES I: LIONEL CRANFIELD AS MERCHANT AND MINISTER. By R. H. Tawney. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 324. \$7.50.)

COMPLEMENTING Mr. Lawrence Stone's recent portrait of an Elizabethan financier, Horatio Palavicino, Professor R. H. Tawney has now limned for us the economic, political, and moral physiognomy of a great Jacobean businessman and public official. Tawney tells the story of Lionel Cranfield of the Merchant Adventurers' Company, who scaled the heights and became Lord Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex, only to be thrust into political oblivion by the one subject who had climbed higher than he—the Duke of Buckingham. Through Cranfield's own papers and through the varied sources of early seventeenth-century history which he so insouciantly commands, Tawney establishes his merchant in the intricate milieu of the international cloth trade and then traces his dealings with the government as "a city man" interested in customs-farming and traffic in crown lands. He follows the track of his stubborn, irascible protagonist as Cranfield enters the service of the crown. There the city merchant tramples whole legions of curial vermin in one office after another in his single-minded effort to bring order and efficiency into the royal revenues, and get some profit for the king out of them. And then, in 1624, the industrious and more or less honest city ant is kicked to political bits by the horde of court grasshoppers, led by grasshopper-in-chief Buckingham, whose fun and games he inconsiderately disturbed by threatening the flow of provender in the form of pensions and graft.

Never has Tawney dealt more felicitously with a historical subject—or rather with a whole array of historical subjects, for a career like Cranfield's drives a scholar with Tawney's itch to get to the heart of things into a dozen probing investigations in which the facts are not easily found and, once discovered, not easily explained. The structure and ramifications of the commercial network in Germany, the modes of payment in international trade, the pros and cons of farming the customs, the *modi operandi* of marketing crown land, of the Court of Wards, of the King's Wardrobe, of the Treasury—these are but a sampling of difficult matters that Cranfield's activities require Tawney to expound. And through them all, through the perplexing and ambiguous terrain of cosmopolitan commerce as through the Serbonian bog of Jacobean administrative malpractice, Tawney moves with sure-footed grace.

Business and Politics under James I is a joy to read for another reason. In much of Tawney's historical work it has been hard to avoid the feeling that an extraordinarily rich and exuberant style was occasionally being requisitioned to the service of a specialized *odium economicum*, and that some of his most brilliant literary improvisations overlaid—not quite revealing, not quite concealing—a theoretical framework of history, the prosaic exposition of which might have

been greeted with considerable reserve. But in his latest book the theoretical framework is practically nonexistent and the economic odium is dealt about so generously and so evenhandedly as to carry with it no polemic overtones. In such circumstances Tawney stands clear as one of the great humorists of the historical profession as in one lapidary phrase after another he puts the men and things of the Jacobean age in their place. As a merchant Cranfield is "all for speculations providing they are certainties." The activities of his crony Arthur Ingram in connection with the royal revenues provided him "with the technical equipment of gamekeeper and poacher in one." Rival concessionaires, seeking the great farm of the Customs, engage in "ritual teeth-gnashing" before settling down and making a deal with one another. James I, a "parvenu from hyperborean squalor [,] found the milk and honey of his new domain too much for his non-*sic* too steady head." And the gains that accrued to a consortium, including Cranfield, that had purchased the right to confer six knighthoods, are "the profits of converting grubs into butterflies." These are but a sampling of Tawney's superb demonstration that history can be very serious without being at all solemn.

Washington University

J. H. Hexter

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH CRIMINAL LAW AND ITS ADMINISTRATION FROM 1750. Volume II, THE CLASH BETWEEN PRIVATE INITIATIVE AND PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAW; Volume III, CROSS-CURRENTS IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE REFORM OF THE POLICE. By *Leon Radzinowicz*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. xvii, 751; xvii, 688. \$15.00 each.)

THE first volume of this work already bore unmistakable signs that there was much more to come. The two volumes listed above amply fulfill its promise, and the end is not yet. Their contents respond accurately to the subtitles of the volumes, but the reader is yet to receive the "History of English Criminal Law" that the general title to the work leads him to expect. What he already has, however, should make him take patience and regard these massive volumes as mere preliminaries to the major theme. In any case they are ample, leisurely, richly documented, and of great interest.

The clash of public and private endeavors to provide some sort of criminal enforcement can be traced in the offers of pardons to accomplices in return for their evidence, the offers of rewards by victims (and their insurers), the use of common informers, the compounding of felonies, the organization of thieves and their "fences" and their "flash" houses, and the organization of the public itself in the rudimentary police systems dating from the Middle Ages, or the more recent creations of local residents, or of those interested in particular kinds of business (such as the shippers concerned with the West Indies, who were active in the police of the river). The change from private enterprise to public

control is therefore a major theme; but under either system the collusion between the criminal and the police was an almost insoluble problem. Opportunities for collusion were further provided by the spate of statutes upon Sabbath-keeping, profanity and other "moral" questions. These severely strained the nascent police system; political philosophers even went further, and brought the whole idea of "police" into question as being French and repugnant to the spirit of English and liberal institutions. Thus Volume II is much concerned with the seamy side of life, and Volume III with the word and the institution of "police" and with the contributions of the Fieldings, Patrick Colquhoun, Bentham (who thought highly of the common informer), Chadwick, and others.

It must be recorded that the appendixes to these two volumes amount to just over two hundred pages, and the bibliographies to another hundred and forty—they are a measure of the tireless research that has laid the foundations of the work. Parliamentary papers and a large pamphlet literature are matched by the harvest that the author gathered in the records of New Scotland Yard, Bow Street and other police offices, and the large collections of the State Papers and Home Office Papers in the Public Record Office. The work already occupies its destined place beside the works of the Webbs rather than beside Holdsworth, which is good company. The mass of material here recorded at great length gives abundant illustrations of the society depicted in the novels of Defoe and Fielding, with a key to some of the language used and the mode of life in the underworld. On several occasions the author shows his awareness that all this material is significant for legal as well as for social history, and it would have been prudent to warn the reader that matters of bail, procedure, evidence, trial practice, and legislation have yet to be treated before we can safely describe the efforts of Parliament and courts to deal with the criminal law of their time.

University of London

T. F. T. PLUCKNETT

PETERLOO: THE "MASSACRE" AND ITS BACKGROUND. By *Donald Read*. (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1958. Pp. ix, 234. \$6.00.)

THOUGH few textbooks are without a paragraph describing the "Peterloo Massacre," it is surprising how sketchy is the historian's knowledge of the background of the event. This study fills in the background to one of the best-known events in nineteenth-century English history. With resourcefulness and skill Donald Read employs a variety of historical materials, including Hansard, contemporary newspapers, monographs, biographies, published correspondence, manuscript correspondence in the British Museum, and particularly political pamphlets and tracts to trace the background of the event. The result is a highly readable and interesting volume in which the author ably surveys the economic, social, and

political factors leading to the meeting of August 16, 1819, as well as the aftermath of Peterloo.

Against the economic and social backdrop of industrial Manchester, Professor Read analyzes the social composition of a burgeoning provincial city, emphasizing the differences in outlook and viewpoint between cotton merchant and cotton manufacturer, between cotton spinner and cotton weaver. By a careful study of the political pamphlets and newspapers of the period, he demonstrates that the ideological positions of the important groups, Loyalists, middle-class Radicals, and working-class Radicals crystallized around such heated issues as church and chapel, religious education, and economic conditions. Finally, he shows that it was the economic depression of 1819 that led the working classes, particularly the cotton weavers, to join with the Radical reformers in inviting "Orator" Hunt to speak at Manchester and to stress a political program for the cure of economic ills.

And yet, shortly after the Peterloo meeting, in fact by the end of 1819, the Radical reformers had lost all of their support and influence in the Manchester area. One cause for this decline was the growth of dissension within the ranks of the Radical reformers. This dissension gave the middle-class Radicals a chance for political agitation on a scale that before had been impossible, for it enabled them to place themselves at the head of a popular and righteous cause, to establish themselves in local politics, and to play a larger role in politics at the national level. Nationally the Whig opposition took a middle ground on the issue, although it criticized the Tory government for casting aside "the safeguards of the constitution." Finally, after Peterloo, the various religious communities were forced to define their position with regard to the Radical agitation. The Anglicans openly denounced the Radical reformers, while the Wesleyan Methodists laid down a rule of nonassociation with them.

Read's book is a valuable contribution to the history of a fascinating period. He has written with perception and restraint. The result is a most complete portrayal of Peterloo, the massacre, and its background.

New York State Teachers College, Cortland

GILBERT A. CAHILL

NIGERIA: BACKGROUND TO NATIONALISM. By *James S. Coleman*.
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 510. \$7.50.)

Mr. Coleman's *Nigeria* is an excellent book—not because its answers are always right but because it asks so many of the right questions in a provocative but modest way. It is essentially a historical study, but its author is a political scientist who has obviously made a considerable effort to grasp the major concepts and contributions of anthropology, economics, and sociology. His technique is worthy of study by all historians interested not only in Nigeria but in other parts of Africa. In a useful appendix note on concepts and terms, Coleman calls attention

to the imprecision and general inadequacy of many of the key concepts of the social sciences for the study of Nigerian nationalism, and argues persuasively that recent political developments in Africa have created "a new frontier for the social sciences in which concept formation and clarification must be accorded first priority."

After briefly setting forth the geographical, cultural, and early historical background, the author turns to the Western impact on Nigeria, showing how it laid the roots for the growth of nationalism. Three main aspects of this impact—economic forces, Christianity, and Western education—are penetratingly surveyed in successive chapters. The westernized elite is then analyzed, and the author explains with care and discernment the factors that led Africans to conclude that the only way of making their influence felt was to wrest control of the government from the British. Coleman finds the explanation partly in the behavior of Europeans resident in Nigeria, and partly in British policy. Resident Europeans generally regarded educated Africans with "contempt, amusement, condescension, or veiled hostility," while British policy until World War II deliberately excluded the educated elements, with few exceptions, from both the central government and the native administration of local government. Coleman believes that different behavior and policy during this period would have altered the pace and course of Nigerian nationalism.

The next five chapters skillfully trace the rise of Nigerian nationalism from the earliest "resistance and protest movements" through World War II. Nationalist activities from 1945 to 1952, the author's "terminal point," are scrutinized in more detail. A final chapter, less successful than the rest, perhaps because it is an afterthought, comments on political developments from 1952 to 1957.

Although Coleman is conscientious in continually testing his own generalizations, his sympathy for Nigerian nationalists is evident in his tendency to avoid adverse generalizations about them. He concentrates on explaining why Nigerians behaved the way they did, but makes little comparable effort to explain the behavior of the British officials he criticizes.

The quality of the book is enhanced by its attractive photographs, its carefully selected and prepared tables and charts, and its extensive bibliography. Its footnotes, annoyingly buried at the end of the volume, contain valuable additional information. Coleman covers an impressive variety of source materials and subject matter, and his stimulating insights and interpretations make the book a pioneering contribution of major significance.

*School of Advanced International Studies,
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VERNON MCKAY

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON III. By *Theodore Zeldin*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. x, 195. \$5.50.)

A FIRST glance at this book raises the expectation that it is a work of first importance. The author, a research fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, has asked important questions, and he has sought the answers in fresh sources. What were the real bases of Napoleon III's power, he asked; who were his supporters, and how were they won and managed? Secondly, why did Napoleon convert the authoritarian empire into a liberal empire? For answers he turned not only to the familiar archives and the well-known private papers in public depositories but also to an impressive array of privately held papers—those of Billault, Buffet, Montalembert, Ollivier, Persigny, Saint-Arnaud, Schneider, and half a dozen others. Not a few scholars will be surprised (and pleased) to know that all of these papers still exist and can be seen.

The book is a useful contribution to the history of the Second Empire. It reveals much about Napoleon III's methods in building a Bonapartist party, largely after 1851, about the economic and social status of its recruits, and about its relationships with the older political groups—Orleanists, Legitimists, and Republicans. The chapters on the government's procedures in the selection and support of official candidates and on the political activities of the prefects offer new insights into the workings of the Napoleonic system at the grass-roots level. Zeldin's description of the decline of the government's political machine in the 1860's is revealing, and his use of private papers has enabled him to illuminate some of the significant divisions among the top leaders of the empire.

In exploring his second question Zeldin found the germ of the liberal empire at the very beginning of the regime. Even in 1852 the empire was dependent for deputies and for influential support at the local level on notables capable of participating in political power and likely to ask for it. The majority of official candidates were not puppets, and their permanent support could not be expected, and, of course, the cities were never won over. But, Zeldin maintains, the first move toward the liberal empire in 1860 was a deliberate choice, unforced by the opposition. The final conversion in 1869–1870 was, he holds, a wise response to the regrouping of political forces that by 1869 had produced a new liberal Bonapartist party in the country and a liberal Bonapartist majority in the legislative body.

Despite its contributions, the book is disappointing, its high promise unfulfilled. It will produce no important revisions in the history of the Second Empire. One puts it down feeling that he knows a little more about the actual functioning of Napoleon III's system but not a great deal, and the author's second question is still not completely answered. The book's failure results in part, I think, from its loose organization; the same subject is often treated in two or three different chapters, and the reader carries away no clear picture or firm judgment.

Many generalizations are not convincingly supported; a single instance is often the only evidence presented in support of a general statement. Zeldin's subject deserves a better book. He has made a good beginning, and it is to be hoped that he will sometime return to the subject with fuller evidence and better organization.

University of Missouri

DAVID H. PINKNEY

FRENCH SOCIALISM IN THE CRISIS YEARS 1933-1936: FASCISM AND THE FRENCH LEFT. By *John T. Marcus*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. xv, 216. \$5.00.)

THE "crisis years 1933-1936" mean something more to the author than merely depression years. The period from the advent of Hitler in Germany to the Popular Front election victory in France, he maintains, represented a downward turning point in the destinies of the French Socialist party because of the party's failure to respond with decision and unity to the emergence of Nazism. Events in Germany served to aggravate tensions already existing between reformist, centrist, and revolutionary tendencies so that in the spring of 1933, when Renaudel and his followers called on the SFIO to forge an anti-Hitler defense formation of the left, they were defeated and expelled. Even after the riots of February, 1934, with the threat of a potential fascist triumph in France itself, Socialist indecision and hesitation continued. Thus, the SFIO eventually became no more than a "silent partner" among the Popular Front proletarian organizations. It "backed into" the Popular Front; and the 1935 pact of unity was "a milestone in the decline of French socialism." All this gave to the Communists the prestige of appearing to be the moving force behind the French left; they became the champions of an antifascist *mystique* from which they have profited down to the present.

There is much that is accurate in the picture presented here of weakness, disunity, and vacillation in the ranks of the Socialists. To that state of affairs Léon Blum himself attested in his wartime writings; and Socialist division was dramatically apparent in the events of July, 1940. It can be argued, however, that the Socialists enjoyed more prestige in the spring of 1936 than they are credited with in these pages and that the real loss of proletarian standing came with the assumption of governmental responsibilities, in which the Communists refused to share.

Although one may decide that the author's conclusions are somewhat overdrawn, one can have only praise for the high quality of research and writing that have gone into this thoughtful monograph. The writer has used with profit not only the more obvious official Socialist publications but the press of the various factions as well, all of which he has carefully catalogued and annotated in a valuable bibliography.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

- LE PARTI CATHOLIQUE BELGE, 1830-1945. By *Chanoine A. Simon*. [Collection: "Notre Passé."] (Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre. 1958. Pp. 155.)
ORIGINES ET FORMATION DU CATHOLICISME SOCIAL EN BELGIQUE, 1842-1909. By *Rudolf Rezsöhazy*. [Université de Louvain Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 4^e série, fascicule 13.] (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1958. Pp. xxxiv, 432. 240 fr. B.)

THE history of Catholic political and social movements in Belgium offers at least two points of considerable interest to most students of modern European history. As the Industrial Revolution developed in Belgium somewhat earlier than in neighboring lands, the accompanying social upheaval posed a series of problems for which there was no precedent. In addition, the political activities of the Catholic Church in Belgium differed somewhat from church-state relations elsewhere in Catholic Europe, for, in contrast to the antirevolutionary, antiliberal attitude that generally prevailed among Catholics in the first half of the nineteenth century, Belgian Catholics joined with liberals in the Revolution of 1830, and thereafter participated as a party in a parliamentary government based on an essentially liberal constitution.

The two books under review are able and significant studies of the role of Catholicism in the formation of modern Belgian social and political institutions. Dr. Rezsöhazy has compiled an excellent work on the growth of Social Catholicism in Belgium. The organization and narrative are first rate; the scholarship is sound; and the author's judgments, although occasionally biased in favor of his subject, are generally well considered. The first chapter, in particular, stands out as a masterful description of the political, social, and industrial conditions of the 1840's, out of which the first phase of Belgian Social Catholicism emerged. The early enthusiasm of a small group of social reformers faded with the failure of the 1848 revolutions, and gave way to an attitude that the author aptly calls "paternalism." The rude awakening of the strikes and rioting of 1886 ushered in a third phase, a complex period in which new leaders and new movements appeared. When efforts to revive medieval corporatism failed, Catholic labor unions were organized in a number of Belgian industrial areas.

Most of Rezsöhazy's book, despite the title dates, is concerned with the years from 1886 to 1909, a period in which an increasingly potent democratic faction sought and secured a place within the hitherto ultraconservative Catholic party. The author demonstrates not only that Social Catholicism arrived on the scene much later than Marxian socialism, but that it was in no small measure a response to the anticlerical and irreligious aspects of international socialism. The majority of the industrial proletariat, particularly in Wallonia, had already been drawn to socialism before the rise of the Catholic social movement. Curiously, scant attention is given to the *Boerenbond*, an effective Catholic Socialist organization in the Flemish half of the country. With this exception, the account is

well balanced. Major personalities emerge clearly, with the standpatter Charles Woeste, long a leader of the dominant conservative faction of the Catholic party, in the role of villain, and the overzealous Abbé Adolphe Daens as a rather pathetic martyr in a lost cause.

That the Catholic Social movement arose as a militant minority element in an overwhelmingly conservative environment is made abundantly clear in Professor Simon's brief study of the Belgian Catholic party. For more than fifty years after the establishment of Belgian independence in 1830, the Catholic party remained a loosely organized group, united only in support of the constitution and of the Church, which enjoyed a privileged position under the constitution. The most striking features of the Belgian Catholic party were its negative aspects: the absence of any clear political program prior to World War I; the lack of initiative and innovation; and the slow acceptance of the Catholic Social element. The party did, however, succeed for over a century in maintaining a national rather than a regional appeal, and in avoiding close identification with any particular class. Both books contain valuable bibliographies.

Falls Church, Virginia

THEODORE B. HODGES

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS: A HISTORY OF SWEDEN, 1611-1632. Volume II, 1626-1632. By *Michael Roberts*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xiii, 848. \$16.50.)

It takes a certain boldness for an "outsider" to publish scholarly work on the history of any country not his own. To publish an "authoritative" (and expensive) two-volume history of the Swedish hero-king, Gustavus Adolphus, is notably bold. Michael Roberts, however, is a confident writer who has published in many fields and in this case he has clearly succeeded. In spite of some weird use of language and eccentricity of spelling (e.g., Christian IV with a "K"), the book, it can safely be said, has no rivals of comparable length and merit in English. It will be a standard item on library shelves for many years. And because the author has made a contribution by boldly issuing pronouncements not only on persons and events but on many writers in the field, even Scandinavian historians may be tempted to look at the work.

Roberts has not attempted to base his history upon personal research in unpublished source material. He depends entirely upon the literature available through the scholarly efforts of others. Because the literature is very extensive around the figure of Gustavus Adolphus and the events of the Thirty Years' War, this second volume of the book is richer in detail and controversy than was the first. Roberts, however, handles his sources deftly be they voluminous or sparse. Whenever a single outstanding source (e.g., the multivolumed *Sveriges Krig 1611-1632*) can serve him best, the author rides it freely. When the material is notably

thin (e.g., on Eastern European affairs) he manages even so by "reasoning" out loud to provide a confident version of developments. Throughout the book he makes great show of pausing to pick and choose among various explanations of events and to support preferred viewpoints with argument while rejecting right and left equally respectable views. All this makes for lively reading and brings out, without necessarily resolving, the points of controversy in the history of Gustavus Adolphus. Roberts utilizes works in almost all the European languages with the notable exception of Russian (a strange omission since he thinks Russia important and apparently reads Polish) but depends most heavily, of course, upon Swedish and German materials. The rather extensive bibliography is impressive (although not to Scandinavian eyes) but suffers from the way it is divided up and from the fact that abbreviated references in the footnotes are not easily traceable to the bibliography.

Because the book is definitely focused upon Gustavus Adolphus, the history of Sweden in the period (presented mainly in "background" chapters) is certainly skewed. Roberts, however, does come closer than most writers to putting both king and country into perspective. He is no blind admirer of the hero and takes him to task repeatedly for mistakes of judgment and even some defects of character. He handles the main themes of the Gustavus Adolphus story plausibly and judiciously, but some important subthemes, unfortunately, fare less well. It must be objected that Richelieu and French diplomacy were not so ridiculous as Roberts makes out. Richelieu was not free to cut Gordian knots in Germany. Likewise, Roberts (gifted, no doubt, by hindsight) errs in believing that Gustavus Adolphus was making a grievous error in instigating and helping the Muscovites against Poland. Actually, before Peter the Great, Russia presented only a minor threat and no "opportunity" for the Swedes, who knew a cold country when they saw it.

California Institute of Technology

HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

JORDBRUKETS ARBETARE: LEVNADSVILLKOR OCH ARBETSLIV
PÅ LANDSBYGDEN FRÅN FRIHETSTIDEN TILL MITTEN AV
1800-TALET [Rural Laborers (in Sweden) from the Period of Liberty to
the Mid-Nineteenth Century] [in Swedish; English summary]. Volumes I
and II. By Gustaf Utterström. (Stockholm: Tidens Förlag. 1957. Pp. 898; 527.)

THIS monograph is part of a series published with the general title *Den svenska arbetarklassens historia* (The History of the Swedish Working Class) which was begun in 1941 with Herbert Tingsten's *Den svenska socialdemokratiens idéutveckling* (The Intellectual Development of Swedish Social Democracy). It is also a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Stockholm. The English summary accompanying the book is longer than usual and

helps to fill the lack of an index, something deeply to be regretted in a work of this size and comprehensiveness. There is a fine bibliography and 175 closely printed pages of footnotes.

In view of the overwhelmingly agrarian character of Sweden's economy during the period covered (c. 1720-c. 1860), it is clear that Utterström has chosen in the agricultural laborers the most important segment of the Swedish working class. He has also made his task more difficult and the results more significant by considering all of Sweden rather than one restricted area. His work is in many ways pioneering; he has few shoulders to stand upon.

The introductory chapter discusses Swedish agrarian life before the Industrial Revolution and makes use of foreign travelers' accounts of their journeys in Sweden around the turn of the eighteenth century. These observers, including Thomas Malthus, tended to look upon Sweden as a poor underdeveloped country located in an obscure corner of Europe and just barely supporting its ever-increasing population (the result of vaccine, peace, and potatoes) by means of a fairly primitive agriculture. Utterström has been criticized for his use of these and other personal documents by Börje Hanssen (*Historisk Tidskrift* [Sw.], ser. 2, XXI, 1958, pp. 429-33), who argues that he makes the descriptive and subjective material in the book take precedence over the factual and objective portions. Utterström's answer (*Historisk Tidskrift* [Sw.], 1958, pp. 68-87) is that he is writing "dynamic social history," which requires the use of personal documents as well as of statistics that, if considered alone, tend to present a static picture of a given society.

The bulk of Volume I is taken up with analyses of such topics as Swedish economic geography, harvests, public works, agriculture and subsistence, and labor conditions. The discussion of the enclosure movement, which began in Sweden-Finland in the mid-eighteenth century, is especially interesting. Apparently the greatest benefits were enjoyed by the peasants, the chief landholding class, although gains were made by the landless agrarian population in the form of greater job opportunities.

Many reforms in Swedish agriculture were inspired by contacts with Great Britain and, more specifically, with Scotland, where somewhat similar problems were faced. Theory might come from France, but practical innovation derived largely from England. Capital necessary for improvements also came from abroad, often from bankers in Hamburg; Swedish agriculture was, as a result, subject to international complications and fluctuations. The latter also affected domestic handicrafts and the putting-out system, both described in Volume II. Utterström finds a trend toward wage labor and suggests that, with the exception of the 1820's, a period of prosperity for the agrarian working class, this worked more to the detriment than the benefit of farm laborers. With the caution of an archivist, he maintains that much work must still be done on this problem and that his own interpretations are "incomplete and hypothetical."

This is a valuable book for historians of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European social and economic history.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

DEN SVENSKA UTRIKESPOLITIKENS HISTORIA. Band III, part 4, 1872-1914. By *Folke Lindberg*. (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag. 1958. Pp. 360. Kr. 27.)

PROFESSOR Lindberg was among the first to use the German archives blasted open by World War II; from these and other sources he has produced a book that adds a new star to the multiauthored series on Swedish diplomatic history from the Middle Ages to 1939.

Significant sidelights are often thrown on general European history. For example, Lindberg mentions a letter from Kaiser Wilhelm II to King Oscar II in December, 1888, while the Reinsurance Treaty was still in force, speaking frantically of the imminent threat to Germany of a two-front attack by the armies of France and Russia. But the study focuses on the problems of a small country, the structure of its diplomatic service, its decision-making processes, and the methods by which it steered its frail ship of state through waters churned into whirlpools by the greater ships of Russia, Germany, and Britain. The protective November Treaty of 1855 was a perennial hope, yet Sweden felt it necessary even in the nineteenth century to adapt her rules of neutrality to the changing strengths of potential adversaries. The growth of German power attracted Oscar II and Crown Prince Gustaf (who became king in 1907), and alliance was repeatedly suggested. Most of the ministerial and parliamentary leaders, however, were suspicious of Germany, and their influence increased during the period. It was nevertheless important to find a counterweight to Russian ambitions in the Baltic; Sweden had to beware of Russian desires to fortify the Åland Islands, and of her recurrent dream (that was a nightmare to Britain) to make of the Baltic a *mare clausum*.

Two segments of this pre-World War I story Lindberg has already treated in detailed monographs. In *Kunglig Utrikespolitik* (1950) he investigated the personal diplomacy of Oscar II, and especially the dealings with the German monarchy. In *Scandinavia in Great Power Politics, 1905-1908* (1958; reviewed in *AHR*, LXIV [Jan., 1959], 379) he analyzed the complexities of readjustment following the breakup of the Swedish-Norwegian Union in 1905—an event that both weakened and worried Sweden. The present work builds upon these others but covers the entire sweep from 1872 to 1914. It is detailed, clear, and thorough as it unravels the tangled rivalry of royal versus democratic influences in diplomacy, of small state versus great power interests, of problems of neutrality and defense, and even of the major aspects of economic and cultural relationships.

Some thirty-five pages of notes at the end of the book provide a useful guide

to the major sources of information without interruptive citations in the text and a clutter of *ibid.* The author handles a risky method so well as to make it preferable, here, to orthodox footnotes.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

DER LUTHERISCHE WELTBUND: GRUNDLAGEN, HERKUNFT, AUFBAU. By Siegfried Grundmann. [Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, I. Band.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1957. Pp. xix, 586. Cloth DM 32, paper DM 28.)

THE author of this monumental study is a disciple of the renowned Ulrich Stutz and a protégé of Johannes Heckel in Munich. He also moved in the circle of Lutheran Landesbishop D. Hans Meiser during the trying days of the Third Reich. Although he modestly states that he hopes this study will furnish one building stone in the future ecumenical structure, the reviewer believes he has accomplished much more. This pioneering effort, though in parts limited by lack of preliminary studies, provides the *Grundriss* that indicates areas for future specialized investigations.

This study, providing a vast sweep of the past four centuries, should prove of real value to students of history, ecclesiastical law, and theology. As the subtitle implies, the book is divided into three sections: the foundations, historical growth, and present status of the Lutheran World Federation. The *Grundlagen* dealing with the foundations is an excellent analysis of a vast literature that has grown up around Martin Luther's *Kirchenbegriff*, covering both the old school in the days of Sohm and Holstein, and the newer school of which Kattenbusch, Heckel, and Törnvall are stressed, and showing the relationship to the evangelical *Kirchenrecht* which grew up in the Territorial Churches of modern Germany. The author closes with a penetrating summary of the total picture, finding the "visible" and "invisible" churches but two aspects of the same universal church founded by Jesus Christ. It is regretted that Ernst Rietschel's excellent reply to Kattenbusch in 1932 was not considered.

Part two of the book deals with the historic growth since the Reformation of world Lutheranism in the German *Landeskirchen*, in Scandinavia, and in North America. The German study distinguishes between the period under the old empire to 1806 and the period since. It stresses the impacts of the Prussian union movement and the German unification under Bismarck and the last Kaiser. From this study it is evident that trends toward Lutheran unity existed from 1848 and provided the basis for resistance to National Socialism under the *Lutherrat*, refusing to recognize Hitler's Reichsbishop Ludwig Müller and his *Deutsche Christen* movement. After World War II this early movement resulted in the *Vereinigte Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche Deutschlands*, the VELKD. The author similarly traces the growth of world Lutheranism in Scandinavia and on the

North American continent. The greatest weakness of the book is, understandably, its coverage of American Lutheranism.

In the third and final part, the author ties all this into the larger theme of the growth of the Lutheran World Federation and its relationship to the ecumenical movement of all Protestantism. After the Lutheran world conventions at Eisenach (1923), Copenhagen (1929), Paris (1935), and Lund (1947), the stage was set for the formation of the Lutheran World Federation in 1948. The author shows how the Federation ties into the ecumenical movement beginning at Oxford and Edinburgh in 1937 and culminating in the world conference in Evanston in 1954. The book ends with a discussion of the relationship of the Lutheran World Federation to the *Ökumene*.

This excellent, well-documented volume of the origin and growth of the Lutheran World Federation is worthy of very serious study. It has an excellent table of contents, index, and bibliography. It should be translated speedily into English in order to reach the world of readers it deserves.

Foundation for Reformation Research, St. Louis

ERNEST G. SCHWIEBERT

BUREAUCRACY, ARISTOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY: THE PRUSSIAN EXPERIENCE, 1660-1815. By Hans Rosenberg. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 34.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 247. \$5.00.)

THIS book represents another venture in English (following Dorwart's recent *Administrative Reforms of Frederick William I of Prussia*) into Prussian administrative history, a hitherto much-neglected field which, nevertheless, may prove to be central in elucidating the *ancien régime*. Professor Rosenberg's book (completed, according to the preface, in 1954) is a reconnaissance in depth. Drawing on a wide variety of printed sources and secondary works, he offers an exposition not so much of administrative history as such as of the social consequences of changes in the manner and in the organs of administration. He has been concerned with the triangular relationship among the three entities mentioned in the title, "with the emergence of the modern state bureaucracy and with its impact upon social stratification and political power under the *ancien régime*."

This is a good and important idea. Its execution improves as the book progresses. The first half, though ornamented with many felicitous phrases and (perhaps even rarer) some sparkling translations from the intractable German, limps a little. The narrative is labored, the chronology confused by excessive use of flashbacks, the organization opaque, the method sociological, and the conclusions correspondingly sparse and obscure. The situation depicted was admittedly a complex one, but a good monograph, like a good novel, ought to make intrinsically complex situations plain, and intrinsically dull people interesting.

With the accession of Frederick II the book picks up momentum, and histori-

cal questions are asked and to some extent answered. Of particular value is the vivid impression of the development of an *esprit de corps* among the new bureaucracy. Politically this is important because the monarchy, having created the bureaucracy, could not completely control it; socially it is even more important because the bureaucracy became, in fact, a principal rallying point for the Junkers. It is therefore only partially true to say that the Junkers had lost their political privileges by the eighteenth century; it would be more accurate to say that those privileges had been to some extent transformed. Nor must we stress unduly the military career reserved by Frederick for the Junkers, considerable favoritism being practiced in staffing the civil service as well. Rosenberg closes his narrative with a skillful sketch of the reform movement as a "revolution from above," as the "emergence of bureaucratic absolutism." What remains now as a principal *desideratum* is an account, on the foundations supplied by Rosenberg, of the struggle for control within the civil service, and chiefly within its aristocratic and gentry membership, between the conservative and reforming factions during and especially after the Napoleonic wars. Only then shall we understand the *Regierungsliberalismus* of the "halcyon years."

Some may feel that in his "Postscript" Rosenberg again falls from grace by yielding to the current fashion of topicality and by unconvincingly seeking links between the eighteenth century and National Socialism. Still, this lapse cannot detract from the value of the book as a confirmation and illustration of that peculiarly Prussian phenomenon, the compromise between the centralizing monarchy and the Junkers, standing originally for traditional privilege and regional autonomy.

Cornell University

W. M. SIMON

DEUTSCHLAND UND DER ENGLISCH-RUSSISCHE GEGENSATZ 1900-1914. By *Oswald Hauser*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 30.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. 1958. Pp. viii, 288. Cloth DM 25.50, paper DM 22.50.)

THE theme of this interesting monograph is at once more limited and more complex than the title would imply. In his introduction Dr. Hauser indicates that his fundamental concern is with the deterioration in Anglo-German relations during the fateful years from 1900 to 1914. Dominant in this picture, of course, is the Anglo-German naval rivalry. Hauser admits that this subject *per se* is "well-tilled" ground (thanks to the studies of Hubatsch, Stadelmann, *et al.*), but he feels that the *Flottenfrage* has never been adequately evaluated in the broader context of great-power relationships. Indeed, he strongly implies that the historians of this subject have suffered a bit from the kind of myopia that afflicted Wilhelm II and Tirpitz. Viewing the problem from the vantage point of *Weltpolitische Perspektive*, Hauser has set out to show the grim connection

between the Anglo-German fleet question and the relationship of England to Russia during the period under consideration.

Although Hauser writes with scholarly precision, he pulls no punches in his devastating analysis of the ineptitudes of German leadership from 1900 to 1914. Here were the gentlemen who spoke so grandiloquently of Germany's *Weltpolitik*, while in fact they failed to comprehend the interplay of large forces on the world scene. Their policies were neither integrated nor flexible. Their understanding of the mentality of other peoples (particularly that of the British) was faulty. Hauser illustrates his thesis by showing how the German leadership misjudged the British reaction to the German naval construction program right from its inception in 1899. Instead of bringing the British around to an alliance with Germany (as the Kaiser and Tirpitz fondly expected), the pressure from Berlin drove them into the arms of Russia. Then, as Hauser points out, the German leaders, having produced what they most feared, proceeded to accept this encirclement "with fatalistic resignation"—and to redouble their pressure on the British fleet! What they should have seen was that the Anglo-Russian tie was far from being a cordial entente during the years from 1907 to 1914. All the way from the Balkans through the Middle East to China, Grey was fighting a covert delaying action against his importunate Russian partner, who was taking full advantage of the situation in the shrewd conviction that Britain would have no alternative to the Russian alignment as long as Berlin continued to increase its heavy-handed threat to the British Home Fleet. This the German leaders obligingly proceeded to do, and even when Lord Haldane came to Berlin they obtusely put their price so high that it could not be met even by those British leaders who were most anxious to escape from Russian blackmail. As Hauser puts it, the German naval program provided the cement that held together the basically unstable bond between London and St. Petersburg.

Since other writers have analyzed in detail the Anglo-German naval problem, Hauser devotes most of his effort to the Anglo-Russian side of the story, bringing in the *Flottenfrage* only at crucial points. Thus, although his basic concern is with the Anglo-German problem, his primary contribution turns out to be a very useful survey of Anglo-Russian relations.

As a result of Hauser's work in English source material, his treatment of the nuances in British policy is notably perceptive. The bibliography is useful but oddly omits R. P. Churchill's study of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

THE FOUNDING OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. By John Ford Golay. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 299. \$5.00.)

In the year of the Berlin blockade of 1948-1949 the founding of the Federal Re-

public took on special significance and urgency. The Republic was arising not only from the ashes of Hitler's Reich; the Americans and British wished it to take form quickly, to be a monument of Western sobriety and wisdom, and pleasing in the sight of the French, who were sorry to see any German state at all. The constitution was a document the Germans themselves wished to diminish in importance; they insisted on calling it a Basic Law, because it was being adopted while the country was divided and under occupation. Yet the reluctant founding fathers of the Bundesrepublik worked with great care to produce a document which, while intended for the short range, was to be as well wrought as they could make it.

Mr. Golay's excellent book presents in a condensed and lucid fashion the background and considerations that caused the decisions to be made, the mixed memories that were in the minds of the drafting committee and the delegates to the Parliamentary Council as they pieced out a law that would take account of the present needs and of the terrible failures they had inherited. Working from the records of their deliberations, Golay shows how the differences in the German points of view were reconciled and what (often unexpected) part the Allied image of the good Germany to come played in shaping the document.

The Germans naturally wanted to have a basic law conforming to what they believed were the democratic patterns suited to the country. Thus the cleavages of interest that had given rise to the multiparty system were reflected in a partial system of proportional representation, even though the splinter parties of the Weimar Republic had been in part responsible for Hitler's rise to power. Nevertheless, the decision was a sensible one in the circumstances and has not prevented the trend toward a two-party system that has become increasingly evident in German elections.

There were also changes in the philosophical positions. As Golay points out, in pre-Hitler Germany public order and security were the accepted purposes of the state, while in the United States and Britain individual rights and freedoms came first. The Weimar Constitution had a code of basic rights, but it included such pieties as "It is the duty of every German to accept honorary office." In the Basic Law individual rights became more precise as well as inviolable and binding on the three branches of the government.

The work of the German experts preceding the Parliamentary Council took only thirteen days at Chiemsee, and it was perhaps the pressure for moving rapidly that prevented pedantry from overcoming the needs of the hour. At any rate the Basic Law has become the constitution of a more stable political regime than the Germans have known or expected to see for a long time.

New Haven, Connecticut

EUGENE DAVIDSON

HISTORIKER IN MEINER ZEIT: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Walter Goetz*. With a preface by *Theodor Heuss*. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1957. Pp. xv, 463. DM 32.)

THESE collected essays of a leading German historian, Walter Goetz, republished by friends on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday, are an important contribution not only to the history of German historiography but to German intellectual and cultural history. Goetz has held the positions of collaborator, member, and president of the Munich Historical Commission, the chair of Karl Lamprecht at the Leipzig Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte, was presiding officer of the *Dante-Gesellschaft*, a member of the Democratic party and political disciple of Friedrich Naumann, and served also as deputy in the Reichstag during the 1920's. Though a critic of Wilhelm II, he was not enthusiastic about the Weimar democratic regime, but in spite of his conservative leanings resolved not to turn backward to authoritarianism. He also thoroughly disapproved of the National Socialist regime.

The essays in this volume date from 1912 to 1955, are edited by Herbert Grundmann and are prefaced by his friend Theodor Heuss, President of the German Federal Republic. They are all to some degree linked to the introductory autobiography, which was originally published in 1925 and has been brought down to the present. Since the reviews and articles were written on the occasion of the birthday or death of a German historian or the publication of a new historical study, the work is not offered as a comprehensive and systematic treatment of German historical writing of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The reader, however, will find here a wealth of information and some excellent articles. There are perceptive evaluations of Karl Lamprecht, Friedrich Meinecke, Lujo Brentano, Ignaz Döllinger, Adolf von Harnack, and others. Goetz combines a mastery of his subject with a genuine desire to do justice to each historian. Yet at times it is rather difficult to follow Goetz. The article on Treitschke, written in 1934, hails the historian, in spite of his "one-sidedness," as a "guide to genuine national conviction and highest cultural awareness, as a fighter against all phraseology." His "passion"—also reflected in his pamphlet on the Jews—is forgiven, since, allegedly, it was not directed against them, but "actually" grew out of his concern for "German culture." This spirit of impartiality is not extended to August Bebel or to socialism in general.

There are other contradictions in this volume that mirror the confusion of the German intelligentsia in the period between the two World Wars and help to explain the downfall of the Weimar Republic. Goetz holds, for instance, that Lamprecht had never entertained exaggerated conceptions of *Deutschum* and had never engaged in the cult of power; yet only a few pages earlier we are told that even as "unpolitical" a historian as Lamprecht had prior to World War I supported the inclusion of the Austrian and the Baltic Germans in the German Reich.

and had endorsed a foreign policy that was to extend Germany's zone of influence through Turkey and Persia to Afghanistan and China! During World War I Goetz, in the same vein, had rejected French charges against the excessive nationalism of German historiography. In 1924, under somewhat different circumstances, he admitted with admirable frankness that, under the impact of their "sufferings" in the postwar era, as many as one-half of the German historians had lost historic perception, were full of "prejudices," motivated by "false piety" toward the past, and failed to see in the march of democracy across Europe the inevitable result of general cultural progress. He admonished these German historians to "open their eyes and look upon the world as it really is, and not as national exclusiveness and overestimation would like it to be." The question raised in the preface by Theodor Heuss as to the rank of Goetz himself in German historiography will be only partly answered by this collection of essays, which throw light merely on one of several areas of his scholarly writings.

Youngstown University

ALFRED D. LOW

LEBENDIGE VERGANGENHEIT: BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN SELBSTBESINNUNG. ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG DES VERFASSERS HERAUSGEgeben VON FREUNDEN UND SCHÜLERN. By Gerhard Ritter. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 331. DM 21.)

THE present book contains eleven essays by Professor Ritter and a complete bibliography of all his writings over the last forty-eight years. It was edited by his many friends, among whom the United States is well represented. The title of the book is identical with one which was to appear in 1944 but which was destroyed before distribution. It was reviewed in 1946 by Dr. Alfred Vagts (*AHR*, LI [July, 1946], 711) who did not know of the annihilation of the entire stock. Four of the articles in the present book are identical with those printed in the former work; five were printed elsewhere and thoroughly revised for the present edition; only two are unpublished. Yet many students of history and politics will be grateful for having these essays now easily available in the present handsome volume. It is noteworthy that the subtitle of the 1944 volume read *Beiträge zur historischen Selbstbesinnung*, while the present edition adds the word *politischen*.

Ritter's essays are written from the German point of view, which the author tends to identify with that of the Continent, as opposed to the English liberal tradition. But even on the Continent several states—interestingly enough of "Germanic" origin (Switzerland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia)—followed the English rather than the German model of political development and ideology. When Ritter explains the rise of nondemocratic governments in Poland, Spain, etc., by the lack in those countries of the "geistigmoralischen und wirtschaftlich-sozialen

Voraussetzungen für eine moderne Demokratie," he omits mentioning that a similar lack prevailed in Germany and Italy.

Ritter's attitude toward Bismarck is ambivalent. He knows that he helped to prevent the growth of the Germans "aus einem Volk blindlings gehorchender landesfürstlicher Untertanen in eine politische Nation." German liberal leadership failed in 1848 and again in 1866-1870, and it was Bismarck's fault that after 1870 no German political elite developed, a failure that more than anything else doomed the Weimar Reich. Ritter knows and states this very well. He calls Bismarck's Reich "Erbe des preussischen Militär-und Obrigkeitstaates" and blames German liberalism for having become the "Vortrupp nationalistischer Machtpolitik." Yet there is in him, as in so many Germans of his generation, a nostalgic love for Bismarck and the conviction that the Weimar Reich perished above all by the attitude of its former enemies.

The same ambivalence characterizes Ritter's noteworthy essay on the political problem of militarism in Germany. In the Prussian army of 1815 there were of course many sober and chivalrous officers like General von Müffling who found the Prussian posture of putting one's foot on the enemy's neck repulsive. But the lamentable fact is that Müffling did not prevail against the chauvinism of Gneisenau, Blücher, or Stein. The same thing happened again and again. After all, Bismarck came to power in 1862 to make militarism triumph, and his glorifiers among German historians enhanced the consequences. After 1918 German officers and nationalists demanded German rearmament for "defensive" purposes, though at that time no one planned "aggression" against Germany. But many Germans wished to revive *Machtpolitik* and to "settle accounts" with Poland and the West.

The critical attitude toward some of Ritter's premises does not diminish the appreciation of the scholarship and of the art of writing which characterize his eminently readable essays. There are at least two—one on the army and the political resistance against Hitler, the other on the Russian enigma—that the present reviewer admired without any reservation and that it would be worth while to translate into English.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. Volume I, ORIGINS (1860-1882). By *Richard Hostetter*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1958. Pp. xii, 444. \$6.50.)

RICHARD Hostetter offers with this book the first full, rich installment of a three-volume history of the Italian socialist movement. He has bravely plunged into the labyrinth of an obscure sector of a neglected period of unitary Italian history and has come up with a fine, clear chronicle of the ideological-revolutionary battles waged therein. The real protagonists of this story, as Dr. Hostetter

reiterates at all crucial points, were on the one hand the new Italian state to which the politics and *mystiques* of the *risorgimento* had at last given substance and, on the other, the larger masses of the Italian people in town and country who had assisted more or less passively the progress and success of the national revolution. After "the making of Italy" the forefront of the revolutionary stage came to be occupied by Mazzini and Bakunin, each seeking to win and wean those masses of artisans and/or peasants from the ruling classes whose "real" interest, they agreed for different reasons, had apparently been to achieve the national revolution as a "means" to political predominance. Lurking in the wings of the new Italian revolutionary stage after the founding of the First International was the Mephistophelian archantagonist of both those demiurges of moral or libertarian revolution: Karl Marx.

In his lucid narrative and analytical study Hostetter does not subscribe to the orthodox Marxist characterization of the ensuing three-cornered struggle as a first phase of "the original deviation of Italian socialism." This catch phrase is obviously more than a verbalization of a dogmatic view. There is behind it the assumption of the real existence of a straight "line" which neither the theory nor the practice, neither the history nor the fate of Marxism before and after 1917 seems to justify. Originally or eventually, for over a century the history of European socialism can be read as a series of multiform "deviations" from Marxism and vice versa. Hostetter is naturally fully aware of all this. The conclusion, therefore, that "from the Marxists' point of view" Bakunin's demolition of Mazzinian influence and of the pre-Marxist "body of socialist doctrine" deriving from Proudhon and Pisacane was a "calamity" does elicit some puzzlement. This is further increased by the double negative judgment that it was not because of "Italy's relative lack of industrialization" but because "Italian radicals . . . were simply not well enough informed on 'scientific' socialist doctrine" that "the failure of Marxian socialism, as a system of thought, to recommend itself" was due in Italy after 1871. Degrees of industrialization or of information were of course important, but neither of them nor both can really suffice historically to explain the failure of Marxian socialism in Italy after 1871 any more than, *mutatis mutandi*, they explain the success of Fabianism, revisionism, and syndicalism before 1914 and of Bolshevism in 1917.

The fact is that behind the few, perhaps unavoidable, uncertainties of interpretation in Hostetter's excellent study lies a subtle and justified historiographical pique. The American student of early Italian socialism has here joined in an incipient debate with contemporary Italian orthodox Marxist interpreters among whom, as he points out in the preface, Aldo Romano, Gastone Manacorda, Franco Della Peruta, and Luciano Cafagna are the most outstanding. The sheer accident of publication date may account for the fact that Hostetter refers to neither Leo Valiani's latest rich and felicitous bibliographical article (*Rivista storica italiana*, LXVIII [nos. 3, 4, 1956], 447-510, 620-69) nor Rosario Romeo's critique of Ital-

ian Marxist historiography (*Nord e sud*, III [no. 21, 1956], 5-37; [no. 22, 1956], 16-44). Be that as it may, Valiani, Romeo, and now Hostetter independently but also collectively constitute a rather formidable and worthy challenge to the orthodox Marxist and Gramscian exegesis on Italian social and socialist history. For the moment at least, Hostetter has well matched Professor Romano's massive *Storia del movimento socialista in Italia* (Rome, 1954-56), whose first three volumes cover much the same ground, and has thus in part shaken the latter's near-monopoly in the field of scholarly interpretation of early Italian socialist history. If it could be detailed here the test of a real historiographical difference between Romano and Hostetter would be shown to be in their approach to the central problem constituted by Bakunin in Italy. Be it sufficient merely to suggest that while Romano's Bakunin is largely the creature of the original Marxian interpretation revised according to Gramsci, Hostetter's Bakunin is on the whole a historical figure empirically reconstructed through an analysis of the Russian anarchist's contrasting activity and impact upon Italian revolutionary circles before and after 1872.

Hostetter's work thus contributes much toward restoring a needed modicum of balance, through an independent reconstruction and reappraisal of what he regards as a summarization of early experiences rather than a "prehistory" of the Italian socialist movement. It may well be, however, that his work is neither a summary nor a prehistory. Hostetter is either too cautious or too modest to refer to it for what it really is: solid social and ideological history of a unique moment in the post-*risorgimento* era. In its fusion of the clarity of the synthesis with the depth of the monograph, his book is an enviable example of a successful mode of attack on the social historian's perennial dilemma.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

TITOISM IN ACTION: THE REFORMS IN YUGOSLAVIA AFTER 1948.

By Fred Warner Neal. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 331. \$6.50.)

AFTER Stalin violently excommunicated Yugoslavia in June, 1948, the Yugoslav Communists, gradually recovering from the trauma, evolved a modified ideology of their own and took certain striking practical steps in an effort to make Yugoslav actuality conform with their theories. Titoism has attracted world-wide attention; we all want to know whether it works, and if so how. Some observers, like C. P. McVicker, in his recent *Titoism, Pattern for International Communism*, argue that other Communist parties may well imitate it in the future. Mr. Neal, also a political scientist covering the same ground but more cautious, limits himself to a review of the chief aspects of the system. In a chapter apiece, he discusses the new doctrine, the Communist party (including the Djilas case), the leader (with speculations on the succession to Tito), the new

governmental system (federal), the control of the economy, the reforms in local government (including the new commune, still in an early and mysterious stage), the reforms in agriculture, and relaxations of totalitarianism. The last two of these are the thinnest; the reader will hardly get the sense of what it is to be a peasant in a peasant country, nor will he be satisfied with the perfunctory summaries on religion and on freedom of expression. Two final chapters contain the author's reflections on Titoism in general and a discussion of Yugoslav foreign policy. The last chapter is disappointing; it omits all mention of the long- vexed Trieste issue and barely mentions Tito's effort to associate himself with the Indians, the Indonesians, and the Burmese as a kind of "third force" in international affairs.

In general, the historian will welcome another summary of this kind, particularly as he will find Neal's conclusions objective and judicious. But he may also feel the doubts often awakened by the straight "political science" treatment of a subject that to him may seem to require historical analysis. Yugoslavia is a complicated country, whose development, even as a Communist-dominated state, did not begin in 1948. Yet the reader is given no effective background against which to judge contemporary developments: he is told repeatedly, for example, that the Yugoslav "cultural level" is low, but never in what particulars or as the result of what forces. Even the growth of Titoism itself is obscured by the purely topical treatment; in fact, the post-1948 political experimenting in Yugoslavia began with the decentralization of the economy, moved into local government, thence to the central government, and only thereafter to the party. The order of Neal's chapters (though within each one he gives the appropriate dates of each important measure) in itself ignores the larger sweep of the movement as it gathered momentum.

The style sometimes shares the baffling terminological confusions of the Titoists themselves. Of the reforms in general, for example, Neal says: "Generally speaking, they were not put into effect by individual laws but rather as a series of measures created by decrees and then finally pulled together in formal enactments." The differences, if any, between laws, measures, decrees, and enactments elude the reviewer. Does Neal mean that the reforms were enacted in batches without a discernible over-all pattern, and only later codified?

Harvard University

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

FINLAND AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1922. By *C. Jay Smith, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958. Pp. x, 251. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Smith is one of the growing number of American scholars who have made use during the past several years of the Helsinki collections of Russian materials, which are the most extensive now available in free Europe. In his present study he has placed the emphasis on "the external side of Finnish affairs

. . . as illuminated primarily by materials in Russian and Western sources." It is the author's contention that these sources "have been somewhat neglected in Finland."

The main part of the narrative consists of a half-dozen interesting chapters that span the period from January, 1918, to September, 1923. It also includes a prologue which gives a summary of Finland's history during the century before 1914, and a "Summary and Conclusions" chapter based on what the author considers to have been the experiences of the country during the period 1917-1922. It is the author's hope that the "factual record of Finland's experiences" in 1917-1922 will result in a "deeper understanding of the great Russian Revolution."

The author has labored under the formidable handicap of being unable to use Finnish or Swedish sources except when available in English, French, or German translation. Parts of his book, therefore, are distressingly inadequate. This applies especially to the prologue and to the account of the "origins" of the civil war in 1918. (In the latter connection and throughout his book Smith appears to be unaware of the fact, or reluctant to accept the fact, that the war was a war for independence in the strict sense of the term.) It applies no less to the characterization of Finland's position before and during World War I that involves fact and circumstance that can be understood only by using sources available in Finnish or Swedish. A single illustration suffices to indicate the author's difficulties. In his summary he offers the startling statement that before 1900 "there did not exist any real anti-Russian nationalist movement, and there is no reason to believe that Finland would not have fought loyally by Russia's side between 1914 and 1917" had it not been for Russification policies of the preceding fifteen years. This is indeed bold and extravagant interpretation of the record of the years in question.

This reviewer has long had a marked a priori inclination to enjoy and to appreciate new English-language additions to the relatively limited literature dealing with the nations of the Scandinavian north. In this instance one records with regret that despite the author's objectivity and the labor he has obviously expended upon his volume, it disappoints more than it pleases.

Columbia University

JOHN H. WUORINEN

SMOLENSK UNDER SOVIET RULE. By *Merle Fainsod*. [A RAND Corporation Research Study.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 484. \$8.50.)

IN 1941 the invading Germans captured the official files and records of the Smolensk *oblast* (province) organization of the Communist party of the Soviet Union for the period from 1917 to 1938 that the Soviets had failed to evacuate or destroy. German intelligence officers made a random selection of 536 files which were removed to Germany, where they were found by United States mili-

tary authorities. The volume under review is the result of Professor Merle Fainsod's judicious analysis of this unique and undisputed source of information concerning inner party life on the local level. This task required the careful study of approximately 200,000 pages of documents, which could be utilized initially only with the help of an especially prepared index.

Fainsod has masterfully pieced together and interpreted these documents in terms of the organization of political authority, the controls through which it was exercised, and its impact upon people's lives. Following a brief survey of the historical development and general condition of Smolensk and its party organization, the bulk of the archival data is presented analytically in chapters dealing with the subordinate party and governmental levels, the security organs, the courts and the procuracy, criminal activity, the purges, collectivization of agriculture, and the condition of the peasantry. Other chapters deal with the organization of the machine tractor stations and their relation to the party, its relations with the military, party control over higher education, censorship operations (a revealing treatment), and the struggle against religion as recorded by the believers in atheism. The status of the Jewish and Polish minorities in Smolensk *oblast* is also given attention.

Though uneven and containing gaps, the Smolensk party archive is a most revealing source. Here one finds protocols of the *obkom* (province committee) of the party, correspondence between the bureau of this committee and the numerous *raion* or district party committees subordinate to it, numerous plaintive and pathetic letters addressed to this seat of local authority in the hope of securing justice, and instances of that infamous Soviet institution, the denunciation. There are numerous reports from the detailed records of the OGPU-NKVD dealing with complaints of the population and the presence of anti-Soviet attitudes.

One is impressed by the many instances of corruption and abuse and by the seamy side of Soviet life reflected in these confidential and secret documents; cases of embezzlement, sexual promiscuity, and drinking bouts were apparently quite prevalent through the years. The Soviet sin of "familiness" or local self-protective cliques, the frequent use of scapegoats, and the ease with which party people dissociated themselves from their colleagues who had fallen from grace are all present. In the archive one finds lists of purged party members, lists of officials entitled to preferential treatment in obtaining goods in scarce supply, and many secret directives and circulars from Moscow.

The archive also provides unquestionable documentary confirmation of the accounts and observations of many of the Soviet World War II refugee informants. It is a vital source, not only for our understanding of the local impact of Stalinism, but also for our knowledge of the inner workings of the phenomenon itself. Fainsod has made the fullest use of these rare documents and has treated the first two decades of Soviet rule in an unusual manner. It is unlikely that he shall have any equal.

University of Washington

JOHN S. RESHETAR, JR.

Reviews of Books
Near Eastern History

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL VON EGYPTEN UND SEINE ZEIT: EINE STUDIE ZUR GESCHICHTE VORDERASIENS UND EGYPTENS IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 7./13. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hans L. Gottschalk*. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1958. Pp. x, 256. DM 30.)

THE title of this monograph by the noted Orientalist of the University of Vienna is misleading, for it is neither a biography nor a "life and times." It is a study of the statecraft by which al-'Ādil, and especially al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238), managed to hold the Ayyūbid realm together after the death of Saladin. It is written for the specialist, but Gottschalk's engaging style proves that Near Eastern history need not be dull. Medievalists will also find this work valuable for the judicious discussion of Ayyūbid relations with the Franks.

Two theses, neither one entirely new but both here expressed for the first time in a coherent and cogent fashion, command attention. The first thesis views two stresses operating within the Ayyūbid state as potentially subversive of the state's structure. One of these stresses was the rivalry among the component elements of the state (Egypt, Yemen, etc.). The other was the political instability within the vassal states. This instability stemmed from the clash between the pro- and anti-Ayyūbid factions. The time of change in ruler in a vassal state was the moment of greatest danger for the Ayyūbids. It was then that the anti-Ayyūbid faction would make its bid for control, often relying upon the assistance of an outside power. The result was war, and war which often threatened to broaden into a fratricidal struggle.

The second thesis ranges beyond Ayyūbid history in its implications. Egyptian security demands the control of Syria which Gottschalk extends to include the areas of Armenia and Mesopotamia bordering on Syria. Egypt was ruled as a centralized, unified state; not so Syria. There the political scene was dominated by local lords and dynasties. The problem for the Ayyūbids was how to control Syria—as a federation of lords installed by and loyal to the Ayyūbids, or as a unified state. Saladin and al-'Ādil tried the former; al-Malik al-Kāmil the latter. He died before attaining his goal of a unified Syria and it was left to the Mamlūks to complete the task after a fashion. The second half of the monograph is devoted to al-Malik al-Kāmil's attempt at unification.

Excellent use is made of the printed Arabic sources. The indexes are good. The work would be strengthened by the inclusion of more material on the factions labeled as anti-Ayyūbid, a bibliography, and a detailed map of adequate scale. A political history is only the necessary skeleton. We hope that Gottschalk will go on to fill it out with other studies, especially an institutional history.

Princeton University

NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

THE MUQADDIMAH: AN INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. In three volumes. By *Ibn-Khaldûn*. Translated from the Arabic by *Franz Rosenthal*. [Bollingen Foundation Series, XLIII.] (New York: Pantheon Books for the Bollingen Foundation. 1958. Pp. cxv, 481; xiv, 463; xi, 603. \$18.50 the set.)

IBN-KHALDÛN (1332-1406) came too late for the period of translation from Arabic into Latin. Until the nineteenth century, therefore, his influence was limited practically to the Arabic-speaking world which, judged by the numerous manuscripts and printed editions, lacked no appreciation of his unique *Muqaddimah* (*Muqaddamah*, in the Arab East), the first of his seven-volume history of the Arabs and Berbers. Of the non-Arab Moslems, the Ottoman Turks took the keenest interest in this brilliant student of society and state. A Turkish translation of his *Muqaddimah* appeared in 1863. The French came next with a complete rendition by de Slane in three volumes (Paris, 1862-68) based on an Arabic edition by Quatremère (Paris, 1858). Since his discovery by Europe, ibn-Khaldûn and his work have been the subject of numerous dissertations and treatises in its languages. In English, Reynold Nicholson, *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, 1922) and Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London, 1950) rendered passages and excerpts. It was left to Professor Rosenthal to undertake the entire work and achieve it with high distinction. Ibn-Khaldûn's long wait was not in vain.

In an eighty-six-page introduction the translator sketches the life of his author and deals critically with his work. He does not share the general disappointment in ibn-Khaldûn's failure to apply adequately the theories elaborated in the *Muqaddimah* to the material—at least in the last two volumes of the history he wrote—and partially explains it on the ground of following the Moslem precedent of relegating theories to an introduction, an unconvincing argument.

Rosenthal was fortunate in finding and using manuscripts written in ibn-Khaldûn's lifetime—one bearing his autograph and another inscribed by his amanuensis—and preserved in Istanbul and Fez. As for the system of translation, he seemingly faltered between the literal and the modernized types, as a spot check of several passages would indicate, when there should have been no question in such a work about being as faithful to the linguistic original as can be consistent with the English idiom. Nevertheless, the rendition is entirely adequate and thoroughly trustworthy. Nowhere could this reviewer detect a serious misinterpretation. Here and there shades of meaning were missed, e.g., "excitability" should be "fickleness"; "enables them to cooperate" should read "is intended for mutual cooperation." Here is a case of unnecessary literalism: the repeated use of the verb "to obtain" with "language" as its direct object. In every case checked, the transliteration was found to be meticulously done, with only one slip noted: "Lattakiyah" for "al-Ladbiqiyah," "Latakiyah," "Latakia." It was surprising to see "Bulaq" Anglicized but Koran (Qur'ân) Arabicized throughout the work.

The text is illustrated with a number of figures and plates, some in color, and supplemented by a twenty-seven-page bibliography by Walter J. Fischel and a full index—leaving nothing to be desired.

Princeton, New Jersey

PHILIP K. HITT

THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY: MODERNIZING THE MIDDLE EAST. By *Daniel Lerner*, with the collaboration of *Lucille W. Pevsner*. Introduction by *David Riesman*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.] (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 466. \$7.50.)

THIS book is first of all the presentation of a theory of modernization. The general theory is that a modern style of life has arisen within the European orbit and spread to the non-European world, and that inextricably connected with such modernity is a distinctive personality. The features of modernity are urbanization, literacy, and "participant lifeways," e.g., participation in elections and having opinions about matters outside one's immediate problems and needs. The predominant personal style of modern society is distinguished by empathy, "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation."

This theory is in part developed from, in part applied to, case studies of Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Iran. On the basis of a series of some sixteen hundred questionnaires three personality types have been distinguished, traditional man, modern man, and the transitional, not yet fully modern, but partly mobile and on his way toward "participant lifeways." Empathy plays a crucial role. Some persons, regardless of social, economic, or educational condition, are more empathic than others. These are the ones who first respond to knowledge of new ways, and begin the process of modernization. At the same time, modernization itself creates the empathic personality.

Lerner applies his typology to each of the countries represented by interviews. In the process, he integrates his material with general socio-economic and political developments. He concludes that the spread of mass media, by increasing the tempo and extent of personality modernization, is a major force. In areas where balanced modernization prevails and modernizing persons have reasonable prospects of satisfying their new desires, such as Turkey and Lebanon, there is stability and self-sustaining growth. In other areas, such as Egypt and Syria, where the modernization of the economy lags, the modernizers have little prospect of fulfilling their new wants and violent instability is the result. Lerner also detects, here and there, the beginning of class consciousness among the depressed masses, and even suggests that some of the newer political groups have succeeded by their ability to utilize social discontent.

The questionnaires used by Lerner throw light primarily on participation in the media of mass communication. That a high rate of media participation indi-

cates a weakening of the traditional forms of authority and movement toward what Lerner understands by "participant lifeways" is a doubtful proposition. In this connection it should be pointed out that the correlation of media participation and Near Eastern urban and election indices is inadequate. The Near Eastern town, regardless of size, is not an urban area in Lerner's sense, and Syrian and Lebanese elections, at least, have been characterized by a much higher degree of electoral participation in the villages than in the towns. Other studies as well as personal observation, moreover, testify to the continued vitality of family and personal ties, even among those elements most exposed to modernization. Finally, in discussing political developments, Lerner has relied on a literature that is rich in opinions but very poor in concrete data.

Still, research of any sort on the modern Near East has hardly begun. Whether or not Lerner's main theses, which he regards only as "more plausible hypotheses than they were before," will be validated by future research and events, the book is valuable and stimulating. Every chapter contains new material and acute judgments. The book is a very welcome first effort in the application of the techniques of opinion research to the social and political life of the Near East.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

Far Eastern History

DAS JAHRHUNDERT DER CHINESISCHEN REVOLUTION, 1851-1949.

By Wolfgang Franke. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 297. DM 19.80.)

In this book we have a text frankly intended for general consumption rather than for Sinologists. The author says his purpose is to present the step-by-step development of Chinese revolution through the many-sided development of China rather than to give "a mere history of China of the last hundred years." Dr. Franke is reasonably successful in attaining this hypothesis, for he has drawn a leading thread of elucidation in sequence down through the century of revolution to the present time. His selection of materials with their analyses is more historical and impartial than is that of some recent publications on this subject and he does not, as some are wont to do, assume that this is the ultimate step in China's revolution.

The text consists of six chapters. Chapter I gives a well-condensed summary of revolutions in Chinese history. Chapter II reviews the forerunners of the revolutionary movement of the twentieth century: the Taiping Revolution, the reform movement of 1898, and the Boxer movement of 1900. Chapter III outlines the revolution of the state constitution (1911) and its preceding history. Chapter

IV deals with the cultural revolution (the movement of May 4, 1919). In this chapter the author shows the student rebellion against the shortcomings of Confucianism and the significance of the students' role in the revolution. Chapter V covers the political revolution: the victory of the Kuomintang. The author treats the matter of Sun Yat-sen's leadership, associates, and programs with a harshness that smacks of a lack of historical perspective and also of biased judgment. He quotes from *La République Chinoise* (Paris, 1914) of Albert Maybon to support this unfair and uncritical position. Chapter VI deals with the social revolution: the breakdown of the Kuomintang and victory of the Communists. Here the author might have demonstrated his own independent thinking and conclusions. Instead of following the current vocabulary, approach, and conclusions of the day regarding China, he could have tackled the fundamental problems in the growth of capitalism, the process of industrialization, the rise of nationalism, and the emergence of new leadership. The ten-year multiple reconstruction period of China under the Nationalist government, 1928-1938 (cf. U. S. *Cong. Record*, 76 Cong., 1 sess., Aug. 2, 1939) is omitted. Regarding the Marshall mission the author repeats more of Marshall's personal opinions than the documentary evidences of his mediation. A sojourn in China in the years 1937-1950 would tend, we feel, toward a limitation comparable to that of an author spending the years 1919-1933 in the Weimar Republic.

University of California, Los Angeles

YU-SHAN HAN

THE DIPLOMACY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: 1945-1958. By *Russell H. Fifield*.
(New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xv, 584. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Fifield has put all students of contemporary world affairs in his debt by this carefully documented exposition of the international relations of Southeast Asian countries. His discussion encompasses an enormous variety of issues, but gives relatively little attention to nonpolitical and domestic affairs. He has apparently exhausted the available voluminous English-language sources, and includes a bibliographical appendix of forty-seven pages. Introductory chapters describe the setting (geography, peoples, resources), political developments prior to independence, and the governmental machinery relating to foreign policy administration. The main portion of the book is organized on a country-by-country basis. Late chapters discuss factors involved in regionalism and the relations of the countries to the United Nations, both as recipients of technical assistance and as participants in the formal sessions of the UN. A short concluding chapter analyzes the political forces operative in the postwar period.

One of the refreshing characteristics of the book is its completely objective spirit, which avoids all trace of partisanship even in the most controversial issues. The author surveys the interrelations of the several countries with each other and with their larger Asian neighbors, their attitudes toward protagonists in the cold

war and toward important problem areas. Particularly well done is Fifield's thoughtful evaluation of the successive Asian conferences in which Southeast Asian countries have participated. One of his appendixes reproduces the full text of the final communiqué of the Bandung Conference of 1955. The book is easily the best in its field both as to extent of coverage and in terms of scholarly competence.

When so much as been afforded, it may seem ungracious to ask for more. It must nevertheless be pointed out that the several chapters are not of equal quality. Those on the Philippines, Malaya, and Indonesia reflect a depth of understanding that is not apparent in the less perceptive chapters on the prelude to independence, Burma, and Thailand. Research in the printed sources, however meticulous, cannot compensate for the lack of the "feel" of a given situation. The limitations attending the author's almost complete dependence on English-language sources is especially apparent in the long chapter on the two Vietnams, Cambodia, and Laos, valuable as is his discussion as a pioneering venture. Only three footnotes refer to French sources, while vernacular materials are not utilized at all. It is precisely because the foreign policies of Southeast Asian states derive from varying concepts of national interest stemming from economic, cultural, and historical factors that formal pronouncements of policy available in English must always be assessed in their particular contexts. The author's analysis lags somewhat behind his description; his insight is not always up to the high level of his exposition. Finally, his unwillingness to hazard personal opinions and conclusions, however commendable in terms of objectivity, is at times disappointing, especially in situations where he is eminently qualified to speak.

A few examples can be cited. More emphasis could be given to the fact that Thailand's government has not been obliged to take into account, as have its ex-colonial neighbors, popular hypersensitivity to the alleged continuing dangers of Western imperialism. The reviewer would also like to have Fifield's estimate concerning the risks that the Thai may be taking in their future relations with China by reason of Bangkok's pressure to nationalize resident Chinese. Burma's political leaders are not in as complete agreement regarding foreign policy as their public pronouncements seem to indicate. Premier Nu's labored concern for religious revival was not unanimously approved, although few dared challenge it openly. Burma's attitudes toward India and Pakistan as well as toward China are colored by psychological and historical factors which are not revealed in current English-language documents. In short, this book provides an excellent foundation for further study of the subject, which must, however, include the utilization of language sources other than English plus a more adequate appreciation of psychological factors and that elusive thing called national character.

OKINAWA: THE HISTORY OF AN ISLAND PEOPLE. By *George H. Kerr.*

(Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company. 1958. Pp. xviii, 542. \$6.75.)

THIS is the first comprehensive and authoritative history of the small but strategically and politically important island kingdom of Okinawa. The pertinence of this book will be as apparent to the hundreds of thousands of Americans who have lived and served on Okinawa as soldiers, sailors, marines, or civilians from 1945 to the present as to the smaller community of students and scholars in the field of the Far East. Both groups will be pleased with the appearance of a book that answers the questions of the curious layman, satisfies the standards of critical scholarship, and is readable and fascinating besides.

Mr. Kerr is qualified to write this history by extensive residence and travel in Japan, Okinawa, and Taiwan, by his use of the valuable collections at Hoover Library, and by his familiarity with a wide range of official, documentary materials in Washington and elsewhere, some of which he had a part in preparing. Following the classic tradition of both Chinese and Western historians, he made a special tour of the geographical sites and historical monuments of the area as a part of his preparation for writing this book. Consequently, Kerr is able to bring a fresh, personal knowledge and concern of and for his subject and to breathe life into the dry record of the past.

This history of Okinawa covers the legendary past of the archipelago, with the Chinese and local traditions of migrations and kings, reflecting its early connections with the mainland of China and the South Seas. The microscopic "greatness" of Okinawa occurred in the period from 1398 to 1573, when the Chuzan kingdom enjoyed comparative independence and achieved a modest opulence through domestic industry and foreign trade under a vigorous and stable local monarchy. This was followed by two centuries of isolation and the gradual loss of independence through a creeping "tributary-itis," which eventually found Okinawan kings cringing before two masters—a remote, haughty, and condescending Emperor of Heaven in Peking and a nearby, arrogant, and mercenary feudal overload in Kagoshima, *tozama daimyo* of Satsuma, the Japanese state immediately north of the Ryukyu chain. The long period of divided loyalties and the complex pattern of Okinawan government and society that emerged is sensitively and carefully developed.

To Americans, the brief but important interlude starring Commodore Matthew C. Perry, USN, in 1853-1854, has more than a casual interest, in the light of the position and problems of our occupation and administration of Okinawa from 1945 to the present. Commodore Perry represented a transitory, premature, but prophetic aspect of American history and policy which Kerr does not fully appreciate. His use of the documents of American history, in fact, involves numerous errors in detail and a general lack of perspective and understanding. Another flaw in his treatment of the nineteenth century is a rather sophomoric

and gratuitous disdain for all the missionary efforts in Okinawa, which, it must be admitted, lend themselves to ridicule. While both of the above-mentioned defects detract somewhat from the maturity of the book, they do not seriously affect its general soundness and accuracy. On the contrary, it is possible that this evidence of personal bias may add to the color and sprightliness of the book, particularly where the reader happens to agree with the point of view. The history ends with the Battle of Okinawa in 1945. The period of American occupation and administration is not covered.

This is a valuable book. It fills in a gap in the history of Eastern Asia and becomes an immediate must for every American serving in Okinawa, Japan, or Taiwan, as well as for every serious student of the Far East. Kerr has made a timely contribution to a still unsolved problem of practical politics and administration.

University of Colorado

EARL SWISHER

American History

ASPECTS OF LIBERTY: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO ROBERT E. CUSHMAN. Edited by Milton R. Konvitz and Clinton Rossiter. [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 355. \$5.50.)

THE sixteen papers comprising this collection of essays in honor of Professor Robert E. Cushman are grouped under six headings: theoretical, methodological, historical, international, comparative, and (sixth) jurisdictional, institutional, and procedural aspects of the common subject "human liberty—the chief concern of his scholarly labors, the guiding star of his public service, and the delight of his gentle spirit." It may be proper to state here that it was as presiding officer of an intercollegiate debate at Ithaca many years ago that Cushman first became known to this reviewer as a gracious practitioner of fairness, impartiality, and due process. A bibliography of the honoree's writings, compiled by Harold Frank Way, Jr., is appended. There is no index. The contributors are Robert M. Hutchins, Clinton Rossiter, James Hart, George E. G. Catlin, Milton R. Konvitz, Joseph Tanenhaus, John F. Cushman, John P. Roche, Donald G. Morgan, Quincy Wright, Herbert W. Briggs, Robert K. Carr, Mario Einaudi, William Anderson, Robert Fairchild Cushman, and R. B. Whitesel.

In general the authors furnish a competent summary of the "state of the art" with respect to the various subjects treated but do not contribute any significantly novel insights. The reviewer found Carr's comparison of English and American methods of protecting civil liberties particularly interesting, as well as Einaudi's comments on problems of freedom in postwar Europe. International protection of human rights is discussed by Wright and Briggs. The remaining articles relate

to conditions in the United States or are of a general philosophical nature. The use of social science data in civil rights litigation (notably the school segregation case) is interestingly treated by Tanenhaus; and Roche advances the hypothesis that "there is no 'tradition of liberty' in the United States, but two traditions."

In preindustrial America, Roche points out, there was little respect on grounds of principle for views considered fundamentally wrong, but extensive freedom for exercise of individualism was afforded because there was no established ideological monopoly. On the contrary, there were a multitude of subcultures and everyone could find somewhere a community that shared his peculiar views. Civil and religious liberty, as Madison observed in the *Federalist*, would result as a by-product because none of the numerous conflicting groups could become powerful enough to attain domination over the others. In modern industrialized America, however, the impersonal and administratively regulated structure of society affords the nonconformist an institutional safeguard or legal remedy that is provided as a positive goal of national public policy. Notwithstanding the dangerous potentialities of centralized authoritarianism, the influx of lawyers into the national bureaucracy has contributed to the observance of standards of procedural regularity which furnish substantial protection for the civil rights of individuals as a matter of principle.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

ARMS AND THE STATE: CIVIL-MILITARY ELEMENTS IN NATIONAL POLICY. By *Walter Millis*, with *Harvey C. Mansfield* and *Harold Stein*. (New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1958. Pp. 436. \$4.00.)

IN 1951 the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, after more than thirty years of exclusive concern with economic problems, began exploring the possibilities of expanding their activities into other fields "in the search for the keys to major contemporary problems." The area for study finally selected was civil-military relations, to be researched by political scientists and historians. In 1953 Harold Stein, lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, and formerly deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, was appointed research director of a project designed to produce two works. The first was to be a series of detailed case studies illustrating the relationship of military, political, and economic factors in the formulation of national policy; the second a history of civil-military relations in the United States since 1930, with special emphasis on the decade 1945-1955.

The present volume represents the completion of the second project, with changes in focus and authorship caused by the illness of Mr. Stein. The original plan to write a history of civil-military relations gave way as work progressed to a study of the role of the military and civilian and their interrelationships in the

shaping of policy decisions on the highest level. Professor Harvey C. Mansfield, editor of the *American Political Science Review*, assumed the task of writing the first part of the book, and Walter Millis joined the project in 1955 to complete the portion that Stein had expected to write. After his recovery the director himself assumed the editorial burdens involved in publication and contributed a thoughtful and generally excellent introduction.

Arms and the State is therefore the work of several hands, each highly competent but also individualistic. Very wisely, Stein has made no effort to impose a single pattern or point of view on the work. Instead, he has divided the book into two parts, each with its own attribution of authorship. Thus the differences in approach, style, and level of treatment do not create any difficulty, especially since the authors share many of the same ideas and attitudes.

Excellent as this solution is, it must be recognized that *Arms and the State* is still two volumes in one. Part I, in three chapters and the work of Mansfield, is essentially introductory in nature, tracing briefly and in summary fashion civil-military relations from the Manchurian crisis in 1931 to the end of World War II. The approach is analytical rather than historical, with emphasis on the administrative and institutional arrangements devised to coordinate the political and military elements involved in the formulation of policy.

Mr. Millis' portion of the volume, six chapters, covers the period from the close of World War II to the end of the Korean War. A gifted writer with a highly individual style and point of view, Millis traces the development of policy through the various crises between 1945 and 1955. Basically, this portion of the book is an analysis of policy since 1945 within the context of a historical survey of the cold war. It is largely interpretive, filled with illuminating and sometimes brilliant insights, and has a sense of excitement and immediacy that is the special mark of Millis' writing.

Different as they are, the two parts of this book, together with Stein's introduction, have an underlying unity—the problems presented in coordinating military with political factors in the formulation of national policy. In an age of ICBMs and fission and fusion bombs, few problems are more important than those dealing with the delicate balance between civilian and military authorities and institutions. By throwing light on this little-known area, the authors of this excellent survey, as well as the Trustees of the Twentieth Century Fund, have performed a valuable service for students and the public alike. The early publication of the case studies promises to add still further to our understanding of this important subject.

Department of the Army

Louis Morton

THE AMERICANS: THE COLONIAL EXPERIMENT. By Daniel J. Boorstin.
(New York: Random House, 1958. Pp. 434. \$6.00.)

THE process by which immigrants of various backgrounds and religions in the colonial period gradually evolved into the *genus Americanus* is the theme of Professor Boorstin's provocative book. This is not another history of colonial America giving the familiar outline of dates and events; it is instead Boorstin's interpretation of broad developments in the principal segments of the thirteen colonies. Book One, "The Vision and the Reality," deals with the quality of Massachusetts Bay, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Virginia, the regions which Boorstin singles out for particular emphasis. In Book Two, "Viewpoints and Institutions," he treats the American "frame of mind," learning, medicine, and the limits of American science. In Book Three, "Language and the Printed Word," he discusses such subjects as American speech, books and reading, and the press. In Book Four, "A Nation of Minute Men," he proceeds to the Revolution with attention to the quality of American military thinking and its legacy to the future.

As is evident from the outline, Boorstin travels in seven-league boots over an extensive terrain and gets the reader somewhat out of breath before dropping him into the midst of the Revolution. An occasional reader may choke with apoplexy, not from the exertion of following the author's rapid progress, but from some of his generalizations, which depart from cherished clichés in the colonial legend. Local patriots and regional historians will suffer a special hazard because Boorstin never walks around their extended toes and shows no regard for the sensitivities of special groups. The bland disregard of traditional beliefs and the detached way in which the author presents controversial conclusions will certainly stimulate fresh and profitable discussion of the meaning of the colonial experience and its effect upon later development. Boorstin has read widely in the source material and has come to conclusions that represent the opinion of an informed and original mind. If many of these opinions are less novel than they at first appear, they nevertheless find fresh and forceful expression in this book.

Like a good many other modern scholars, Boorstin realizes that the rank and file even in Massachusetts Bay were less interested in theology than in practical godliness. "So it was that although the Puritans in the New World made the Calvinist theology their point of departure," he asserts, "they made it precisely that and nothing else. From it they departed at once into the practical life. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century there was hardly an important work of speculative theology produced in New England." The core of Boorstin's thesis is that immigrants who succeeded in adapting themselves to the colonial experience and evolving into an American type did so by disregarding the useless lumber of theory and by cleaving to the practical and the useful. We are an intensely pragmatic people and we got that way early in our development, the author quite sensibly argues.

The origins of democratic principles interest Boorstin, and he makes some of his most acute comments in this area. It has not been popular, in recent years at any rate, to say good things about the slaveholding aristocracy of Virginia, yet Boorstin shrewdly observes that the Virginia ruling class probably contributed more to the development of a workable representative government than the much-advertised New England town meetings. "But the ways of history are obscure and even self-contradictory," he observes, and, despite the irony of the situation, he thinks the Virginia aristocrats made a positive contribution to democracy because they pursued a practical and workable plan of government free of dogmatic theory. They had "inoculated themselves against all strong viruses; they, least of all people, sought to grasp the truths—whether of religion, of government, or of society—suddenly and as a whole. Their empirical, and even their reforming, spirit was grown in the tobacco-soil of Virginia, and not in the corrosive absolutes which poured out of Europe in their century."

The colonials who set the pattern of future Americans were the ones who eschewed dogma and put aside all absolutes, Boorstin insists. This pragmatic quality, indeed, was the essential ingredient of the new American whom he describes. The Quakers failed, he insists, to establish themselves as a successful governing group in Pennsylvania, whatever their economic prosperity may have been, because of their dogmatism. "Quakers made a dogma of the absence of dogma," he comments. ". . . The Quaker was haunted by fear that every compromise was a defeat, that to modify anything might be to lose everything." Success in government would come to those who were flexible and compromised with the realities of life in the New World.

In the space of a brief review one cannot do justice to the arresting statements that appear on nearly every page of Boorstin's book. If the specialist cannot accept all of his generalizations and conclusions, he would do well to consider them afresh in the light of the new evidence that colonial scholars have brought to light in the past two decades. Boorstin performs a valuable service in emphasizing a fresh point of view and forcing readers to justify their prejudices if they cannot be persuaded by his comments to amend their thinking. Perhaps Boorstin might have been more persuasive had he been less inclined to overstatement and oversimplification. He is also occasionally careless in detail, as for example in assigning to Mr. Lyman Butterfield, the editor of the Adams Papers, the editorship of the Franklin Papers. The author cannot be held responsible for the extravagant nonsense that a Madison Avenue minion wrote for the dust jacket, which may prejudice some readers unfavorably. This book deserves a careful reading by everyone with a serious interest in colonial history. It is written with ease and clarity.

THE HERITAGE OF THE MIDDLE WEST. Edited by John J. Murray. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 303. \$4.00.)

TWELVE scholars concerned with the heritage of the Middle West read a series of stimulating papers at Coe College. These papers are the chapters of this book. In it a number of new viewpoints are expressed about phases of Middle Western development. One or more chapters will appeal to each reader interested in American history. Quite likely most of the chapters will prove interesting to all readers.

Particularly significant is the emphasis of John D. Hicks upon the industrialized Middle West of more recent years. The narrative of the experiences of European refugees in the Middle West by Václav L. Beneš is particularly timely. It indicates that the pioneers were not the only ones to find opportunity in the interior of the United States. John T. Flanagan gives an able survey of the literature of the Midwest.

The authors are in disagreement as to the region about which they were writing. Hicks writes about the twelve north central states from Ohio to Kansas and Nebraska. Eugene Kingman, on the contrary, in his discussion of art, seems to include chiefly the Great Plains. But there is more serious disagreement in the points of view expressed by different writers. Ray L. Billington, confining his paper to Iowa, accepts the interpretation of the frontier advanced by Henry Nash Smith in *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. The heritage of the frontier in Iowa is pictured as one created largely by speculators and farm laborers. It left the people unprepared for modern problems. "With its unrivaled riches still only partially tapped, with almost half its population unable to buy excessively priced lands and reduced to the menial status of tenants or farmers, and with the more energetic renters fleeing still farther westward in hope of finding a purchasable farm, the region was saddled with a heritage of debt and dissatisfaction rather than one of prosperity and hope."

In the next article, Paul Sharp, a resident of Iowa, writes: "Within a century American enterprise transformed a mid-continent region from a wilderness sustaining fewer than 100,000 aborigines to a complex, dynamic economy supporting 37,000,000 people and producing industrial and agricultural surpluses that seek national and international markets." To one the heritage was debt and dissatisfaction, to another it was progress from poverty to prosperity.

In its historical outlook the volume seems to have a conservative rather than a liberal tone. The European background rather than the frontier is given first place. The name of Frederick Jackson Turner is omitted from the index although he is referred to at least twice. Emphasis seems to be upon the conservative character of the farm movement and American labor. The work will stimulate readers to think about their heritage, but it scarcely gives a clear picture of that inheritance.

Indiana University

JOHN D. BARNHART

PROPHET OF LIBERTY: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF WENDELL PHILLIPS. By *Oscar Sherwin*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 814. \$10.00.)

This biography describes the life and times of Boston's greatest orator and reform agitator. Born into the Beacon Hill aristocracy, Phillips sacrificed social status and an assured political career to espouse the pariah cause of antislavery. In ante bellum years he was "Abolition's Golden Trumpet," and in lesser degree he was identified with women's rights and temperance agitation. After the Reconstruction era he championed labor reform, greenbackism, and universal suffrage. Fanatical but eloquent, throughout his life he was a leading figure on national lyceum circuits.

This is the fifth biography of Wendell Phillips. It differs from its predecessors chiefly in broader research, in lively narration, and in portrayal of the social and political milieu. Nevertheless, despite much detail and excessive quotation, there is little that is new. The volume is descriptive rather than analytical, and the delineation of Phillips is obscured by the clutter of data. Its strongest aspect treats the promulgation of radical antislavery dogma and the mob incidents that enabled abolitionists to identify their goal with civil rights issues. The weakest aspect concerns the orator's post-Reconstruction career. Both research and interpretation of Phillips' last reform efforts, especially the labor and greenback enterprises, seem superficial.

This volume contains 662 pages of narrative, an appendix of twenty pages, footnotes aggregating eighty-five pages, and a bibliography of fifty pages. Both text and notes show familiarity with printed sources and secondary accounts, but research in contemporary newspapers and especially in manuscript collections is inadequate. Careful perusal of the Weston Papers and of Edmund Quincy's journals and correspondence would have provided much useful information on Phillips' relationships with other reformers as well as upon his personal activities. A more detailed study of the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* might have enabled consideration of Phillips' contributions—both anonymous and signed—to antislavery editorial policy.

This is a partisan book, but honestly and admittedly so. The author is vehemently proabolitionist and pro-Negro, and his bias especially conditions interpretation of the coming of the Civil War and of the Reconstruction period. It is not surprising that the volume is dedicated "To the Colored Citizens of this Land to whom Wendell Phillips was always a Friend." As a passionate champion of the orator, Dr. Sherwin admits only minor weaknesses in his hero. Although he depicts Phillips as devoted to reform ideas, he does not mention that the agitator failed to originate anything new. It remains for the reader to conclude, on the basis of multifarious quotations, that Phillips was but an eloquent sounding board.

THE LINCOLN NOBODY KNOWS. By *Richard N. Current*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. c. 1958. Pp. x, 314. \$5.50.)

THE image of Lincoln, blurred by conflicting, contentious, contradictory, and often unsupported evidence, has evoked this brilliantly executed "portrait in contrasts." It is, as Professor Current insists, "an essay in the uncertain, the undecided, the unknown." Expounded are such disputed subjects as Mr. Lincoln's ancestry, his mysticism, his romantic adventures, his domestic felicity, his attitude toward the Crittenden Compromise and the relief of Sumter, his military leadership, his exercise of political powers, his abolitionism, his clemency, his peace terms, and the myths which have grown so thickly around him. The author concedes that "with all this scholarly effort, it would seem to be a relatively simple matter for someone to condense the findings of the specialists and wrap up these conclusions in a single package, a Lincoln biography to end all Lincoln biographies. The trouble is, the scholars disagree. They differ at many points in their analyses both of events and of personalities. That is one reason why so much is written on the subject. A great deal of the Lincoln literature is controversial, and controversy begets more controversy."

Current sits neither as judge, nor chancellor, nor referee, but only as careful appraiser, occasionally, to be sure, reporting a conclusion of his own, but then only with the distinct understanding that it represents "fallible opinion rather than incontrovertible fact." The result is a work of enlivened learning which should gratefully be given an honored place beside David Donald's *Lincoln Reconsidered* and Benjamin P. Thomas' *Portrait for Posterity*.

Library of Congress

DAVID C. MEARNs

E. L. GODKIN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1865-1900. By *William M. Armstrong*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. Pp. 268. \$5.00.)

THIS book deals rather roughly with Edwin Lawrence Godkin. It appears that he was "a poor journalist. He had almost no head for the administrative details necessary to the running of a daily newspaper." He "seldom made retractions or acknowledged corrections." He was a snob, and "there was," for example, "a direct relationship between the editor's class consciousness and his life-long pursuit of that nineteenth-century chimera, Civil Service Reform." His zeal to eliminate sentiment from government was "Prussian." His reasoning with regard to the Alabama claims "became so tortured as almost to invite the suspicion that he harbored a special interest." With regard to the immigration of Chinese laborers, "as usual, he had no remedy to offer." He was filled with "racial pride." He was at times "intemperate" in his writings, and possibly otherwise. To him "everything, even patriotism, had its price tag." On one occasion, he was "as usual intent on being misled." He confused "competence in dress and manners

with character and statesmanlike vision." These are some of the judgments offered by Professor Armstrong.

Now in some ways these judgments are a useful corrective to the extremely sentimental view of Godkin expressed by Rollo Ogden, and to the highly favorable view of him presented by Professor Nevins. Godkin was at times intemperate. His dislike of James G. Blaine amounted to a phobia, though there have been other writers who have found a good deal to criticize in the man from Maine. He was, like most journalists who write from day to day or week to week, capable of great inconsistencies. He was untouched by the deeper social problems of the day, the problem of labor, for example. He was altogether too much the advocate of laissez faire to be attractive to the student writing in the middle of the twentieth century.

But the question may well be raised whether Godkin's reactions to international affairs were as perverse as Armstrong would have us believe. No historian is likely to quarrel with him very seriously because he disliked President Grant's policy for the annexation of the Dominican Republic. He was not right on all the details of the question of the Alabama arbitration, but he did come to see that the American attempt to hold Great Britain responsible for indirect damages caused by the depredations of the Confederate cruiser was unwise. He wobbled on the question of the French intervention in Mexico, but he was opposed to American intervention, and the French were expelled without such intervention becoming necessary. He thought Blaine at times blustered, and at times he did bluster. He disliked Cleveland's Venezuela message of 1895, with its challenge to Great Britain, and many other persons, including some historians, have had the same reaction. Not all of his reactions were sound, and Armstrong has done well to point out some of his errors. But in doing so he has, perhaps, distorted the large picture. And he has dealt very cursorily, indeed, with Godkin's position with regard to the Spanish-American War.

There is much new material in this book. There is every evidence of wide research. The style is clear and readable. But one wishes that its author had been able to take a more balanced view of one who was admittedly one of the great editorial writers of his time.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

THE PARADOX OF PROGRESSIVE THOUGHT. By *David W. Noble*.
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 272. \$6.00.)

"LIBERAL" thought is based on the premise of the inherent goodness of human nature. The paradox that Mr. Noble finds in progressive thinking is that this inherent goodness was to be released not by a return to the primitive, as advocated by the French philosophers of the eighteenth century or the American Turnerians of the late nineteenth, but by the mechanisms of a perfected industrial civilization.

In essays on Herbert Croly, James Mark Baldwin, Charles H. Cooley, T. H. Johnson, H. D. Lloyd, Richard T. Ely, Simon Patten, Thorstein Veblen, and Walter Rauschenbusch, Noble shows their common adherence to faith in the progress of society.

Developing industrialism offered the prospect of a democratic society of plenty. These optimists felt sure that man, with God's help, could reform the institutions of the ages of scarcity and allow natural instincts for cooperation and workmanship to mould a good society. As Noble puts it, these Americans wanted "freedom from history," a society that in some revolutionary way would demolish its own past. It is not surprising that this generation bequeathed not "tools of understanding" but useless affirmations to their successors.

Although the writers differed in religious ideas, each man was led to assume an ideal or divine conception of the human order that was in process of being achieved. Croly and Veblen put more faith in man, Croly in the socialized individual and Veblen in natural instincts, while Johnson and Rauschenbusch spoke with clerical authority of God's will, but Christian morality ran through all of this body of thought.

Noble is a deft and artistic expounder of ideas. Since he writes better than most of the men he is discussing he may be excused a good deal of paraphrasing, but the phraseology of thought is so personal that more frequent direct quotation could give the reader added satisfaction and a greater assurance that unwanted angularities were not being streamlined to fit an argument. Although the thought of his subjects could be contrasted in many ways—as, for example, Croly's Hegelianism against Baldwin's rigorous individualism—the similarities that Noble emphasizes appear sound and important. He achieves new clarity in understanding the bases of progressive thought.

The effect of the book might have been stronger had it been written around the ideas themselves and their pervasiveness as exemplified by these and other scholars. As it is, the first chapters, in particular, appear to be a set of essays related to each other after their initial composition. While Carl Becker was unquestionably a clear and provocative thinker on problems of science, progress, and history, his importance in progressive thought was slight, and to begin and end with emphasis as Becker seems out of context.

In part my criticism illustrates the conflict between one who would gauge thought by its social importance and the author who inclines to weight it on the basis of its coherence in a chain of ideas. From this latter standpoint, Becker adds perspective, and Baldwin illustrates better than more influential writers the problems of a man impelled to resolve the paradox of progressive thought in terms of formal philosophy.

University of Pennsylvania

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

THE ERA OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1900-1912. By *George E. Mowry*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xvi, 300. \$5.00.)

WITH judicious affection George E. Mowry has executed the three tasks he set for himself in this concise and thoughtful volume in the New American Nation Series. He has traced the history of the United States during a dozen important years from September, 1901, to June, 1912, where he stopped in the middle of his denouement in order to avoid duplicating the first chapter of the next volume in the series; he has analyzed the origins and nature of the progressive movement; he has re-evaluated Theodore Roosevelt, whose confident spirit ruled an ebullient decade of American life.

This book is so good that it tempts the reviewer simply to list fourteen synonyms for "excellent" and alongside each to place the title of one of the chapters. Two of those chapters are especially striking: "Political America" provides an outstanding analysis of the spectrum of political thought at the turn of the century; "The Progressive Profile" describes incisively the nature of the middle-class reform movement that Professor Mowry has studied so long and so fruitfully.

Like his treatment of intellectual and social matters, the author's sensitivity to people continually enriches his narrative. Among his effective biographical sketches, the most important are those of Roosevelt and Taft. Mowry, who has amended some of his earlier judgments of Roosevelt, has here given him large credit for his political skill, his conception of the presidency, and his developing perceptions about society, yet he has also chided Roosevelt appropriately for those limitations of character and lapses in performance that kept him from the greatness to which he aspired. Roosevelt appears in this study neither as a liberal nor as a conservative, but as what he undoubtedly was, a characteristic progressive with a strong partisan instinct. Taft, in contrast, emerges as a rather lazy, essentially ineffective executive, an honest, conservative man who was by temperament unfit for the presidency, not at all the figure Henry Pringle once created in order to damage Roosevelt's reputation.

Throughout the book Mowry has relied upon his own extensive research in the significant manuscript sources of the period, and upon his own imaginative historical intelligence. Occasionally, however, he has left unresolved contradictory interpretations of controversial episodes, like the Venezuelan crisis of 1902. His readers, one suspects, would value his opinion, and in the case of the Venezuelan crisis, the weight of the arguments thus far produced seems to be on the side of Howard Beale. Yet if Mowry has here and there been cautious, he has more often been bold and original. In his preface he graciously acknowledges the "work and views of many people," but he has been his own architect, his own contractor, and his authoritative product demonstrates anew the indispensability of archival work for the understanding and writing of history. The high standards of his scholar-

ship, the ease of his prose, and the unfailing good humor of his argument make this book a memorable contribution to the literature of American history.

Yale University

JOHN M. BLUM

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICS, 1900-1918. By *Marc Karson*. Foreword by *Selig Perlman*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 358. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Karson's main purpose in this book is "to examine and evaluate labor's political involvement" from 1900 to 1918. Most of his conclusions are conventional: that the American Federation of Labor's political policy was non-partisan, that it accepted the fundamentals of American capitalism, that it was relatively conservative even within its capitalistic framework, that it isolated the Socialists, and that it thoroughly rejected the idea of an independent labor party. He differs from earlier scholars in this field in two respects, one minor and one major. The minor difference is his conclusion that the AFL, while remaining nonpartisan, was from 1906 actually closer to the Democratic party than other historians have acknowledged. This reviewer thinks that Karson amply supports this conclusion. The major difference is the contention that the antisocialist position of the Roman Catholic Church was an important influence within the labor movement.

The whole book is based upon primary sources, but the first eight of the ten chapters add little information about the history of organized labor not already available in secondary literature. In his ninth chapter, "The Roman Catholic Church and American Labor Unions," which constitutes almost one-fourth of the total text, the author exploits new materials and makes a real contribution to American labor history. He traces the Church's opposition to socialism from Pope Leo XIII and describes in detail the efforts of American Catholics to apply the policies enunciated in *Rerum novarum*. About one-half the AFL membership before World War I was Roman Catholic, and the Church's attitude toward what was once known as "The Social Question" was manifestly important in influencing organized labor's political position. Karson describes the Church's goals and methods in the labor movement. His accounts of the anti-Socialist activities of such Catholic social actionists as Father Peter E. Dietz, Peter Collins, David Goldstein, and Martha Moore Avery and of such organizations as the Militia of Christ for Social Service, the German Roman Catholic Central Verein, and the Social Service Commission of the American Federation of Catholic Societies are particularly useful and illuminating.

The author is interested in psychological interpretations, both of the motives of individuals and of the attitudes of large social groups. Usually he suggests a psychological interpretation without offering much evidence to support his suggestion. For example, if he had offered such an abundance of evidence for his asser-

tion that Gompers' internal conflicts "partly motivated" his opposition to the Socialists and his idea that popular "glorification of nonintellectual pursuits is a compensation for long-held feelings of worthlessness and fears of one's masculinity," he would have been on firmer ground and been more persuasive. Still, many of his suggestions are interesting.

Karson plans a second volume. Let us hope that this projected work will provide a similarly unbiased, objective history of the contemporary Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Clearly, the author's work on Catholic influence in the trade-union movement deserves the serious consideration of scholars in American labor history.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID A. SHANNON

THE HEALTH OF A NATION: HARVEY W. WILEY AND THE FIGHT FOR PURE FOOD. By *Oscar E. Anderson, Jr.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1958. Pp. ix, 332. \$6.00.)

THE history of the adulteration of food is virtually as old as the history of civilization itself. With increased industrialization and urbanization during the past century there has been legislative and regulatory action taken by the governments of various nations to supervise the processing and labeling of a growing variety of foods and drugs. Professor Anderson has written a modest-sized biography of Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley (1844-1930), the tireless "scientist-reformer" who fought for a national pure food law.

From 1883 until his resignation in 1912, Wiley was chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture. Born on a farm in southern Indiana, he served briefly in the Civil War, was graduated from Hanover College, took a degree in medicine, which he never practiced, and for a decade and a half taught classical languages as well as algebra and anatomy at Northwestern Christian (now Butler) University and chemistry later at Purdue before he came to Washington with an established reputation as a sugar chemist.

Sketching briefly the early life of the Indiana physician-chemist, Anderson has preferred to concentrate on his career from 1883. Noting that "the drive to establish a domestic sugar industry presented Wiley with his first great challenge as a public servant," the author, in a chapter entitled "Sugar and Politics," describes effectively the many difficulties in the conduct of experiments which beset the chief chemist in the endeavor to make sugar profitably, especially from sorghum and sugar beets.

A challenge of greater historical significance than the sugar question for the six feet tall, two-hundred-fifteen-pound bureau chief was the imperative need in an expanding industrial nation for federal legislation granting protection to consumers from adulterants and misrepresentation of contents. It was a struggle which went back many years before President Theodore Roosevelt signed in 1906

the celebrated Food and Drugs Act. To Wiley must go the credit for being "the one individual who gave continuity to the struggle for pure food and drugs, the one leader who consistently saw the big picture." As a crusader with strong convictions he faced frustrations before the enactment of the law as well as after its passage. The later chapters of this biography are devoted to the often bitter conflicts over its enforcement during Wiley's five remaining years in the government and to his persistent efforts after his departure to have it enforced as he thought it should be.

As he demonstrates a real command of the source materials, Anderson gives the historian and the interested layman a long-overdue account of the scientific accomplishments and the crusading career of Harvey W. Wiley, who, in the words of one of his old associates, was "big timber." Less fully developed is the author's portrayal of this remarkable man as "a vital, compelling personality."

The footnotes are in the back, and citation numbers are usually given at the end of each paragraph, a practice which can make for some confusion.

Montgomery Junior College

WILLIAM LLOYD FOX

INDEPENDENT MAN: THE LIFE OF SENATOR JAMES COUZENS. By Harry Barnard. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. viii, 376. \$5.95.)

JAMES Couzens of Detroit was not a simple man, and his career developed on several levels of public and private responsibility. The author in this biography has tried to provide a simplifying theme, "the independent man." The fact of independence is acknowledged. On the other hand, Couzens was much more than a truculent little man with a chip on his shoulder, and during his public career Americans were not divided into the "good guys" and those who opposed Couzens.

There were three or perhaps four separate careers for James Couzens. The first involved his participation (1903-15) in the organization and administration of the Ford Motor Company. From this he moved to local public and political life, which included his election and service as mayor of Detroit. Then he was United States senator from his appointment in 1922 to his death in 1936. Even before he sold his Ford stock and became thirty times a millionaire, he was a conspicuous local philanthropist, and from 1920 on he made a fourth career of intelligent and thoughtful benefaction, modestly bestowed.

Apparently this work has been in the author's hands for years. Many of the interviews cited date from 1940-1941, and there is other evidence of delay in publication. Barnard does not indicate how extensive is surviving Couzens material in family hands, or whether or not it is made freely available, or indeed the extent of family participation, financial or otherwise, in the biographical venture. While he has used local printed material with discrimination, he has not

been so understanding in his use of local newspapers, or in untangling the factional feuds, the interest pressure groups, and the deep-rooted passions which affected these papers as much as the political events they reported. The documentation is done with care and completeness.

It is perhaps permissible to make two criticisms of so excellent a volume. The first has to do with proportion. The defense of the senator's role in the Detroit bank holiday crisis is proper, but when it is done at length and with heat, it is the senator speaking and not the historian. The defense is, by the way, quite convincing.

The second criticism has to do with judgment or historical interpretation. Individualistic insurgency had been the mark of political liberalism as it fought "politicians" and "machines" in states and cities, and in its brief moment of glory in the Taft administration. For neither Couzens nor for Norris, whom he admired and often followed, did the 1920's bring an understanding any more sophisticated than that of "progressive" of a quarter century before. The "liberal" in politics wandered confusedly from issue to idea in this frustrating decade, with no sense of ultimate direction. It is not adequate to do what our author has done, to credit Norris and Couzens with the virtue that they claimed for all their acts, and thus to condemn to error or wrongdoing all who differed.

The volume closes with an excellent description of the problems of a progressive Republican under a Democratic New Deal. It was a time of troubles. For Couzens it led to support of Roosevelt in 1936, and to his own defeat for renomination by his party. This is a thoughtful, considered biography. The style of writing is excellent, the narrative clear, and at times the presentation deeply moving.

Wayne State University

RAYMOND C. MILLER

EVOLVING CANADIAN FEDERALISM. By *A. R. M. Lower, F. R. Scott, et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 9.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Commonwealth-Studies Center. 1958. Pp. xvi, 187. \$3.50.)

This volume on Canadian federalism should be of great interest to American readers, especially those who enjoy making comparisons between their own institutions and those of other countries. The enterprise is a cooperative one, based on studies and exchange of ideas at the Commonwealth-Studies Center at Duke University during one of the summer research sessions. The writers, all Canadians, represent the present high standard of Canadian scholarship in the fields of history and political science. They present their material with freshness and vigor.

The underlying assumption of all five essays is thus expressed by Professor Lower: "The federal device must be reckoned one of the most happy, as it is one of the most original, of political inventions: sufficient honor can never be paid to those who transferred it from mere theory into the Constitution of the United

States." In other words, all the writers take it for granted that federalism is a good thing, which is more than most nineteenth-century Englishmen would admit in their criticism of the American experiment. Moreover, these writers are in general agreed that in spite of setbacks, some in the form of a series of surprising decisions in favor of the rights of the separate provinces handed down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in London, the trend in recent years has been in the direction of broadening and strengthening the powers of the Dominion government. This was always the intention of the "true begetter" of Canadian federalism, Sir John A. Macdonald, and, as is well known, our own "war between the states" left its imprint on the British North America Act in the provisions that made the government at Ottawa the residuary legatee of all the powers not distinctly outlined as belonging to the provinces.

Nevertheless, the new Dominion had more to overcome in dealing with the different cultural and political traditions of the provinces than the Federalists ever had in the new American state, and later there was no universal drive toward western settlement to bring the eastern provinces together. Thus although no such chasm as the slavery issue existed to divide the Canadian provinces, the facts of history and geography made the path of the new Dominion in many ways more difficult than that of the American Union. It would seem to be the economic developments of the twentieth century, together with the urge for uniform social services, that have definitely set the trend toward enlarging the powers of the ministers and departments in Ottawa. Even so, there is always the intransigent stand of the present *Union Nationale* of Quebec and of its dictatorial ruler Maurice Duplessis, who goes so far as to refuse to accept money from the Dominion government and to insist that education and the social services be organized on a provincial rather than a national basis, to be cited as an unyielding obstacle to the supposed trend toward greater federal unity. But the rest of Canada has lived through so many crises of French Canadian nationalism that it has learned to take these extravagant manifestations with more philosophy and more outward display of patience than would greet similar phenomena in the United States.

Of the five essays the one by Lower on theories of Canadian federalism appears to the reviewer the most ambitious and solid, with a bibliography of its own and a very complete set of footnotes on the most important cases dealing with the relative powers of the provincial and Dominion governments. The essay by F. R. Scott on the separatism of Quebec is an excellent brief treatment of the subject and makes a real contribution in its analysis of the objectives of the *Union Nationale*. The essay on constitutional trends repeats some of the generalizations of the Lower essay, but the material is handled from a different angle. The essay by Professor Soward on federalism and foreign policy deals, through no fault of the author, with less important material.

The final essay, which attempts a comparison between Canadian federalism

and the new West Indian confederation, seems to this reviewer somewhat far-fetched. It is the fashion of British writers at the present time to write with enthusiasm and pride of the new experiments in self-government in those parts of the colonial world that were formerly controlled from London and that have had comparatively small experience with Anglo-Saxon parliamentary institutions. This rejoicing seems as yet somewhat premature, but if the new West Indian state is a success it will no doubt owe much to the examples both of Canada and Australia.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

GLOBE AND HEMISPHERE: LATIN AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE POST-WAR FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. By *J. Fred Rippy*. [Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series, Number 1.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1958. Pp. xi, 276. \$6.00.)

THE present volume is a notable addition to the prodigiously long line of Latin American historical studies that have come from Professor Rippy's pen in the course of a career of only normal length, to which, as teacher, retirement has just put a period. As writer he gives no sign of flagging. In this book, parts of which have recently appeared in learned journals, he takes a fresh look at that special field of Latin American history with which most of his previous studies have dealt, namely, the foreign relations of the Latin American states.

The novelty of the present work lies not so much in the greater part of its content as in its point of view. Its three-fold emphasis on economic factors, the very recent period, and relations with the United States has ample precedent in Rippy's earlier work, as do the particular topics to which most of the book is devoted, such as the roles of foreign trade, investment, and business enterprise in Latin American relations. There is even a resemblance between the present title and that of one of Rippy's earliest and best-known books, *Latin America in World Politics*, but this only points up the novelty of the present work when the contents of the two are compared. The *World Politics* volume, like all his studies up to now, was primarily a narrative account written within a conceptual framework that was almost entirely implicit and to which little if any critical attention was paid. On the other hand, Rippy's concern in the present volume is at least as much with ideas, values, and policies as with historical narrative.

The last, to be sure, is not scanty in this new book, for it tells one well-documented story after another; for example, of the United States' "bond-selling extravaganza" of the 1920's, of the recent development of its foreign aid program, and of assorted developments regarding such topics as the Inter-American Highway, treaties for the Panama and Nicaragua Canals, cultural relations, and fisheries. But the new preoccupation runs throughout the whole book, beginning with

its first and longest chapter, which discusses "The Western Hemisphere Concept" along lines suggested by this reviewer in a recent book.

Rippy's conclusions are more favorable than the reviewer's to the vitality of the idea in question, but, for all his thoughtful consideration of the many problems involved, there still remains at the end a certain ambivalence in his attitude. For example, he wishes to draw the Latin Americans closer to us and yet many if not most of his specific findings are adverse to them—strikingly so as regards their complaint of postwar "neglect" by the United States, which he refutes by detailed comparisons of United States aid and investments in Latin America with those in Asia and Africa. Yet in the end his attachment to the Pan-American idea prevails, and after noting the heavy costs of strategic bases in Europe, Asia, and Africa, he suggests that the United States shift to reliance on intercontinental ballistic missiles based in America and "gradually resume its traditional policy of emphasis on the Western Hemisphere."

The solution of the problem of "globe and hemisphere" in such terms will doubtless be unacceptable to many people besides this reviewer, but everyone should welcome the contribution that Rippy has made to its discussion by his thoughtful and illuminating analysis of recent historical developments. They ought to be weighed by anyone who takes a position on the problem.

University of Pennsylvania

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

Books

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXIII, 1954, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1956. Pp. xxvii, 388.) This volume is the twenty-third in a series that began in 1926. Since 1947 they have been published with the financial support of UNESCO, which in this age of interdisciplinary studies not only supports but actually publishes such newcomers among annual bibliographies as the *International Bibliography of Political Science* (1953), the *International Bibliography of Economics* (1952), and the *International Bibliography of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (1958). These and their seniors, the several bibliographies published under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, are valuable tools for the scholar, and they will one day invite comparisons. In his preface to the volume here reviewed, M. Cain notes two major changes in editorial policy, namely, the individual listing under the appropriate rubrics of items published in volumes of *Mélanges*; and a new method of handling (by dispersal in three classes, without setting up a new rubric) of works relating to urbanism, the number of which has been steadily increasing. He observes also that for the first time since the series resumed publication in 1947, the Soviet Union has submitted entries. The titles of Russian items are translated, but the content of the items is not evaluated, since the entire bibliography is intended to be selective and descriptive, rather than analytical and critical. Concerning documentary publications several comments are in order. The goodly number of these publications in the United States entries serves to remind us that we live in a heyday of documentary publication. But it seems regrettable that formally edited documentary publications in microfilm, such as, for example, the National Archives microfilm publications, cannot be listed. Their inclusion, or at least the inclusion of catalogues of microfilm publications, would seem warranted, without compromising the principle of excluding secondary works in microfilm. The bibliography would have been more useful with a more complete index and a slightly more extensive cross-referencing.

Buffalo Historical Society

LESTER W. SMITH

ORTSBESTIMMUNG DER GEGENWART: EINE UNIVERSALGESCHICHTLICHE KULTURKRITIK. Volume III, HERRSCHAFT ODER FREIHEIT? By Alexander Rüstow. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1957. Pp. 728. Cloth 34.20 fr. S., paper 29.55 fr. S.) This is the third and concluding volume of Alexander Rüstow's critique of Western culture, and, like its predecessors, it is marked by literary grace and wit, by staggering erudition, and by great energy and spirit. Its five hundred closely printed pages and its two hundred additional pages of notes are primarily devoted to a careful delineation of the major political, social, and intellectual tendencies in Western history since the French Revolution; but the author is not afraid to depart from his major theme in order to make polemical attacks upon methodologists, to cast slurs on the television industry, to speculate concerning the possibility that Hitler had a

Jewish grandfather, or to comment on the role of conventional armaments in the nuclear age. Moreover, as the concluding, and very eloquent, pages indicate, this volume is almost as much a tract for the times as a cultural history, calling as it does upon the present generation to stand for humanity and freedom against Communist totalitarianism. The historian will probably be amused, and even edified, by the learned digressions and moved by the concluding appeal. But he will probably find greater interest in Rüstow's analysis of the ways in which rationalism, materialism, behaviorism, and uncontrolled technological progress and economic expansion contributed to the atomization of Western society in the nineteenth century and made it vulnerable to all the forces of irrationalism that have had such corrosive effects in our own time. Among the notable features of this analysis are the author's methodical dissection of Marxism, his exhaustive examination of the motives that drove the German people to National Socialism, his chapters on the German youth movement, and, most particularly, his brilliant essay (published separately ten years ago) on the isolation of the individual in the fragmented society of the twentieth century, with its highly suggestive illustrations from European literature from Novalis to the existentialists.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

GESCHICHTE ALS OFFENBARUNG: STUDIEN ZUR FRAGE HISTORISMUS UND GLAUBE VON HERDER BIS TROELTSCH. By Erich Fülling. [Studien der Luther-Akademie, New Series, Number 4.] (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1956. Pp. 88. DM 9.80.) Herder's God, who has meticulously planned everything—"from the great cosmic system to the dust particle"—reveals Himself in nature and in history. Special revelation is superfluous, since history is itself a revelation. For Hegel, revelation connoted that the spirit of God countenanced "no obscurity, no shading." He equated Absolute Spirit with the dialectical synthesis of the Father as Creator and the Son as "concrete individuation"; or, "divine, self-revealing spirit, world spirit, and spirit in general belong together." Hegel overcame the thought of "general humanity" existing in "State and history" by having the Divine manifest itself in "concrete humanness." The result: there "remains neither place for general humanity nor for a special revelation of God." So much for Fülling's discussion of the representatives of the "old" *Historismus*. Dilthey and Troeltsch represent his "new" advocates of *Historismus*. He minimizes the influence of positivism on Dilthey, who broke with the Christian faith and revelation early in his career. He never became an atheist nor a "satisfied agnostic." His "evolutionary-historical pantheism" led him to sense the need for "submersion in the past, in history" and his mild skepticism was redeemed by "historical consciousness." Dilthey's historical relativism may be countered with Troeltsch's Christian theism, regarding which he never brooked any doubts. Troeltsch staved off relativism by referring "immanence to transcendence, the human to the Divine, the historical to the super-historical." Without developing the thesis, Fülling abruptly derogates "old" and "new" historicism into a Christian heresy. An introductory chapter clearly defining Fülling's own use of *Historismus*—especially in the light of the literature—would have clarified his own thinking. Then, the best parts of the study would not have been the apt quotations from the four scholars in this monograph.

University of Houston

LOUIS KESTENBERG

THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER IN A CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS. By Feliks Gross. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958. Pp. xxvii, 398. \$6.00.) The subject of seizure of political power by violent means in the twentieth century is a challenging and fascinating one. By this century it had assumed different patterns in

different parts of the world. Democratic transfer of power, whether by electorate, by peaceful negotiations of the respective parties, or by any other nonviolent means, has become a rare phenomenon during the past fifty years. Hope that peaceful democratic procedure would prevail was strong until 1914. What happened afterward in Europe and what is being unfolded on two other continents, Asia and Africa, is a source of melancholy contemplation to many observers, among them the author of this work. Professor Gross's approach is that of a sociologist. He divides the entire subject into four parts: one deals generally with seizure and consolidation of power; the second and third parts are devoted to revolutionary strategy and tactics and Communist policies in Russia since 1925; and the concluding part analyzes the nature of counteraction against recently entrenched governments. The author acknowledges that studies of similar nature have been made previously, but these dealt mostly with causation, examining conflicting ideologies, economic and political crises, and social disintegration. Such studies contributed considerably to the understanding of revolutionary upheavals prior to the twentieth century. Our present revolutionary era, the author believes, is an entirely different one from former revolutionary experiences and demands an entirely different historical evaluation. What is needed most today is focal attention upon the strategy employed by the warring parties, upon their tactics, and upon the means they employ to attain power. A subject that deals with current social convulsions or political and economic transformation on such a vast scale as Gross attempts is a worthy undertaking. But is it possible for a contemporary writer either to detach himself from our stormy events or to project himself into the past sufficiently as to pass sound judgment on an era that is still in the making? The answer must be a negative one. Despite the author's honest efforts, he has produced nothing startling. The entire thesis lacks originality, carries a stamp of bias, and lacks the depth necessary in a study of this kind. The work may be of value to students in other fields; to the historian it contributes little that is either new or of challenging nature.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

IDEAS IN CONFLICT: A COLLOQUIUM ON CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN HISTORICAL SOCIETY WORK IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. Edited by Clifford L. Lord. (Harrisburg, Pa.: American Association for State and Local History, 1958. Pp. 181.) Sessions of the American Association for State and Local History at its fourteenth annual meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1954, make up the text of *Ideas in Conflict*. The main sessions were panel discussions and the editor tells us in the preface, "Panel members were encouraged to take clear-cut and controversial positions in order to clarify the issues and to stimulate both thinking and active audience participation in the discussions." The sessions covered in the book dealt with such subjects as the importance of oral history and of local history, competition or cooperation between state and local societies, and the question of disseminating the "American heritage." Each topic was discussed by a panel of from five to seven experts, who were fairly evenly divided between academic historians and personnel of major historical societies, with an occasional amateur. The purpose, as the title indicates, was to present conflicting ideas, and agreement was not expected. Contrasting points of view and conflicting ideas were presented with at least some opportunity for rebuttal and clarification of the areas of disagreement. The procedure provided more challenging programs than historical associations often present to their members. This, plus the level of ability of the panelists, made an exceptionally interesting meeting. The panel technique, however, and the expressed intention to arouse controversy encouraged less judicious statements than are usually found in prepared papers. The

preface states that the sessions are reproduced with a minimum of editing. This adds to the atmosphere of spontaneous exchange of ideas. Unfortunately it also gives the reader large amounts of wordy salutations and personal exchanges that lose their effect and intrude between the ideas and the reader when the sessions become pages in a book.

Nebraska State Historical Society

W. D. AESCHBACHER

THE ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM. By *Barbara W. Tuchman*. (New York: Viking Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 244. \$3.95.) Sir William James in his memoir-biography of Admiral Sir Reginald Hall told some years ago how British intelligence experts ("Room 40") intercepted Germany's notorious attempt to entice Mexico into war against the United States in 1917. He also revealed the delicate steps taken to convince the United States government of the authenticity of the Zimmermann telegram. The author has made a book of the story which, in essence, one chapter of the James volume captured. Much of the background that is presented here is not highly relevant, but it is interesting and helps to build the case against Germany which the author, a granddaughter of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., indignantly and dramatically constructs. Research in the captured archives of the German Foreign Office for the 1916-1917 period would have strengthened the historical value of this volume. The work reflects, however, research in a number of files of unpublished American manuscript sources at the National Archives and the Library of Congress. The unusual footnoting system is inadequate; one should not be swept along by the dust jacket's proud boast that the account "does not contain a single undocumented statement." One wishes there were some way to make thoroughly reliable history as excitingly readable as this book.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

THE SIDI REZEG BATTLES, 1941. By *J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton and L. C. F. Turner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 505. \$8.40.) This volume of the official war histories of the Union of South Africa relates with great skill and interest the story of the British Eighth Army's offensive in November-December, 1941, that obliged Rommel to withdraw west of Tobruk. The First South African Division is in the spotlight, but the strategic framework and the whole campaign, from the point of view of both sides, are amply treated. The book reduces to orderliness events of bewildering complexity. The Sidi Rezeg battles southeast of Tobruk formed part of a vast hurricane of combat and maneuver. During three weeks the forces on both sides were repeatedly concentrated to deliver hard blows and then dispersed either by attacks or misguided orders. The authors take great pains to show the bases of command decisions, including the German reliance on intercepted British communications. Of the higher command, Auchinleck and Ritchie appear to advantage; Rommel does not. The First South African Division became the scapegoat for lost opportunities and even lost battles. The authors extenuate but do not wholly absolve. There is no semblance of whitewashing. They have been pertinacious in going to the root of problems of fact and interpretation. The tone of their argument is urbane, not severe. In fact, they find room for considerable humor. From this campaign both sides emerged badly hurt. Both learned that their concepts of armored warfare on desert terrain must be amended. There is enough detail in this volume to show what supported those conclusions. Maps are plentiful, and some relevant statistics are appended. Good photographs satisfy curiosity about people and places.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

Ancient and Medieval History

GRAIN-MILLS AND FLOUR IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. By *L. A. Moritz*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xxvii, 230. \$8.00.) Along with weaving and the manufacture of tools, milling takes its place as one of the oldest industries devised by man. In the Neolithic age people began to grind grain and this occupation continues to the present day. The survey of the development of grinding implements is a broad summary of the development of culture, and the author attempts this survey for classical antiquity with great success. In the first part of his book he discusses the milling implements known from literature and from excavations. His conclusions are: the prevalent opinion that milling techniques remained substantially the same from Homeric times to the decline of the Roman Empire is not correct; the invention of the rotary mill and of the water mill brought about fundamental changes in milling. The latter is a Roman invention. The origin of the former remains uncertain; the author places it early in the second century B.C. Before that century revolving oil mills were used in Greece and the potter's rotating wheel already had a long life. Examples of rotary mills, however, have not been found in Greece and the literary evidence is uncertain. Perhaps we could draw the author's attention to the so-called *ciste* upon which Demeter is seated. That peculiar object appears in sculpture suddenly in the fourth century B.C. Could it be a representation of a rotary mill quite appropriate for the goddess of agriculture? And if so, could that imply the existence of the rotary mill in that century and in Greece? The second and shorter part of the book deals with meal and flour used in antiquity and offers a penetrating discussion of a pertinent passage in Pliny's *Natural History*. The discussion will be of great interest to teachers of Latin and of Roman civilization. The whole volume, done with clarity and thoroughness, will prove a definite contribution to our knowledge of the ancient world.

Washington University

GEORGE E. MYLONAS

ESSAYS IN GREEK HISTORY. By *H. T. Wade-Gery*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1958. Pp. xvi, 301. 45s.) This attractive volume in honor of H. T. Wade-Gery on the occasion of his seventieth birthday contains twelve important essays that appeared earlier, and a previously unpublished study entitled "The Judicial Treaty with Phaselis and the History of the Athenian Courts." The editor (A. Andrewes) has confined himself on principle to correcting palpable errors and to modernizing references to the sources. An inclusive bibliography of the author's publications has also been included. The new study provides support for Wade-Gery's earlier discussion on the development of the Athenian courts at the expense of the power of the judges (reprinted in this book). He now holds that there were three stages in this development: the period before Solon, Solon's reforms in 594, and Ephialtes' changes in 462. The Phaselis treaty is dated between 469 and 462, and cited as evidence for its period—a time during which the use of the right to appeal (*ephesis*) was transforming the *heliaea* from the Assembly of Athens into a regularly constituted panel of "unlearned" jurors. The treaty date is very difficult to determine (cf. Tod, *GHI*, no. 33; Hignett, *Hist. Ath. Const.*, 397); but even if Wade-Gery puts it somewhat too early, the main line of his argument remains convincing.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

MYTH AND RITUAL IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST: AN ARCHEOLOGICAL AND DOCUMENTARY STUDY. By *E. O. James*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. Pp. 352. \$6.00.) This is a difficult book to appraise. The author, now pro-

fessor emeritus of the history of religion at the University of London, is well known for more than a dozen volumes in the fields of religion, sociology, anthropology, and their interrelations, and in them he covers much ground in a rather superficial way. This volume shows the good and bad qualities of its precursors; it includes a mass of concisely presented information culled from heterogeneous sources, but also much misinformation which is complicated by misunderstandings and misprints. For example, his description of documentary sources in Mycenaean Greek contains, besides much useful matter, many erroneous statements about the recent decipherment of Linear A. His account of "zodiacal symbolism" is a mixture of antiquated and reasonably new data which revives the most absurd speculations of the so-called Pan-Babylonian school about the "procession [sic] of the equinoxes" and the successive Ages of the Twins, the Bull, and the Ram, all long since exploded. Characteristically enough, there is not a single reference in this entire section. The name of Otto Neugebauer, for instance, appears nowhere in the entire volume. These are only specimens; similar confusion reigns throughout the volume. Yet it would be unfair to dismiss the book as useless. If it is very critically used, and every statement checked against the original sources and recent manuals by competent scholars, it will be found a useful repository of classified material from which historians of religion can benefit, but which students may use only at their peril.

Johns Hopkins University

W. F. ALBRIGHT

ROMAN AND NATIVE IN NORTH BRITAIN. Edited by *I. A. Richmond*. [Studies in History and Archaeology.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1958. Pp. x, 174. 18s.) Here five British archaeologists, expert at using but not exceeding evidence (querns, coins, pottery, dress fasteners), present a fascinating account of Roman relations, especially with Scotland, centering on the years A.D. 80-369. The studies show that culturally there was little interaction, but politically the Romans, by giving native client kingdoms responsibility for frontier defense (e.g., in Fife and East Lothian), and by enrolling natives in a national militia for border duty, linked south Scotland with England forever, and so created the shape of things to come. Noteworthy are the sharp distinction between the pastoral Scots, still in a Bronze age culture during the first century B.C., and the prosperous, villa dwelling, wheat raising burghers of Britain; the utter absence of white-man's-burden feelings in Roman occupation, with the aim rather, here as elsewhere in the Empire, to achieve maximum peace with minimum expenditure of Roman military strength; the peace that reigned in Britain in the third century, elsewhere in the Empire a period of anarchy, inflation, and total disaster; the gradual nature of the final Roman collapse, which produces on Hadrian's Wall paramilitary communities of soldier-settlers and their families, gathered wholly within the protecting ring of fort walls and farming on a tenure very close to feudal institutions. The essays are a masterly collection, and, more important, an evaluation of material hitherto scattered in specialized and local journals. Eight plates and nine maps and plans (including Richmond's new reconstruction of Ptolemy's map of Scotland) illuminate the text, which is praiseworthy both in itself, as a model of archaeological method, and for the light it throws on the ever-fascinating, vexatious, and contemporary problems that the presence of civilized troops in a barbarian land create.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL MACKENDRICK

STUDIES IN THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCH. By *Nora K. Chadwick, et al.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 374. \$8.50.) Nora Chadwick, Kathleen Hughes, Christopher Brooke, and Kenneth Jackson, all well-known specialists

in this field, have here combined five studies in the history of the Celtic church in western Britain and one in that of the early Irish *scriptoria*. The period covered is that between the "age of the saints" in the sixth century and the arrival of the Normans and of the religious orders. The editor and chief contributor, Mrs. Chadwick (182 pages of a total of 357), has also provided an excellent introduction which sets forth the scope of the book, describes the methods required because of the scarcity and unreliability of available sources, and insists on the absolute necessity of using indirect evidence, whether earlier and oral or later and antiquarian. Imagination "conditioned and controlled by ascertained fact" and the "right use of negative evidence" are, she says, both essential. The results, obviously tentative at best, should be looked upon as an exploration by many avenues of approach in a spirit of humility rather than as a presentation of demonstrable fact. This is not a comprehensive history of the early British church but rather a collection of special studies of certain of its aspects. The impressive demonstration of the court of Gwynedd in the middle of the ninth century as an intellectual center closely in touch with currents of thought both in Ireland and on the Continent merits special mention, as does that of Llanbadarn Fawr as an important pre-Norman monastic center of learning. New light is thrown upon the composition of the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriæ*. The chapter on the Archbishops of St. David's, Llandaff, and Caerleon-on-Usk, written with a lighter touch than the rest of the volume but as full of learning, contains, among other things, some interesting remarks on forging and on professional forgers. The concluding chapter, a study of the sources for the life of St. Kentigern with fourteen pages of appendixes, contains far too much detail. The whole book, indeed, suffers from too much minutiae, and from too much conjecture as well. The "few observations" on page thirty-eight amount to eight pages: the "few introductory notes" on page 163 actually run to nineteen! It is not possible, of course, to indicate in a short review the wealth of material and the depth of scholarship contained in this volume. It will repay the careful reading which it is likely to receive only from a very few fellow specialists.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

LES CHARTES DE L'ABBAYE DE WAULSORT: ÉTUDE DIPLOMATIQUE ET ÉDITION CRITIQUE. Tome I^{er} (946-1199). By Georges Despy. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1957. Pp. xx, 458, xvii plates.) Ten kilometers from Dinant in the Belgian Namurois there was founded in 946 the monastery of Waulsort. Like a number of Benedictine houses of this picturesque but rugged region, Waulsort never became an influential religious establishment. Its landed resources were never large. One hundred years after its founding Waulsort possessed but six *villae*, and four of these had been included in the original donation. By the middle of the twelfth century the economic situation had apparently not improved; one of the monks described the monastery as desolate and destitute. Its intellectual activity was insignificant. In two centuries it produced two useless saints' lives, a minor uncritical chronicle, and two accounts of the translation of relics. Its spiritual life was prosaic. It is striking that at the height of religious fervor among the Benedictine monasteries in Lower Lotharingia, a monk of Waulsort left the abbey and went to live in one at Cologne so that he could more faithfully practice the Benedictine rule. Too unimportant to warrant a full-scale study, Waulsort has until now received but cursory attention in histories of the Church such as that by the Belgian historian De Moreau. Georges Despy justifies his work not on economic, intellectual, or religious grounds but upon the paleographical value of some fifty extant charters from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. It is essentially a study in paleography and diplomatics;

the charters occupy but eighty-five pages as compared to 321 devoted to a highly learned analysis of the paleographical problems posed by the charters. From his skillful analysis of the charters the author has accomplished two things. First, he has refuted the conclusions of Léon Lahaye and Ernst Sackur, who contended that the monks of Waulsort falsified many of the abbey's charters in order to establish the antiquity of their abbey and to prove possession over various rights and lands. Of eleven charters designated spurious by these two scholars, Despy has indisputably proved that eight are genuine. Secondly, Despy has taken issue with Hans Schubert, who fifty years ago propounded the thesis that there was a school of calligraphy at Liège in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which imposed its style throughout the Meuse Valley. Despy contends that there was no Liègeois paleographical homogeneity in the Meuse region; there was not what Schubert called a *Lätticher Schriftprovinz*. He proves this by systematically showing the marked differences in style and formula between the charters of Waulsort and those of Liège. Like the other magnificent volumes published by the Belgian Royal Commission of History, this one meets all the exacting standards of scholarship upheld by the distinguished members of the Commission. The book will be of most value to the paleographer, who can certainly appreciate and learn something from the rigorous critical methods that Despy employed.

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

THE ESTATES OF RAMSEY ABBEY: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ORGANIZATION. By *J. Ambrose Raftis*. With a preface by *M. M. Postan*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Volume III.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1957. Pp. xvii, 341. \$7.00.) Ramsey Abbey was founded during the revival of English monasticism in the tenth century, and from then until the dissolution it was one of England's richest corporations. Its surviving records are remarkable both for their number and continuity. Maitland and Ault have used them for legal and constitutional studies, and Miss Neilson wrote her pioneer works in economic history largely on the basis of her use of them. Now Professor Raftis has gone over them again with the more advanced methodology of Postan's school of economic historians. With incredible industry he has drawn up table after table of statistics as a basis for studying the economy of the monks' demesnes. Although he is rather too cautious about making generalizations, he outlines a picture that is becoming familiar to us through the work of other scholars in the same kind of sources. From the tenth to the twelfth century England's agricultural economy was relatively stable, and the monks let their demesnes to farmers. Toward the end of the twelfth century, however, the economy entered upon a series of fluctuations to which the monks had to adjust their methods of exploiting their estates. The Black Death was only one of a number of influences acting on the economy, and account must be taken of other factors such as investment, taxation, and, perhaps most, entrepreneurship. This is not an easy book to read; Raftis expects much specialized knowledge, both historical and economic, of his readers; his organization is unnecessarily complicated, as is his syntax. But from his study and others like it which have been and are being made, it may soon be possible for someone to write a new economic history of medieval England, one in which the great variety and the constant changes are given due place.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

ALEXANDER VON ROËS SCHRIFTEN. Edited by *Herbert Grundmann* and *Hermann Heimpel*. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 500-1500. Staatsschriften des späteren Mittelalters, I. Band, 1. Stück.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1958. Pp. 208,

23. DM 38.) In the three works here edited, *Memoriale de prerogative Romani imperii* (1281), *Noticia seculi* (1285), and *Pavo* (1288), Alexander von Roës of Cologne defends the traditional role of Germany as the mainstay of the unity and order of Christendom. He viewed the growing French domination of the curia in the pontificate of Martin IV, 1281-1285, as a threat to the ancient sacred order, whose twin pillars were the papacy and the empire. French efforts to dominate both universal institutions would, if successful, usher in the age of antichrist and the end of the world. Just as the Italians are by divine will charged with the *sacerdotium*, just as the Germans must exercise the imperial office (*imperium*), so the French have the duty of defending right thinking by means of the university (*studium*). He reasserts that there was a *translatio imperii* from the Greeks to Charlemagne and a parallel *translatio studii* from Rome to Paris. Working from long-known and numerous newly discovered manuscripts, the editors have made a major contribution to the study of medieval history in general and to the study of German political thought in particular. Their painstaking studies have terminated the vexed problem of authorship. Their careful analysis of the complex manuscript tradition has rightly emphasized the important influence of these works on public opinion during the conciliar epoch and later. Much space has been saved by frequent reference to studies published earlier, many by the editors themselves. These texts were prepared by specialists for specialists. Scholars will delight in the masterly manner with which the editors have accomplished their aims. Students will enjoy delving into the almost inexhaustible commentary and apparatus. There are excellent introductory sections on Alexander's life and writings, the sources he used, the manuscripts, the composition and differing versions of his works, an early German translation of the *Memoriale* given in full, a useful reference bibliography, a table of concordances with earlier editions, and a number of invaluable indexes. This edition will long stand as a model of German scholarship at its best.

University of Pittsburgh

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER

DER BÜRGEREID ALS GELTUNGSGRUND UND GESTALTUNGSPRINZIP DES DEUTSCHEN MITTELALTERLICHEN STADTRECHTS. By *Wilhelm Ebel*. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1958. Pp. 221. DM 22.50.) This monograph provides a significant study of the municipal law of the German cities in the Empire during the later Middle Ages; it is an area of legal history that has been explored little and still remains obscure. Ebel states that his purpose is the investigation of the historical and ideological basis upon which the validity of city law depends. He does not describe the legal institutions but analyzes their source of authority, fundamental nature, and mode of functioning. The historical vice of reading the present into the past has done much to distort the true perspective of municipal law. The medieval city is too often represented as a miniature "hot-house" state of modern type with all the characteristic legal and juridical features of our time. To correct this impression Ebel finds a solid basis for municipal law in the medieval concept of an oath-bound agreement (*Verwillkürung*) that reaches back ultimately to the early Germanic concept of the "peace." Hence the validity of the "city law" is anchored to the free choice and voluntary consent of the citizen or burgher community. The *coniuratio* of the burghers of the early city establishes a *pax* based on oath which begins as a revolutionary procedure and forms an aspect of the struggle between the ruling classes of the Empire and the lesser folk. The law derives from a great variety of sources, including popular custom and mercantile usages, and culminates in the voluntary oath-bound law (*Willkürrecht*) of the entire burgher community. This sworn self-imposed law constituted the highest authority. It betrayed its essentially legal character in many respects: the effectiveness

of the personal bond, the need of a renewed agreement (*coniuratio reiterata*) with every change of city administration, and the use of a legal procedure based on oath instead of a judicial finding in particular cases. This municipal law tends to evolve and grow by accretion. It absorbs into the *Willkürrecht* a large number of subjective privileges and liberties. The broadening of the law leads gradually and imperceptibly to the transformation of free choice into arbitrary statute; it is a process that continues over a considerable period, culminating in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In general the development of municipal law parallels the shifting meaning of the concept *Willkür*. Much as *Willkür* evolves from voluntary to arbitrary, so the city law moves from voluntary agreement (*Verwillkürung*) to rigid statute. This book is a solid original contribution based on a large reservoir of unworked source material.

Rice Institute

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

BEITRÄGE ZUR REICHS- UND PAPSTGESCHICHTE DES HOHEN MITTELALTERS: AUSGEWÄHLTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Walther Holtzmann*. [Bonner Historische Forschungen, Band 8.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1957. Pp. 238. DM 19.) Walther Holtzmann's profound grasp of underlying relations gives conceptual unity to the twelve articles now republished by his colleagues at Bonn and at the Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rome on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. Arranged chronologically to cover the period from about A.D. 1050 to 1200, these essays have been selected both to emphasize important developments and to illustrate various types of source problems and the methods for dealing with them. Some of these articles are already well known for contributions in special fields; the collection as a whole offers a series of probing investigations into a number of interesting subjects: rhetorical and poetic interests in eleventh-century Italy and southern France; papal efforts to reunite Greek and Latin churches and the origin of the first crusade; local reactions to the investiture problem in England, Germany, and Italy; Greek and German factionalism in Hungary; the diplomatic maneuvers of Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III; the development of the canon law; and the relations between Celestine III and Emperor Henry VI. The collection is also valuable as an introduction to source materials of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Each study explores the content and significance of certain inedited manuscripts, and the author brings an amazing variety of techniques and vast erudition to bear upon his explication of texts. Each article centers upon a different type of source: saints' lives, Latin poems, various kinds of papal correspondence and papal acts, conciliar and synodal records, or collections of decretals. As might be expected from the author of *Papsturkunden in England*, the historical value of canon law materials is stressed at several points. Taken together, these studies throw much light upon the concrete details and inner relations of major developments. They also are an excellent basis for student exercises in the interpretation of sources, and they offer a number of starting points for future research. This memorial is, then, itself a vital contribution to learning.

Vanderbilt University

DAYTON PHILLIPS

THE PAPAL STATE UNDER MARTIN V: THE ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE TEMPORAL POWER IN THE EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Peter Partner*. (London: British School at Rome. 1958. Pp. ix, 264. £1 5s.) This is a work of thorough scholarship and a welcome contribution in English to a highly complex subject. Refuting the commonly held view which regards papal preoccupation with its temporal state in Italy as a Renaissance phenomenon, the author sees it as a major concern of popes ever since the eighth century. What is new

in the pontificate of Martin V are the circumstances in which the consolidation of the papal state had to be undertaken: the near chaos resulting from the schism, and an economic crisis. While it may be argued that these and other fifteenth-century factors lent a new significance to an old concern, the author's thesis deserves consideration. After a brief sketch of the history of the papal state, two chapters of closely packed narrative deal with the chaotic conditions prevailing there during the schism and Martin V's remarkable achievement in recovering the lands of the Church. The author spares neither himself nor his reader the arduous trail of fifteenth-century Italian politics. Martin V emerges simply as a more successful *signore* in the ruthless contest for lands and power. Against this background is set an analysis of the machinery of government in action in the papal state. Herein lies the essential contribution of the work—a substantial contribution. In its suppression of communal freedom the Church is shown to have been no exception to the pattern of the century. Its regulation of the grain trade, its salt monopoly, the taxing of pasture on papal demesne lands provided not only sources of income but of conflict. On the other hand, temporal power was at the mercy of the *condottieri* engaged to maintain it. Of the ostensibly large revenue due from the provincial tallage, less than one-third is shown to have reached the papal treasury, most of it assigned to mercenaries to collect in payment of wages. It was one of Martin V's notable achievements to free himself after 1423 from the necessity of thus alienating his revenues. The decline in the wages of mercenaries attests to the increased stability of papal finances. The administrative system was not new, nor were the goals of the papacy; both found themselves placed in a new set of circumstances. Not the least important feature of this work is its usefulness as a guide to the various categories of documents in the Vatican and other archival collections. It is richly documented and has an appendix containing transcripts from relevant sources.

Smith College

LEONA C. GABEL

DU MEURTRE DE MONTEREAU AU TRAITÉ DE TROYES. By *Paul Bonenfant*. [Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Mémoires, Collection en-8°—Tome LII, Fascicule 4.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique. 1958. Pp. xxix, 282.) This subject has been treated by Fresne de Beaucourt from the French point of view, and by Wylie and Waugh from the English. Bonenfant approaches it from a Burgundian angle. In so doing he summarizes previous scholarly interpretations of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and reasserts the one he himself advanced in his *Philippe le Bon* in 1943. The present volume is intended to demonstrate in detail his thesis "que le jeune duc, en concluant cette alliance, n'avait eu d'autres préoccupations que celles d'un chef de parti français." Possibly he saw some similarity between Pétain's dealings with Hitler and Philip's with Henry V, but this is merely suggested somewhat obliquely without elaboration. Students of fifteen-century diplomacy should couple this work with Dickinson's *The Congress of Arras*. The latter describes the reversal of that Burgundian policy whose beginning Bonenfant is explaining. Both books aim to show how diplomatic situations were handled a century before Machiavelli. Both have drawn extensively upon the resources of central and local archives. But Bonenfant deals with a more complicated situation requiring more frequent exercise of historical imagination, and he does this convincingly. He emphasizes the extent to which policy and personal interest were merged. The day-by-day course of events is elaborated. It is characteristic of this period that there is a multiplicity of documents—too many for easy interpretation and not sufficiently informative to be clear. This requires from the author scholarly interpretations and hypotheses which students of the period will find interesting. They can sympathize with the

author's problems in extracting probabilities from messengers' records that give no indication of the purport of the messages as well as of financial payments for vaguely specified purposes, and with his efforts to make living characters of a large personnel about whom there is fairly extensive but not very enlightening data. The book has an appendix of twenty-six unpublished documents (sixty pages), a good index, and a bibliography of nearly three hundred titles.

Williamstown, Massachusetts

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

KING JAMES IV OF SCOTLAND: A BRIEF SURVEY OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By *R. L. Mackie*. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1958. Pp. 300. \$4.50.) This excellently written life of James IV helps to fill a yawning gap in Scottish historiography; heretofore no Scottish ruler between James I and Mary has had an adequate biography. Mr. Mackie starts his work with an admirable sketch of James III, and then carries the political and diplomatic narrative from the accession of James IV in 1488 to the momentous marriage with Margaret Tudor in 1503. At this point he interrupts the story to give us an extended description of the condition of Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These chapters are, perhaps, the best in the book; the accounts of Scottish social life and literary development are particularly good. The political narrative is then resumed, and culminates in a detailed and exciting description of Flodden. It is not possible to quarrel with the author's scholarship; his knowledge of the sources is profound and his handling of them is accurate and imaginative. And yet the portrait of King James that emerges from these pages is not convincing. I suspect this is because Mackie accepts the traditional view of James as a good and effective king, when almost all the evidence he adduces points in the opposite direction. For all his piety, James did nothing to arrest the decay of the Scottish church, and many of his appointments, particularly to the see of St. Andrews, were scandalous. His Highland policy, for all its seeming vigor, ended in the aggrandizement, not of the crown, but of the houses of Campbell and Gordon. His foreign policy was impractical in the extreme, and led to disaster in the long run; that the disaster did not come sooner was owing less to James than to the forebearing and pacific policy of Henry VII. Mackie's failure to draw the conclusions suggested by his evidence detracts from what is otherwise a most useful book.

Princeton University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

REFORMATION AND REACTION IN TUDOR CAMBRIDGE. By *H. C. Porter*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 461. \$10.00.) This is an important study of religious thought and controversy in Cambridge University from Erasmus to Whichcote, based on an exhaustive use of both manuscript and printed materials. Fresh detail and new perspective are presented on almost every aspect of the part that the university and its graduates played in the Reformation. Much as Sir John Neale has shown how intimately the parliamentary history of Elizabeth's reign was related to local family interests, so Porter shows how closely the development of Anglicanism and Puritanism in Tudor England was related to academic controversies, which only a graduate of twentieth-century Cambridge would have the patience to unravel. The

main thesis is that the influence of Cambridge in the Reformation was as central and pervasive as everyone has always believed, but that it was not all, or even mainly, on the radical side. Anglicanism owes as much to Andrewes, Baro, and Overall as Puritanism does to Perkins, Chaderton, and Whitaker. The religious history of Elizabethan Cambridge is that of a "debate" between humanists and Calvinists, not of Puritan triumph alone. The author is at his best in describing the Puritan dons and pastors of the 1590's, tracing out the connections of Cambridge with Massachusetts, and sketching the great debate over grace. His style retains a good deal of the allusive cleverness that makes English prize essays sometimes so hard for Americans to take (the original essay won the Cranmer prize for 1952). Chronological sequence is ignored so often that the sense of organic development is lost, and occasionally antiquarianism seems to overwhelm historical analysis. But there are so many good things in the book that the reader easily forgets such shortcomings. Porter has a rare combination of historical and theological insight. He has written a book that every student of the English Reformation must read.

Princeton University

E. HARRIS HARBISON

THE SCHOLASTIC CURRICULUM AT EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CAMBRIDGE. By William T. Costello, S.J. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 221. \$4.50.) In this small but packed volume, based on numerous manuscript student notebooks and related materials as well as a great variety of printed works, the reader may discover not only what is embraced in the title but also many clues to the intellectual outlook of the time. The author first delineates the framework of scholasticism—dialectical, Aristotelian, and systematic—as expressed in lectures, disputations, and declamations. Then he turns to the doctrinal part, the arts of logic, rhetoric, and ethics; the sciences of metaphysics, physics, mathematics, and cosmography; and the graduate studies of theology, medicine, law, and music. He notes the decline of the lecture, the rise of books, and the criticism of slavish note-taking. He aids one to understand the presence of highly involved reasoning even in semipopular tracts, not to stress the labyrinthine character of learned treatises, and to see why Francis Bacon revolted against some contemporary intellectual excesses. Less somberly, he discloses that students, then no less than now, were careless and remiss, given to lingering and loitering. All this and much more is to be found, often in a style whose metaphors reflect the author's absorption in his materials.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY EXETER: A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1625-1688. By W. B. Stephens. With a foreword by W. G. Hoskins. [A Publication of the History of Exeter and South West Research Group.] (Exeter: University of Exeter; distrib. by A. Wheaton and Company, Exeter. 1958. Pp. xxvi, 203, 30s.) The city of Exeter is fortunate in having a group of very able historians to write its history. Thus far most of the emphasis has been on economic matters. In 1935 Dr. W. G. Hoskins published his *Industry, Trade and People in Exeter, 1688-1800*; the present work, which might be described as a companion volume to the above, traces the commercial and industrial development of the city from 1625 to 1688. During this period Exeter was one of the chief ports in England. Its merchants traded very widely, but especially with France, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic islands. Exeter was also an important center for the manufacture of woolen cloth. Indeed the two activities, trade and industry, were very closely associated; a large percentage of the exports from the city consisted of Devon dozens, perpetuanas, bays,

and other varieties of cloth. As could be expected, the trade went through alternating periods of depression and prosperity. The depressions were brought on by various factors: plagues, foreign wars, the Civil War, and the retaliatory actions of foreign governments. Nevertheless, the businessmen of Exeter survived these economic slumps, and on the eve of the Glorious Revolution the trade of the city reached its most flourishing state. Dr. Stephens has written an informative book for the specialist in English economic history. His research is thorough, his conclusions are sound, and most of his maps, graphs, and tables (thirty-one in all, not counting seventeen in the appendixes) are helpful. The History of Exeter Research Group has added another distinguished volume to its series.

Temple University

ROBERT C. JOHNSON

THE BOARD OF TRADE AND THE FREE-TRADE MOVEMENT, 1830-42. By *Lucy Brown*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. 245. \$4.80.) This is a valuable study of the activity and influence of the staff of the Board of Trade through the dozen years before Peel launched Britain on her great experiment in free trade. The first two sections deal with the political environment and the work of the Board during the Whig decade after Huskisson: its organization, its personnel and their public activities, political connections and relations to the negotiation of reciprocity and other commercial treaties, and its new function of preparing systematic data on British trade. This last was begun only in 1834 with the setting up of a statistical department under G. R. Porter, subsequently famous for his *Progress of the Nation*. Drawing on all relevant manuscript and printed sources, Miss Brown has put these matters into context with admirable clarity and balance. The third section examines the open attack on the tariff made by the staff members, free traders all, during the depression years preceding the radical change in policy that Peel began with his budget of 1842. Miss Brown has usefully sorted out the biases and propaganda in the opinions and data that the free traders presented when they had their field day before Joseph Hume's Select Committee on the Import Duties began work in 1840. She holds that, however influential with the public at large, this inquiry exerted little direct effect on Peel or his colleagues and was not worthy to do so. But somewhat fuller treatment might clarify relationships at this climactic juncture. More is needed on the economic environment—the severe depression that doubtless emboldened the staff to speak confidently in public, even as it pushed Peel, once in office, to attempt "something effectual" toward reviving permanently the languishing commerce and industry of the country. The influence these free-trade staff members exerted on government policy may be underrated a little, too. There must have been a central and convincing core of truth in their opinions and in the materials they had collected in the office on the problems of British trade. Gladstone, who became vice-president in 1841, wrote later that every day spent at the office "beat like a battering ram on the unsure fabric" of his official protectionism; and his fresh review of the issues with a largely new staff quickly yielded a closely comparable program on the matters that were within the province of the Board.

Tufts University

ALBERT H. IMLAH

ENGLAND UND DIE EUROPÄISCHEN MÄCHTE IM JAHRE 1887. By *Klaus Römer*. [Berner Untersuchungen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, Heft 21.] (Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co. 1957. Pp. 153. 8.85 fr. S.) In this Bern dissertation Klaus Römer undertakes to review the history of the "Mediterranean Entente" and of the "Oriental Triple Alliance" of 1887 from the perspective of English policy, because in

his opinion the diplomatic events of this year had been viewed too exclusively from Bismarck's point of view. In addition to the published sources, the author uses the documents of the Austrian and British archives, of which eleven are reproduced in the appendix. The history of European diplomacy in 1887, on which we possess a large number of good studies, receives in Römer's monograph no new or better light. Römer confirms once more the well-established fact that Bismarck was holding the initiative in all diplomatic moves and forced England to accept a larger active role in the preservation of European peace than she was anxious to assume. The special motives which induced Salisbury to accept such responsibilities are not elucidated by a superficial discussion of British constitutional law and of the very few contemporary political articles in periodicals. The author says in his preface that "the English evaluation of political events" differs markedly from ours and that as a consequence it was often impossible to reach "a truly English result." If he adds that "British thinking is often incomprehensible to us," this seems, at least with regard to the problems that he attempted to solve, an unduly defeatist attitude.

*Yale University**Hajo Holborn*

THE ADVENT OF THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY. By *Philip P. Poirier*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. 287. \$4.50.) While politicians worry about the future of the British Labour party, scholars have begun to study its past. This work by Professor Poirier of Ohio State University is one of several in recent years dealing with the birth—or rather the parentage—of the Labour party. Since the infant, now grown to maturity, still shows the effects of its mixed ancestry, there is reason for genealogical inquiry. Poirier's study largely supplements the works of Frank Bealey, Henry Pelling, and J. H. Stewart Reid. He concentrates on the period from 1900, when the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) was established, to 1906, when it became the Labour party. The emphasis is on the practical politics of the period, that is, as the author puts it, on "the tactics, bargaining and compromise." No work gives us such a clear and detailed picture of how the LRC managed to function despite all dissensions. The "hero" of the story is Ramsay MacDonald. To keep the LRC going required, as the author says, "subtle adjustments, not to say ambivalence." Some of the other leaders were less supremely endowed with these qualities, but Poirier shows how most of them felt themselves forced to be expedient and often devious. Using the papers of Herbert Gladstone, the Liberal Chief Whip, Poirier has been able to verify the existence of a secret electoral pact between MacDonald, as secretary of the LRC, and Gladstone, not to contest each other's candidates. This was not always possible, but the pact, first entered into in 1903, known to a relative few, suspected by more, and denied by all, was responsible, Poirier holds, for the surprising success of the LRC candidates and the overwhelming triumph of the Liberals in the 1906 election. Success resolved all scruples for both sides. The Ramsay MacDonald papers were not available, so Poirier quotes only what Gladstone's chief assistant wrote to the Chief Whip, "Was there ever such a justification of a policy by results?" Is it permissible now, with the aid of hindsight, to raise another question, "Was the Election of 1906 but a Pyrrhic victory for the Liberals?"

*Brooklyn College**Samuel J. Hurwitz*

LORD SELKIRK'S DIARY, 1803-1804: JOURNAL OF HIS TRAVELS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA AND THE NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES. Edited with an introduction by *Patrick C. T. White*. [Publications of the Champlain Society,

Number 35.] (Toronto: the Society, 1958. Pp. xxxii, 359, xvi.) The *Diary* covers the travel of Selkirk in the Maritime Provinces of British North America (August–October, 1803), through Massachusetts and New York (October–November, 1803), on into Upper and Lower Canada (November–February, 1803–1804), back through Vermont and New York to the Atlantic seaboard and a return journey to Upper Canada (February–June, 1804). There is then a gap in the *Diary* from June 4–September 30, 1804, when it is again taken up to cover comments on Nova Scotia (September–December, 1804). An appendix is made up of Selkirk's notes on his earlier travels, together with some notes on the blank period of the summer of 1804. The editor of the *Diary* claims, and I agree, that the *Diary* might well serve as a handbook on colonization. Selkirk's whole attention is on the rural scene. He visited Halifax, Boston, Albany, Montreal, Quebec City, and New York, but it was the countryside that caught his full attention and commanded his capacities as a recorder of every facet of rural life. This *Diary* is an invaluable document for the social and economic historian, and it is replete with the statistics of measurement. Viewed as a handbook on colonization, especial interest attaches to Selkirk's account of how he planted a colony of Scotch settlers on Prince Edward Island. Curiously, his description of the actual process of colonization, though complete, is probably not so exhaustively full of measurement as are other parts of the *Diary*. Though from the historical point of view the sections on rural life, forming the greater part of the volume, are undoubtedly the most valuable, yet I found his account of town life, town manners, and town people more provocative and luminous. It is in these comparatively brief sections that the diarist appears to raise his eyes to the general scene and to write with insight upon broader topics. His high birth and great wealth gave him entrance to society everywhere, and at Albany he was in the company of "a party of wild young aristocrats worthy of London." Here, more importantly, he met General Philip Schuyler and his son-in-law Alexander Hamilton and passed a whole day with them in full talk. The pages written shortly after this meeting contain in my view the most generalized, quick, and incisive discussion in the book. Hamilton's opinions are quoted through Selkirk's natural identification with Federalist and aristocratic views. In Montreal and in Quebec a more spacious view and a more liberated style again become clearly evident. The editor provides a brief and good introduction in which he traces Selkirk's career and gives a warm and intelligent appreciation of the *Diary* and the diarist. The Champlain Society has again put scholars in its debt by the publication of this volume.

University of Michigan

GERALD BROWN

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PATRIOT HUNTERS. By Oscar A. Kinchen. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956. Pp. 150. \$3.25.) The abortive rebellion of the Canadian provinces in 1837 was followed by continuing Patriot agitation on both sides of the border. Because open attempts to invade Canada from the United States with a view to her "liberation" were quickly put down, the movement became organized as a secret society, the units of which were designated "Hunters' Lodges." The secret nature of the lodges makes the historian's task a difficult one. Reliance must be placed on scraps of evidence from members who violated their oaths of secrecy or on newspaper and official reports which viewed the society incompletely and from the outside. Considering these limitations, Professor Kinchen has done an excellent job in describing in brief compass the origin, membership, organization, aims, and eventual collapse of the Patriot Hunters. The book, however, suffers from an inexcusable number of typographical errors and certain repetitions which sharper editing could have eliminated.

Decatur, Illinois

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA, S.J.

EARLY VICTORIAN NEW ZEALAND: A STUDY OF RACIAL TENSION AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES, 1839-1852. By *John Miller*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 217. \$4.80.) Dr. Miller's "study of the early Victorian mind adapting itself to the shocks of a new and varied environment; and of the response of the Polynesians to the challenge of an unexpected invasion" is an indictment of the New Zealand Company and of Gibbon Wakefield, the social planner. Localized in the Cook Straits region, it is generalized enough to realize well its purpose. The book is based on "letters, diaries, pamphlets and reminiscences of over a hundred settlers as well as nearly forty thousand pages of the New Zealand Company's correspondence." The bibliography clearly shows the wealth of unpublished sources in the National Archives and the Alexander Turnbull Library. This volume is interesting reading, particularly when it discusses the social structure of the Maoris. Students of Canadian and American frontiers find here the familiar influence of land speculation, the native problem, and the grazing frontier on constitutional issues. Struggle for control of government among speculators, settlers, laborers, missionaries, and "run holders" is clearly depicted. Miller describes the Wellington meeting of February 3, 1851 (packed with five hundred townsmen by the Constitutional Association), which demanded "absolute control of all the internal affairs of the colony, without any interference whatsoever on the part of the Imperial Government," but neglects to mention three protests to these proposals, one from 187 settlers in the Hutt District, one from 229 in Wellington, and another from a public meeting in Otago. Miller hints at the role of Americans in stirring up guerilla warfare, particularly that led by Heke at Kororareka late in 1844. More needs to be written of the "American agitators" and their influence in New Zealand.

Iowa State College

J. A. GREENLEE

THE ORIGINS OF THE MAORI WARS. By *Keith Sinclair*. (Wellington: New Zealand University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York, 1957. Pp. xiii, 297. \$5.00.) Although the title suggests the Maori wars of both the 1840's and 1860's, Dr. Sinclair is concerned almost exclusively with the onset of the latter. In fact, he devotes his principal attention to the decade from 1853 to 1863. This delimitation has real value; for while there are numerous accounts of the wars themselves, we have lacked a full-length study of the causes. More particularly, Sinclair's significant contribution is his detailed account of what he describes as the most mysterious event in New Zealand history, the Waitara land purchase, which was the immediate forerunner of "the strangest war that ever was carried on." Quite properly, however, the origins of the war are traced to more general matters, specifically the economic and social rivalry between the Maoris and the British settlers, as well as the inability of the British government and administration to reconcile its humanitarian attitude toward the indigenous population—its desire for what today would be called trusteeship—with the aggressive, acquisitive aims of the settlers. Official policy in London was to amalgamate peacefully two civilizations which, on the spot and at close range, saw armed conflict as the eventual solution to their problems of coexistence. Failure of the official line came about in large measure because "from the first the greatest weakness of native policy in New Zealand was the tendency to identify it with land policy." As the author makes clear, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the land question in New Zealand's colonial history. Hence the basic importance of this monograph with its thorough study of the Waitara purchase. The workmanlike quality of the book is somewhat marred by the author's attack on Sir George Grey for guile, pettiness, dishonesty, gross deceit, and demagoguery, even though in other respects he must directly

or indirectly praise this greatest of British colonial administrators (e.g., "more positive measures were taken for the welfare of the Maoris during Grey's first governorship than during the rest of the century") and must point out that the real trouble began when Grey's steady hand was no longer present. Correspondingly, the tensions brought about by the Wakefieldians are not developed as they should be in any account of the origins of the Maori wars.

Harvard University

ANDREW D. OSBORN

EARL GREY AND THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES, 1846-1857: A STUDY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND SELF-INTEREST. By John M. Ward. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 496. \$9.50.) In scope and accuracy this work is greatly superior to the only other book on the subject, C. D. Allin's *The Early Federation Movement of Australia* (1907). All that is now left of the older book is its pre-emption of what would have been the least misleading title for the present work. The first opportunity for the four eastern Australian colonies to federate was provided by the "philosophical" Earl Grey, son of the Grey of the Reform Bill and colonial secretary in Russell's administration (1846-52). Opposition in Parliament and hostile indifference in the colonies defeated Grey's well-intentioned but highly artificial plans for Australian federation. The second opportunity arose when the colonists formed a league of joint protest against the reintroduction of convict transportation to Australia. By this time, however, the colonies were in the process of being granted their own responsible governments (1850-55); the initiative for federation was thus no longer in the hands of the Colonial Office, but rested with the petty politicians in four separate colonial legislatures. Jealousies abounded, and the economic differences between Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, and South Australia were expressed in discriminatory intercolonial tariff policies. Only a few colonial legislators were ready to abdicate their newly gained political powers to some vaguely conceived federal authority, and they received no popular support. Federation at mid-century was a lost cause. Ward's definitive account of this failure is based primarily on British Colonial Office documents and on colonial newspapers, supplemented by valuable materials from the Grey of Howick Papers recently assembled at Durham. It says almost everything that could be said about the subject from the viewpoint of political and constitutional history. In conjunction with his earlier book on the Southwest Pacific, it establishes the author as the leading Australian historian of the younger generation on imperial topics. The mechanical flaws of his lengthy work, such as unnecessary internal references to its various parts and avoidable repetition, do nothing to detract from that impression.

Harvard University

GEORGE NADEL

ALEXANDER FORREST: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By G. C. Bolton. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 196. \$3.75.) In the historical literature of Australia there is a notable shortage of biographical studies of major and secondary personalities. This work is a contribution in the latter category. Alexander Forrest was an important but not a great figure in the development of Western Australia, a typical man of the Anglo-Australian frontier. "Alick" Forrest, not to be confused with his distinguished brother John, later Lord Forrest, was an able bushman and explorer. Driven mainly by economic ambitions, he followed perilous tracks into the Northwest and the Kimberley. His talent for turning his surveying contracts and explorations to practical advantage by taking up land for cattle grazing became a recurring issue in political controversies of the 1880's and

1890's in the colony. His political role again reflected economic motives, and determined his fight for responsible government in the late 1880's as well as his opposition to Australian federation in the 1890's. The decisive factors were his association with the graziers, who represented the old western Australian interests; his resistance to domination by the more industrialized eastern colonies; and his conflicts with the miners, most of them "T'othersiders" from those egalitarian democracies beyond the Nullarbor Plain. Forrest served as Mayor of Perth and as a member of the legislative council for West Kimberley. Among the people of the Northwest he stood out as that rare specimen, the pioneer who survived to become a political leader and leading financial magnate. On the credit side of this work the following points must be scored. It provides interesting material on the important meat industry in the west, and the struggle between the graziers' interest and the gold fields for the control and use of public funds. The cultural distance between Perth and Melbourne in the nineteenth century is nicely documented. There are some interesting glimpses of colonial Perth. Finally, a detailed if almost uncritical account of Alexander Forrest's life is now available. On the negative side, the author seems to have assembled all printable facts about Alexander Forrest and used them rather unselectively. This produces a curious result: no arresting or particularly convincing person emerges. Apart from a faint flavor of eulogy, there is little critical estimate of the man or the events, and the author almost never intrudes a judgment.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

AUSTRALIA IN THE WAR OF 1939-1945. Series Four (Civil). Volume V, THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY. By D. P. Mellor. (Canberra: Australian War Memorial; Sydney: Angus and Robertson, Ltd. 1958. Pp. xi, 738. 30s.) This volume goes a long way to make up for the lack of Australian technological history. Professor Mellor has described with a wealth of detail the role of the scientist, the technologist, the industrialist, and the factory worker in equipping Australia to fight World War II. Innumerable charts, diagrams, maps, and illustrations greatly aid the story's telling. Rounding out the picture are a chapter at the beginning of the book dealing with Australia from 1914 to 1939 and another at the end covering 1945 to the present. In World War I Australia was not industrialized enough "to do more than provide her armies with food and clothing, and rifles and ammunition." The volume describes the scientific and industrial progress which makes possible today's production of jet aircraft, automobiles, and television equipment. Mellor points up the twin prewar problems: the lack of standardization and the need for research. He shows why industry mobilized quickly and science more slowly after 1939. The wartime achievements of Australian industry were truly remarkable. If there was one hero, it was Essington Lewis, Director General of Munitions and coordinator of wartime industrial planning. To his subordinates he quickly summed up his grave sense of urgency: "In the past we have had almost unlimited time but little money; now we have almost unlimited money but little time." What he achieved in so short a time was amazing. But the author does not gloss over mistakes that were made. Considering Australia's population of about seven million and the nature of her resources, there were remarkably few. Probably the two big ones were the expenditure of four million pounds and the employment of two thousand men to manufacture Mark I tanks which were never used, and the failure of Australian torpedoes ever to see action against the enemy. In these cases the inevitable time lag between design and full-scale production was too much for Australia. An Australian-designed bomber (the Wackett) was also unwanted. Another all-Aussie product, the Owen light machine gun, was successful. Mellor has

analyzed Australia's raw materials, her manpower problems, the arms and machinery produced. He has considered also communications, meteorology, camouflage, tropical proofing, and, above all, food, a most important chapter. Mellor's volume is comprehensible, readable, and meets the standards set by Gavin Long, the general editor of the series.

Rutgers University

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

INDEPENDENT AFRICAN: JOHN CHILEMBWE AND THE ORIGINS, SETTING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NYASALAND NATIVE RISING OF 1915. By *George Shepperson* and *Thomas Price*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Thomas Nelson and Sons, Edinburgh. 1958. Pp. x, 564. 50s.) A young African comes out of the bush to encounter a European society composed of canny Scotch missionaries, urbane Anglican High-churchmen, emotional evangelicals, and also white settlers, who regard the African highland as their own home. The young African moves through them all to attach himself to an Australian missionary, ignored by these other white elements, who embraces tenets reaching back into the defiance of authority made by the Anabaptists of Münster. The young man drinks deeply of these heady waters, and the white missionary regards him as his prize convert. The convert moves beyond the control of the missionary when he goes to Virginia to experience the humiliations of Jim Crow, but there he also experiences an even more emotional religious fundamentalism. Upon returning to Africa, he has developed a black Christianity, the ultimate doctrine of which is hatred for whites. And so the elements mingle, and the action presses in the manner of a Greek tragedy inexorably to its climax. The educated African, almost an agnostic, adheres to the cause because of his secular African nationalism. Neither man tells the other all he feels, but the forces gripping both commit them to the rising. As it must, the rising fails; but in an epilogue the governor of Nyasaland grasps the significance of this first revolt of educated Africans against Europeans. All of this is a gripping story, but the authors bury it under a mass of verbalism and rhetorical questions while they conduct an analysis that frequently misses the interaction of personalities and forces. Here is a situation with a complete roster of the various African "types" and the results of their encounter. The governor grasped the realities of the rising; its narrators chose to ignore them.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

A HISTORY OF HONG KONG. By *G. B. Endacott*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 322. \$4.80.) Before the publication of this work, Far Eastern history lacked a study of the development of Hong Kong squarely based on the manuscripts of the Colonial Office and other primary British sources. Here, in the light of these records, an English scholar now on the faculty at the University of Hong Kong brings to experts and laymen alike a fresh and important account of the emergence of Hong Kong as a major center of world trade and of the administrative and social problems attendant upon its growth. He views the acquisition and administration of the colony as "truly representative of the forces that underlay British expansion" in the nineteenth century. The unexpected factor in Hong Kong was the enormous influx of Chinese who sought the security and freedoms of British rule. His picture of the discrepancies between the principles and policies laid down in London for this colony and the practices of British and Chinese fortune seekers on the island further conforms to similar contradictions in the treaty ports of China and Japan. Corrupt officials, racial discrimination, smuggling, piracy, the opium menace, and the exploitation of

the helpless flourished in Hong Kong despite the home government's concern for justice and demands for an honest administration. Governors controlled their subjects with difficulty when humanitarian efforts impinged on the prized potentials of laissez faire. The author concentrates on the governorships of the nineteenth century, and evaluates objectively their individual impacts upon the colony. Many statistics show the nature and growth of trade, shipping, industry, and population while emphasizing the relatively slow progress of education and social reforms. The avowedly brief treatment of Hong Kong and its new territories in the twentieth century is significant for its stress on the continuing effects of changes in the international situation on the colony's social and economic structure. The book is a valuable compendium of information and interpretation for all who are interested in both Hong Kong and the Far East.

Washington, D. C.

GRACE FOX

EUROPE

THE PARIS OF HENRY OF NAVARRE AS SEEN BY PIERRE DE L'ESTOILE:
SELECTIONS FROM HIS *MÉMOIRES-JOURNAUX*. Translated and edited by *Nancy Lyman Roelker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. 321. \$7.00.) The *Mémoires-Journaux* of Pierre de l'Estoile have long been famous. Miss Roelker rightly claims that L'Estoile did for Paris what Pepys did for London a century later; she is on equally firm ground when she states that his lack of organization and his indiscriminate attention to details has cost him many readers. The author's purpose is to correct these faults and to make L'Estoile available to the English-speaking public. The French edition of the *Mémoires-Journaux* consists of eleven volumes and covers the years 1574-1611. Miss Roelker reduces this to one volume by omitting everything after January, 1599, and by cutting substantially from the earlier portions, especially from the period 1574-1588. The result is that the first part of the book is too sketchy to be of much interest, but from about 1588 the narrative becomes fascinating. Miss Roelker is an excellent translator; she recaptures much of the flavor and zest of the original. She also provides a good introduction, a chronological outline of events, and a glossary of terms. The last contains several errors. Nevertheless, Miss Roelker has accomplished her twofold purpose. Her abridged translation is a useful addition to the scarce supply of source material in English on the Reformation era in France.

Emory University

J. RUSSELL MAJOR

RECUEIL DES INSTRUCTIONS DONNÉES AUX AMBASSADEURS ET MINISTRES DE FRANCE DEPUIS LES TRAITÉS DE WESTPHALIE JUSQU'A LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. Volume XXVI, VENISE. Introduction and notes by *Pierre Duparc*. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1958. Pp. xxx, 356. 2,400 fr.) In 1884, when the costs of typesetting were happily moderate, the French foreign ministry began the publication of all the instructions to French envoys from the peace of Westphalia to the French Revolution. Now, with the long-delayed volume on Venice, the series approaches completion. Increased printing costs, if nothing else, impel consideration of the value of such a series. The *Recueil* was imitative of the famed series of *relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, but the relations were inherently worth publishing and the French instructions were not. The relations summarized both the envoy's work and his observations upon the land where he had served; the instructions lacked the function of report and conveyed a fragmentary picture of French policy. Yet the earlier volumes of the *Recueil* did good service to historians because the editors imbedded the text of the instructions in extended studies

of the relationship between France and each country involved. These studies lacked the neatness of monographs but gave both significant evaluations and a detailed survey of the archival resources. The present volume follows new principles: biographies in the sparest outline; the briefest of summaries and commentary; and the sparsest of archival references. The lively sketches of ambassadorial personalities and the wide-ranging surveys of events are sacrificed to a classical purity of method. But, as the editor accurately and dolefully admits, Franco-Venetian relations have only "un intérêt restreint dans les limites chronologiquement imposées." There are interesting things here and there; nonetheless this is a work of duty, imposed by the nature of the series rather than the value of the materials. The achievement of the *Recueil* until now has come from the breach of the principle of emphasizing the instructions. This volume, unfortunately, kept to the rules.

Elmira College

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE SEARCH FOR A NEW VOLTAIRE: STUDIES IN VOLTAIRE BASED UPON MATERIAL DEPOSITED AT THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. By *Ira O. Wade*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume XLVIII, Part 4] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. 206. \$5.00.) For some years Professor Wade has had in preparation a detailed study of Voltaire's thought. The present volume constitutes an important step toward this end. Into it the author has emptied many of his extensive notes, generously making them available to other scholars. At the same time he has here taken a preliminary position on various issues by way of sketching out the groundwork for aspects of the larger study. Except, therefore, for its introduction, which opens up the subject, and its concluding chapter, "The Search for a New Voltaire," this book will hardly interest—nor is it intended to—the general reader. It is, however, a most important tool for the Voltaire specialist, one which should lay the basis for many future investigations. Most significant, no doubt, is the section that discusses Voltaire's method of working from his copious notes. Wade reveals that throughout a great part of Voltaire's life, even when he was away from Paris, he enjoyed the exceptional privilege of withdrawing books from the Bibliothèque du Roi, the present Bibliothèque Nationale. The rough *Registre des livres prêtés*, which has been previously studied to some extent in connection with Rousseau, has now been transcribed for certain years insofar as it concerns Voltaire. This is another important contribution to the sources of his thought. It should be noted also that Mr. Theodore Besterman, in his great edition of the Voltaire *Correspondence* (II, 340), has already announced his intention to publish completely these unique and little-known records. An appendix to Wade's volume contains detailed inventories of Voltaire microfilms gathered together by the late André Delattre and of the Voltaire material in the Ricci collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale. This publication makes these two great collections readily accessible to scholars in the United States. The final chapter, "Towards a New Voltaire," is highly suggestive of new insights. If they do not present us with an entirely "new" Voltaire—and why should they?—they will better document important aspects of the Voltaire we now know, and will make more certain the reader's ultimate choice between the multifarious Voltaires who have been previously offered to the public.

Ohio State University

GEORGE R. HAVENS

GUSTAV III. EN BIOGRAFI. By *Beth Hennings*. (2d ed.; Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag. 1957. Pp. 362. Kr. 34.50.) "Twice was Gustav III murdered: for his own time by the pistol shot of Anckarström, for posterity by the hatreds of his

own time which echoed through a century and a half. Even the dead have the right to justice." Dr. Hennings' lifetime of research and sound judgment indeed do justice to this schizoid King of Sweden whose parents were German and whose spiritual home was France. The author has salvaged time from an active career, including politics and educational administration, to maintain her position as this generation's foremost authority on Gustav III. The present volume belongs in the "popular-scientific" category, at once highly readable and thoroughly dependable. It is biography; emphasis is on personality, pushing into the background problems of state and monarchy. Yet the problems are there, for it was in the midst of them that Gustav glittered and fell. To the Riksdag Gustav proclaimed his ambition to be but "first citizen among a free people," though both intellectually and emotionally he was committed to strengthening royal authority. The bickering and inefficiency of statesmen in the latter days of the "age of freedom" made it easy for him (shall one say necessary?) to overthrow the old system in the coup of 1772. Yet he could not be consistent. His skin-deep democratic ideals were counteracted by his lust for glory and power, and his power was weakened by his vacillations in policy. Gustav lacked the real politician's grasp of the "life-nerve of his time," though he had a sharp intelligence, adaptability, and "courage to take bold decision in crisis." His fantasy was all too often "not tempered by discretion and a sense of reality." In methods he was as uninhibited as his uncle Frederick the Great. Yet the King's wide-ranging energies were concerned with much besides kingship. He was no weakling, but socially he preferred the company of intellectual women, regardless of age. He stimulated the work of painters and sculptors and encouraged scientists. Not only did he patronize the theater, but this was a very special expression of his personality. In the theater he could enjoy heroic idealism and seek escape from the pettiness and skepticism and hatreds surrounding him. He was playwright, actor, director, and promoter. It is with these facets of personality and activity and with the tense situations within his family that the major portions of the book are concerned, for it is the biography primarily of a man, secondarily of a king.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

THE BACKGROUND OF THE KNIGHTS' REVOLT, 1522-1523. By William R. Hitchcock. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. Pp. vi, 128. \$2.50.) The attack of German knights upon the Archbishop of Trier in 1522-1523 serves in this study as a focal point for analyzing the role of the knights in the social history of the early sixteenth century. Some notice is taken of their financial plight in the new economy and of their political plight in the new territorialism, but chiefly they are discussed in their relation to the new religious movement of Lutheranism. Here the claim is advanced that the Reformation became a further divisive force in the disintegration of the knightly class and that specifically, therefore, the 'Knights' Revolt' against the Archbishop was by no means a class war on Rome. Hutten and Sickingen simply cannot be taken as representative of all. Beyond this preliminary general analysis, however, more extended attention is given to a study of certain individual knights who did respond affirmatively to the call of Lutheranism, especially two lesser-known figures, Eberlin von Günzburg and Hartmuth von Kronberg. Actually, the most important part of this monograph is probably to be found here, for these studies, based upon the *Schriften* of the men themselves, open up something of the more detailed and complex relationships of the knights to their society and in particular to the Lutheran movement. Thus stands revealed the varieties of concerns and motives (national, economic, humanitarian, personal) underlying the actions of these Protestant participants in the 'Knights' Revolt,'"

and yet also the common crystallizing compulsion that the new religious movement provided.

Pacific School of Religion

JOHN VON ROHR

DEUTSCHLANDS AUSSENHANDEL, 1815-1870. By *Gerhard Bondi*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Band 5.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958. Pp. iv, 156. DM 8.) The author's pioneer work on mid-nineteenth-century German foreign trade owes its inspiration to Professor Jürgen Kuczynski's well-known labor studies. As his "habilitation" work launching his academic career at Halle-Wittenberg, Bondi takes special pains to set his work on this aspect of German capitalistic development within a clearly defined Marxist ideological framework. Marxists and non-Marxists alike will doubtless find this part of the work, replete with references to "class instrument," "exploitation," "surplus value," and "power relationships," wearisome and immaterial. Fortunately, the main body of the work is focused on concrete problems of Germany's (area of the later Empire) economic development during this period and the reflection of that development in the changing scope and structure of her foreign trade. Though Bondi has brought together useful material on German external commerce, the work lacks continuity, suffers from a two-dimensional Prussian-Marxist bias, and depends too heavily on largely obsolete works. The division of the main body of the work into the periods 1815-1833, 1834-1854, and 1854-1870 suggests a demarcation which even the author does not justify. While the qualitative and quantitative analyses of German foreign trade adds something to an understanding of the developing German economy, no systematic effort is made to study the changing direction of that trade. In stressing Prussia's determination to retain her hegemony in the *Zollverein*, Bondi ignores the effort made after 1850, as evidenced by the tariff treaty of 1853, to bring Austria into closer commercial relationship with that union. Finally, among the sixty-seven references cited, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mehring, and Sombart occupy a prominent position, while there is no mention of Eisenhart and Hitthaler's scholarly account of the *Zollverein*, of Sieveking's *Auswärtige Handelspolitik*, of Schramm's recent study of German overseas trade, or of Korntheuer's excellent work on Austrian commercial policy. A balanced, objective, and scholarly study of mid-nineteenth-century German foreign trade remains to be written.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

DAS AMERIKABILD DER DEUTSCHEN REVOLUTION VON 1848/49: ZUM PROBLEM DER ÜBERTRAGUNG GEWACHSENER VERFASSUNGSFORMEN. By *Eckhart G. Franz*. [Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien, Number 2.] (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1958. Pp. 154. DM 18.) This is a fertile, if introductory, study of the German image of political America between 1815 and 1848. It examines basic literary influences and outlines the transmission of American principles to the constitutional blueprint of 1848. The author concludes that the Frankfort Parliament gave significant reception to American ideas in an effort to harmonize English liberal practice and French republican theory. The failure of the French Revolution shifted progressive European attention to the American republic. Here was a living political experiment. Some disciples of the Holy Alliance tended to score American rebelliousness, but most monarchist scholars and observers accepted the new state as an interesting embodiment of a valid political idea. Of course, they pointed out that American freedom was founded on fortuitous circumstances and that it was hardly adaptable to Europe's needs and traditions. Mohl, Story, and De Tocqueville made the

key contributions to a scholarly German comprehension of the American political system. They and other writers reasoned that the broad ocean eliminated the military problem and an immigrant society dispelled aristocratic privilege. The Anglo-Saxon core colonies planted the tradition of English law and established the primary authority of local and regional self-government. The many confessional groups reacted against regulation and yet also sponsored a sense of ethical discipline. The open frontier dissolved proletariat dangers and made bureaucracy unnecessary. Agrarian life and property automatically bred self-reliance and democratic interest. Not a few warned that the constitutional test was yet to come, when resources would be less abundant and greater control necessary. At Frankfort conservative liberals like Bassermann and Welcker referred to the American demonstration of state rights and national authority. Left-center liberals like Mittermaier and Tellkampf had more practical knowledge of American government, and they wove American ideas into the constitutional project. Most of the Frankfort parliamentarians agreed with Goethe's "Eines schickt sich nicht für alle," but American forms of bicameralism, federalism, local self-government, juridical authority, and separation of church and state were given prominent positions in the proposed constitution of 1848.

Wittenberg College

HELMUT HAEUSSLER

DIE HISTORISCHE KOMMISSION BEI DER BAYERISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, 1858-1958. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 266.) The year 1958 has been for Munich one of jubilees celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the city, the four-hundredth anniversary of the Bavarian State Library, and the centenary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Historical Commission, conceived by Maximilian II, Ranke, and Sybel. The history of the Commission's establishment is masterfully told by Franz Schnabel. Special chapters devoted to the main enterprises of the Commission: the *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, the three series of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, the *Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, the *Wittelsbacher Korrespondenzen*, and the *Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, written by outstanding members of the Commission or by its working staffs, are a fitting tribute to the Commission's great contribution to German historiography. A word must be added about Count Stolberg-Wernigerode's article on the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* and the *Neue deutsche Biographie*. Having mentioned that Walter Goetz, who died on October 30, 1958, at the age of ninety, was instrumental in bringing about the Commission's decision in favor of the *Neue deutsche Biographie*, and that in 1943 a ten-year contract was signed with a publisher, he continues: "Today people may be surprised that with the war raging the optimism necessary for initiating an enterprise of such magnitude has been displayed. The future was impenetrable; there still existed the danger that extraneous political influences may make themselves felt. However, Goetz and his group of young colleagues were convinced that Germany could no longer expect to win the war and that, therefore, one did not need to care for the existing political system. The prevailing idea was that even after the defeat a way would be found to bring the work to conclusion." It is amazing that in 1943 a group of German historians could make long-range publication plans based on the conviction that the war was lost and that the Hitler regime's days were counted. One would wish that the author would elaborate on his statement, which seems to establish a hitherto unknown important fact in the history of the resistance movement during the war.

Library of Congress

Fritz T. Epstein

HERMANN WAGENER UND SEIN VERHÄLTNIS ZU BISMARCK: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES KONSERVATIVEN SOZIALISMUS. By Wolfgang Saile. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Edited by Hans Rothfels, Theodor Eschenburg, et al., Number 9.] (Tübinger: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1958. Pp. viii, 167. DM 16.50.) As one would expect from a study accepted by Hans Rothfels for the series which he publishes with two of his German colleagues, this is, despite its modest appearance, a scholarly venture both in scope and execution. Taking its origin from a search for the roots of "social monarchy," this "contribution to the history of conservative socialism" first examines Hermann Wagener's personality, the basis of his relations with Bismarck, and Wagener's rise to party leadership. Secondly, it deals with the climax in the cooperation of the politician and the statesman from 1862 to 1866, the former's appointment by the latter, and the break between the reformer for whom the social question was, in Saile's words, the "central sun," and the chancellor to whom it remained a "blind spot." Some of Wagener's memoranda and letters, preserved in the Bismarck home archives at Friedrichsruh and given *in toto* as an appendix, yield an unexpected insight into the philosophy of the corporative state which was to triumph momentarily long after Wagener's death. "The essential task," Wagener wrote April 18, 1863, "is here the guarantee of an appropriate wage through corporative forms similar to those of the guilds, which have for such a long time satisfied all corresponding claims arising within handicraft. At the same time, the right basis for the political representation of those lower classes would be found in such corporative forms, and in order to stop the beginning political agitation it should be advisable for the government to proclaim as their political program universal suffrage arranged by professional groups and perhaps modified by the prerequisite of performing military service." Saile gives a good explanation of why Bismarck was unwilling to adopt the proposal. The most striking weakness in the book is Saile's statement: "The history of the official and especially of the personal policy of Bismarck regarding the press has not yet been written." This means that the author does not know of, or ignores, such writers on the subject as Apitzach, Bringmann, Elkan, Fester, Giesen, Loeber, Löffler, Möhrke, Morsey, Reiber, Schulz, Wappler, and particularly Norbert Stahl, whose Viennese dissertation of 1957 on "Bismarck's game with the press" must at least be considered as an attempt to present and appraise the "game" and its historical consequences. Ever since the time of Erich Everth, the half-forgotten Leipzig founder of serious *Zeitungskunde*, the problem has been studied by what Americans merely call students of journalism while Germans occasionally go so far as to speak of *Zeitungswissenschaft*. In fact, Everth's disciple Heinz Schulze produced in 1931 a study of the press in Bismarck's judgment and suggested the work which Stahl has undertaken. Saile, who is interested in Wagener's possible influence on Bismarck's persecution of the press, confines himself to a few older sources on the topic. The isolation of *Zeitungskunde*, not altogether undeserved on account of its lack of proper methodology, is thus once more demonstrated. Saile, on the other hand, exhibits mastery of the historical method. He concludes that even though Wagener was not responsible for suggesting the press ordinances of 1863 to Bismarck, no one could have defended them better. Wagener, whose importance in labor history H. J. Schoeps emphasized not so long ago, must henceforth be recognized by all students of Bismarck.

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HELMUT HIRSCH

GERMANY AND THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA, 1915-1918: DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY. Edited by Z. A. B. Zeman. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxxiii, 157. \$4.00.) This is the second selection of German Foreign Office documents to have been published recently on this controversy-laden subject. Compared to Professor Werner Hahlweg's *Lenins Rückkehr nach Russland 1917* (Leiden, 1957), Zeman's book covers a broader period, it includes more documents (137 to Hahlweg's hundred—some thirty documents appear in both volumes), and it is based on a wider range of the files. From the point of view of German foreign policy, certain things seem quite clear from these documents. Support of the Bolshevik movement in Russia was a major strand of German political strategy. The support began early in the war; it continued well into 1918; it was backed up by large expenditures of money. Within the larger context of the revolution itself—in considering, for example, the effect of the German support upon the course of the revolution and on Lenin's policy—the documents shed a more uncertain light. It would seem rash to conclude, however (as some reviewers have already done), that the new material, both that which has now been published and the considerably larger amount which is available on microfilm in the public archives, can be dismissed as the basis for a footnote.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL R. SWEET

GENERALFELDMARSCHALL GRAF ALFRED SCHLIEFFEN BRIEFE. Edited with an introduction by Eberhard Kessel. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 327. DM 22.) This work consists of a series of letters written by and to Alfred, Graf Schlieffen. They give a fascinating, if incomplete, view of the life, interests, attitudes, and problems of the father of the Schlieffen Plan. The excellent introduction provides not only a general discussion of the letters and of their significance; it also presents telling arguments for a modification of Field Marshall Schlieffen's character as it is portrayed in Professor Gerhard Ritter's excellent book *The Schlieffen Plan*, and suggests criticism of the attacks made upon Schlieffen and his "plan." In providing the general reader with an opportunity to glimpse the man behind the strategist, Mr. Kessel performs a valuable service to students of history, a service which is greatly enhanced by the insight the letters give into the problems of the land-poor noble in a century when the economic advantage lay with the increasingly wealthy bourgeoisie or with the noble who had become bourgeois at least in his economic activities. The book certainly drives home the point that whatever else Schlieffen may have been, he was not a born soldier nor even a soldier without outside interests. Indeed, he seriously considered abandoning the military career well after he had embarked upon it and often despaired of making a success in the army. Even later, military matters play at best a tertiary role in his correspondence. Bringing together letters from a number of archival sources, the editor has assembled a surprisingly complete record of Schlieffen's life, especially in view of the reluctance with which his subject approached the writing table. Many of the letters deal with commonplace events or even with trivialities, but these, too, can be important in helping the reader to evaluate Schlieffen the man. The table of Schlieffen's career and the charts presenting his immediate family are invaluable aids to the careful reader, but a factual account of Schlieffen's life would have been most useful, especially where gaps in the picture provided by the correspondence are unavoidable. The reader is sometimes presented with detailed arguments concerning a problem but not informed of the end result. The final disposition of Gross Krausche, the family estate, is never revealed, nor is it clear whether either Schlieffen or his brother ever achieved a feeling of economic security, or even whether the poverty

that Schlieffen complained of was really as serious a problem as he conceived it to be. Such an account, following or preceding the discussion of the meaning of the correspondence and the character of Schlieffen, would add to the very real value of the book. Despite this shortcoming, the *Briefe* should take their place beside the *Gesammelte Schriften* and the technical studies of Groener and Ritter as essentials for the proper evaluation of a man whose significance has been the subject of bitter quarrels ever since 1914.

University of Pittsburgh

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

HITLER'S YOUTH. By Franz Jetzinger. Translated from the German by Lawrence Wilson. Foreword by Alan Bullock. (London: Hutchinson and Company. 1958. Pp. 200. 16s.) Until now, students interested in the crucial early years of Adolf Hitler's life have been forced to rely on the fantasies of *Mein Kampf*, the suggestive but undocumented observations of Konrad Heiden, the guesses and hearsay of Greiner and Rabitsch, and, above all, Kubizek's *Adolf Hitler, Mein Jugendfreund*. Many critics—notably Trevor-Roper—have acclaimed Kubizek's memoirs as "a very important book." Dr. Jetzinger's study is a sustained, devastating, and often pugnacious attack on Kubizek and all other biographers of Hitler's youth. Jetzinger is the librarian of the Provincial Archives in Linz. Since 1945 he has checked and rechecked every available bit of evidence pertinent to Hitler's early life. His book is not intended to be an interpretative study; he is concerned with establishing facts. And how he loves facts! He pursues them, finds them, worries them, and squeezes the last drop of truth out of them. What, for example, was the income of Hitler's parents? Jetzinger scrutinizes Austrian pension regulations, hospitalization costs, deeds of sale, obituary notices, consumer taxes, and price indexes before he is willing to conclude that Alois Hitler was a man of industry, sobriety, and thrift who gave his family security and bourgeois respectability. Did the adolescent Hitler have a love affair with Stefanie? Did this girl of his dreams actually toss him a flower during the Linz *Blumenkorso* of June, 1906? The author checks weather reports, newspapers, and army deployments; he finds the mysterious young lady. He concludes that no such flower festival ever took place; that Stefanie had never known the existence of Adolf; and that she was studying in Geneva during most of the alleged courtship in Linz. Did Adolf, the dutiful son, do all the housework and nurse his beloved mother during her last fatal illness? Jetzinger interviews the neighbors, checks the day-by-day chronology, and quizzes the unfortunate Kubizek on the details of the Hitler household and the color of the women's hair. He concludes that Hitler arrived in Linz only after his mother's death. He also concludes that it is at least highly probable that Hitler's paternal grandfather was a Jew. Here—among other things—he points to the curious fact that less than two months after conquering Austria, Hitler ordered that Döllersheim (his father's birthplace and the site of his grandmother's grave) be obliterated by artillery fire and the whole area converted into a training ground for the *Wehrmacht*. Although Jetzinger relies heavily on Kubizek for his treatment of the Vienna period, he adds important footnotes: Hitler neither studied politics seriously nor worked as a manual laborer during his "apprenticeship in Vienna." He supported himself as an artistic dilettante by selling the paintings he plagiarized, by swindling his younger sister out of an orphan's pension, and by talking his crippled Aunt Johanna into handing over to him a large share of her life savings. He fled Vienna in May, 1913, in order to escape Austrian military service. Jetzinger is at his best when he sticks to his beloved facts; he is less successful when he attempts psychological analysis. But this meticulous factual study replaces all other previous accounts of Hitler's youth and must be considered the indis-

pensable starting point for the analytical interpretation of the incredible life that must one day be written. It is regrettable that so important a book should be so inadequately translated. This English version is simply an abridgement of the German original. Whole sections are briefly paraphrased or transposed, supporting evidence is often omitted, and important sentences are deleted. The specialist will wish to use the German edition: *Hitler's Jugend: Phantasien, Lügen—und die Wahrheit* (Vienna, 1956.)

Williams College

ROBERT G. L. WAITE

KARL LIEBKNECHT: MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY. By *Karl W. Meyer*. Introduction by *C. V. Easum*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 180. \$3.25.) Karl Meyer's book represents the first serious study of Karl Liebknecht, since the only previous biography is Harry Schumann's *Karl Liebknecht: Ein Stück unpolitischer Weltanschauung* (Dresden, 1923), a book that fully lives up to its title. It is disappointing to find Mr. Meyer's study based solely on printed materials; either no unpublished sources exist or they were unavailable. The text and bibliography show, however, that no important secondary works have been overlooked. The biography is a brief and lucid account, pedestrian in style, of an important transitional figure in the history of socialism. The reader will not find a full treatment of German socialism, extensive analysis of theory, or even much of a picture of Liebknecht as a person, but he will find preeminently judicious interpretation. Meyer cannot be termed sympathetic or unsympathetic; rather he has achieved an objectivity that borders on the glacial. He stresses throughout Liebknecht's personal integrity and revolutionary self-dedication, but can find little else to commend. Liebknecht emerges as little better than a fool. He lacked skill in theory as well as the capacity to act or write effectively; he never understood the German masses; he destroyed his own usefulness in the Reichstag by sermonizing and by making sweeping charges seldom backed by adequate evidence; he was an unreliable colleague who lost his head in a crisis and betrayed both his political principles and his agreements with others. Meyer's judgment that the January, 1919, Spartacus uprising could have succeeded had Liebknecht provided a minimum of resolute leadership is debatable, but it is demonstrated clearly enough that this minimum was lacking. The reader will find it difficult to refute the author's final verdict that Liebknecht, insofar as he split the democratic groups and thus strengthened the counterrevolution, was a harmful force. Meyer writes that he would be satisfied to have raised more questions than he could answer. Certainly Liebknecht's career raises questions. On the most basic level is the problem of why so many of the most disinterested and generous of pre-1914 reformers remained under the domination of Marxist theory despite the fact that its inadequacies as social analysis were becoming ever more obvious. Liebknecht's belief that his version of Marxism was applicable to Germany in 1918 seems now almost as incredible as his assumption that what was happening in Russia was the genuine Marxist revolution. Meyer does not seem interested in general problems of the nature and types of revolutions and revolutionists, but the material he presents with such detachment suggests that perhaps Liebknecht's real significance to the historian lies in his being the last major representative of a certain type of nineteenth-century Western Marxist.

Wells College

LENORE O'BOYLE

DOKUMENTATION DER VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUS OST-MITTEUROPA. Band II, DAS SCHICKSAL DER DEUTSCHEN IN UNGARN. (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims. 1956. Pp. viii, 106,

199.) Following the format of the series, which now includes Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland, and the territories east of the Oder-Neisse line, this volume on Hungary includes a seventy-two-page historical and statistical summary of the ethnic Germans' fate, an appendix with some of the important decrees affecting them, and a collection of their reminiscences, diary notes, and interrogation protocols. Except for one undated account by Geza Becker, who was twelve in 1945, and what appears to be part of a diary of a peasant woman from the vicinity of Budapest, the items in this collection are nearly all too fragmentary to be of much use to systematic scholars. The Hungarians appear to have had fewer scores to settle with this folk group than the Poles and Czechs had with their Germans. Dr. Gerhard Papke prepared this selection under the supervision of Professor Theodor Schieder and the Wissenschaftliche Kommission appointed by the Ministry for Refugees, which consisted of Werner Conze, Adolf Distelkamp, Rudolf Laun, Peter Rassow, and Hans Rothfels.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT KOEHL

FROM BISMARCK TO ADENAUER: ASPECTS OF GERMAN STATECRAFT.
By Gordon A. Craig. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1958.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. xvii, 156. \$4.50.) Historians as well as statesmen need the qualities that Max Weber thought requisite for political leadership: "passion, a feeling of responsibility, and a sense of proportion." Gordon Craig possesses these qualities and yet another: It is fitting that he opens these essays with a reminder that Bismarck allowed not even love to "excuse bad prose." Bismarck comes off well in these essays; his successors emerge as "epigoni" as the author perceptively takes their measure against Weber's formula for greatness: "Holstein lacked a sense of proportion; Bülow lacked a sense of responsibility; and, if Kiderlen was a passionate man, his passion was not of the kind that animates and inspires statecraft." Along the way Craig challenges Gerhard Ritter's contention that Holstein wanted no preventive war in 1905. Seeing the "style" of diplomacy as a part of the style of an era, Craig convincingly suggests that statecraft was "a matter of theatrics with Bülow." Kiderlen was a fist-pounder, and Brüning prematurely sought to revive this unfortunate tradition after Rathenau and Stresemann, brothers of grim necessity, had charted a safer course for Germany's rehabilitation. Craig argues that Rapallo was a product of Rathenau's tendency toward discouragement and that it obscured his true goal, reconciliation with the West; that Stresemann possessed rare diplomatic talent for exploiting "the act of surrender" and great skill in educating and persuading German political parties to go along with his policies. Craig shows that Hitler, like William II, ignored or overruled information provided by able envoys about the strength and intentions of other nations. This small volume of telling judgments on men and trends in German policy is ended by a warm but critical appreciation of Konrad Adenauer's national and supranational foreign policy and his "gifts of political persuasion." As the curtain closes Brüning is brought back on stage to say his unhappy piece of 1954 before the Rhine-Ruhr Club, charging Adenauer with being overly pro-Western. Since Craig's literary craftsmanship leaves little room for accidents, this must be the resounding of a leitmotiv. And so we turn reluctantly from the relatively happy ending to reconsider the good sense of the program notes Craig gives in his introduction: Both Germans and Americans (and perhaps even Soviet leaders?) can become wiser men by pondering the tragic experience of German statecraft in the last century. Some, like this reviewer, will want Bismarck to share more of the responsibility for the tragedies than Craig assigns him.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

GESCHICHTE DER WIENER STADTVERWALTUNG IN DEN LETZTEN ZWEIHUNDERT JAHREN. By *Rudolf Till*. (Vienna: Verlag für Jugend und Volk. 1957. Pp. 136. Sch. 48.) The central portion of this book, full of wide research and erudition, digests the constitutional and administrative evolution of the queen of the Danube from Maria Theresa to the end of Hapsburg rule. A brief prelude presents the gist of the earlier history and an unusually instructive final section sketches developments under the democratic socialists in the Schuschnigg and Nazi periods (when the boundaries of the community were so greatly extended as to make it larger in area than any other city of the Third Reich), the period of the Soviet occupation, and its aftermath to 1956. To a very considerable degree the governmental institutionalism of the Vienna municipality reflected and paralleled currents in the political philosophy and practice of the Austrian state itself. Although a leading exemplar of the "welfare metropolis," reaching back to the administration of Ignaz Czapka in the forepart of the nineteenth century, Vienna has probably been less appreciated in that regard than as a city of gaiety, light operas, and waltzes. With successive annexations to the municipality, a sharply rising population, and the broadening range of public services, the apparatus of administration expanded correspondingly. The nineteenth century heralded the impressive social progress under the democratic socialists that made Vienna a place of pilgrimage for municipal servants and reformers the globe around. The pace of the narrative is graceful and the presentation orderly. Occasionally pages are lightened by short portraits of outstanding mayors or their equivalents. That feature would be expected from Dr. Till, who is a lecturer at Vienna University and municipal archivist, and who, in addition to many monographs on aspects of the Vienna past, has written *Das Wiener Bürgermeisteramt in seinen bekanntesten Vertretern* (Vienna, 1946). It would have been helpful if certain technical terms had been more fully clarified. The book is equipped with an agreeable bibliography, but lacks an index or a map, and the type is suitable only for younger eyes.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY, 1947-1957. By *Leicester C. Webb*. [Australian National University Social Science Monographs, Number 13.] (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press for the Australian National University; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 60. 8s.6d.) The author, who is professor of political science at the Australian National University, modestly terms his timely, well-documented, and essentially impartial essay "a postscript" to D. A. Binchy's 1941 work *Church and State in Fascist Italy*. After brief references to Sturzo's Popular party, the Lateran Pacts, Mussolini's friction with the Church, and the repercussions of Catholic participation in the resistance, Webb explains the new constitutional court's difficulties in harmonizing clauses in the republican constitution which contradict the Lateran Pacts. He notes that some of the debate's traditional liberal terms of reference have been modified by the shifting attitude of Italian Marxists, and he suggests that the nationalistic terms of the conflict may likewise be altered by the emergence of a Western European community in which Christian Democratic parties have played an important role.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

STANISŁAW ZAKRZEWSKI; PRZYCZYNEK DO CHARAKTERYSTYKI PRĄDÓW IDEOLOGICZNYCH W HISTORIOGRAFII POLSKIEJ, 1893-1936 [Stanisław Zakrzewski; a Contribution to the Characteristics of Ideologic Trends in Polish Historiography, 1893-1936]. By *Krystyna Śreniowska*. [Society of Science and Letters of

Łódź, Department II, Number 20.] (Wrocław: Ossoliński Publishing House, 1956. Pp. 190. Zł. 32.) Stanisław Zakrzewski (1873-1936) was one of the leading Polish historians between the two world wars. He was professor of Polish history at the University of Lwów, and for eleven years was president of the Polish Historical Association. Moreover, like so many European historians, he took an active part in politics, became a fervent supporter of Piłsudski, and was twice elected to the Polish senate. This short study deals mainly with the ideological aspect of Zakrzewski's work. It opens with a long chapter on the formation of his *Weltanschauung*, followed by a brief sketch on his views on the methodology and theory of history, in which he stresses the importance he attached to "historical intuition." He was, in a way, pleading *pro domo sua*, being a historian of an era shrouded in obscurity. It was only natural that an admirer of Piłsudski would become an apologist for a strong-handed government and a hero worshiper. History, Zakrzewski averred, was fashioned by the "great men-creators." Such were the founding princes of Poland, Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry, whom he glorified in his two principal works, endowing them with the features and style of Piłsudski. Śreniowska lays stress on the affinity of Zakrzewski's conception of Polish history to that of Bobrziński's classic *Outline*. A separate chapter is devoted to an analysis of Zakrzewski's political and journalistic work. The short text of 108 pages is followed by appendixes containing excerpts from some documents, correspondence, articles, and senate speeches. There are also twelve pages of bibliography and English and Russian summaries. This is one of those shallow, poorly written and organized Marxist studies, of which there has been such an abundance in recent years. Its conclusion: "Zakrzewski's historical, philosophical, methodological, and political conceptions form an indivisible, closely interrelated whole. They were a reflection of the needs and intentions of the Polish ruling classes."

Harvard University

ZYGMUNT J. GĄSIOROWSKI

STUDIA Z HISTORII NOWOŻYTNEJ I NAJNOWSZEJ: W PIĘCDZIESIĘCIOLECIE PRACY NAUKOWEJ NATALII GĄSIOROWSKIEJ [Studies in Modern and Current History: In Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Scholarly Activities of Natalia Gąsiorowska]. [Odbitka z Kwartalnika Historycznego, Rok XLIII, Nr. 4-5, 1956.] (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute, 1956. Pp. 472.) This *Festschrift* for the Polish historian Natalia Gąsiorowska contains a short biography, a bibliography of 216 items authored by Dr. Gąsiorowska, and twenty-seven essays contributed by Polish historians, primarily her colleagues from the Polish Academy of Sciences. The volume is a reprint of an issue of the quarterly periodical *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (nos. 4-5 of 1956) from which the book reviews and notes on various subjects were eliminated. Natalia Gąsiorowska is one of the pioneers of Polish economic and social history. Whereas the well-known Polish economic historians Franciszek Bujak and Jan Rutkowski established the pattern for this new discipline along traditional scholarly lines, Gąsiorowska adopted rather a popular style. Her principal achievement consists in studying and describing the impact of the economic development of the Polish kingdom under Czarist rule (1815-30) on the Polish workers, and, by implication, on Polish society at large. Her writings quite early pointed out the correlation between economic development and social change. During the boycott of Russian universities by Polish intellectuals in the period of her youth, Gąsiorowska started her studies in Heidelberg and Paris. Her doctoral work was guided by the eminent Polish historian Szymon Askenazy at the University of Lwów, at that time still in the Austrian partition area of Poland. Later, following her socialist convictions, she became active in adult education among the workers and in the women's emancipation

movement in Poland. After the Communists came into power in postwar Poland, Gąsiorowska received the chair of modern and contemporary Polish history at the University of Warsaw, and became a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She lives in Warsaw. The essays follow the usual pattern in similar *Festschriften*: they deal with a great variety of subjects and epochs and present interesting fragments of Polish economic, social, and diplomatic history from the eighteenth century to 1929. Most of the contributions are excellently documented and present the results of diligent and impartial research. A few articles are marked by the shortcomings of hasty writing, obviously in order to meet a deadline. All have one common fault characteristic of historical writing in Communist-dominated countries: even the most objective findings are followed by evaluations which, more or less sincerely, try to blame "the bourgeois period" for all faults of the past that hindsight has revealed.

Stanford University

W. S. SWORAKOWSKI

A JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW. By *Aleksandr Nikolae-vich Radishchev*. Translation by *Leo Wiener*. Edited with an introduction and notes by *Roderick Page Thaler*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 286. \$6.00.) Radishchev, a nobleman of Catherine the Great's period, educated in Russia and at Leipzig, and experienced in the Russian bureaucracy, was a consistent son of the Enlightenment. This short volume, felicitously translated by Leo Wiener, contains such sharp attacks on serfdom, the autocracy, thieving merchants, and other manifest tyrannies and oppressions of the times that Catherine, already infuriated by the French Revolution, condemned the author to death. Later, however, she graciously commuted the sentence to banishment in the wilds of eastern Siberia. The excellent introduction follows Radishchev's subsequent life—pardon and rehabilitation by Catherine's successors, and participation in a legislative commission under Alexander I. While his proposals produced no tangible results, he remained a convinced reformer all his days and never ceased to call for justice for the common man. His *Journey*, romantic and sentimental about the life of the people, served as an inspiration to Pushkin, Alexander Herzen, and the generations of intelligentsia that continued to challenge the autocracy. It is still a valuable historical source and a landmark in Russian intellectual history.

Duke University

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS

MANA MŪŽA ATMINĀS: PIRMĀ GRĀMATA. By *Rudolfs Bangerskis*. (Copenhagen: Imanta, 1958. Pp. 401. \$4.80.) The late General Rudolfs Bangerskis has had a long career as a Russian Czarist army officer, chief of staff of the Latvian Rifle Brigades, corps commander of Kolchak's Siberian forces, division commander and minister for war of Latvia, inspector general of the Latvian Legion, and president of the Latvian National Committee during World War II. The first volume of Bangerskis' memoirs covers his early career, the Russo-Japanese War, and World War I. It reveals the struggle of a poor Latvian peasant boy for the status of a general staff officer in Czarist heirarchy. Bangerskis' account of life in the Russian army with its assorted characters is interesting and often amusing. The account of the Russo-Japanese War is picturesque, but less spectacular. More important is the section on World War I. Bangerskis, no ardent nationalist himself, had sacrificed his career in the Russian forces in order to join the Latvian rifle battalions. He wanted to see small Latvian scout units operating along the northern front. The battalions were growing into brigades, however, and Bangerskis anticipated possible political difficulties and considerable losses in manpower as a result. The legendary Christmas battles, December, 1915-January, 1916, proved that he was right. The best Latvian forces, surmounting tre-

mendous difficulties, broke the heavily fortified German northern front, but the Russian high command left them behind the German lines to perish. Bangerskis records the strange behavior of General Radko-Dimitriev, Russian Twelfth Army commander, and General Trikovsky, Sixth Corps commander, in this respect. He does not know, however, of the telegram sent by General Diederich from the general headquarters to General Ruzsky, commander of the Russian northern front, ordering no help of any kind for the Latvian brigades. The elimination of the best Latvian fighting force was the result of the combined efforts of some German Baltic nobles, German sympathizers at the court of St. Petersburg, and a few Russian reactionaries. The treachery of this act later influenced many Latvian riflemen to become guardians of the Russian Bolshevik movement. Bangerskis' style is simple, vivid, straightforward, and often humorous. In some places the old soldier becomes somewhat paternal in his attitude, and his narrative sounds like the Bible stories, with good and bad examples and the inevitable moral at the end. All in all, his memoirs are an important contribution to the historical materials regarding Northern and Eastern European problems. The publisher has enhanced the value of this handsomely published book with a large number of photographs and charts.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By *Alan Moorehead*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1958. Pp. xiv, 301. \$5.00.) In 1956 Professor Stephan Possony of Georgetown University received a grant from *Life Magazine* to examine captured German documents for information about aid given by the Kaiser's government to the Bolshevik party. Alan Moorehead, an Australian journalist, was commissioned to write a popular account of the revolution, based largely on Dr. Possony's findings. Meanwhile the latter is continuing his more detailed study of the Bolsheviks, which is yet to be published. Mr. Moorehead's story is readable, interesting, brief, and in most respects reliable. It is the sort of book that one might recommend to the general reader except for one qualification—the excessive emphasis placed on German aid to the Bolsheviks, an overemphasis which resulted naturally from the circumstances under which the book came to be written. Moorehead makes a number of charges regarding German relations with the Bolsheviks, without, however, citing his sources. Fortunately, the documentation has been provided in the volume edited by Z. A. B. Zeman, *Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915-1918: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry* (New York, 1958). In general these documents support Moorehead's statement of fact, but they do not necessarily confirm his interpretations. He is not foolish enough to fall for the old charge that Lenin was merely a hired agent who signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in return for German gold. But he does assert that it has been established, "beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Germans played an important role in bringing Lenin and the Bolsheviks to power," and the book gives the impression that the German role was decisive. Certainly the return of Lenin to Russia, with German help, was of tremendous significance, but except for this incident it has not yet been shown that German assistance was crucial to Bolshevik success in 1917-1918. Kühlmann, the German Foreign Minister, stated on September 29, 1917, that "the Bolshevik movement could never have attained the scale or the influence which it has today without our continual support," but others might argue that the Bolsheviks would have triumphed even if they had never received a single ruble from the Germans. Perhaps Possony's forthcoming study will provide further evidence on this point.

University of Virginia

THOMAS T. HAMMOND

NEAR EAST

THE MAHDIST STATE IN THE SUDAN, 1881-1898: A STUDY OF ITS ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND OVERTHROW. By *P. M. Holt*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 264. \$5.60.) This volume chronicles in detail the events in the Sudan from the death of Gordon at Khartoum to Kitchener's victory at Omdurman. Dr. Holt presents many significant views of the Mahdist state, but he portrays the course of developments so meticulously that only the hardened expert can find his way through the campaigns, petty Sudanese soldiers, tribes, rivalries, and other military minutiae to reach the author's interesting and valuable contributions to the history of an important and little-known period and area. Two personalities are delineated in this monograph. The first, of course, is that of Muhammad Ahmad of Dongola, the self-announced and widely acclaimed Mahdi. Born in 1844, he assumed his mahdiship in 1881, won his victory over Gordon in January, 1885, and died in Omdurman in July, 1885. The exact nature of his religious program or an estimation of his administration is not advanced. The outlines are revealed but the author does not fill in the details. A living picture has to be imagined by the reader, and this is always a dangerous practice for a monograph. The other figure is that of the Mahdi's successor, Khalifa 'Abdullahi, who ruled the Sudan until Kitchener's victory at Omdurman in 1898. 'Abdullahi, an early adherent to the movement, came from the Ta'aisha tribe in southern Dafur and had been the tribal soothsayer. Upon the Mahdi's death, he was recognized as leader of the sect and ruler of the Sudan. Although Holt hesitates to pronounce any judgment on 'Abdullahi, the reader is treated to a series of vindictive and jealous acts against successful generals and administrative leaders so as to give the Khalifa a petty and self-centered character. His vengefulness, in spite of the selfish and undisciplined personnel about him, induces one to see him as an ambitious ruler bent on creating a dynasty and establishing a personal state rather than as a holy man following an ideal. Perhaps the most useful passages of the volume are those entitled "The Four Elements in the Mahdist State." These were: ascetic pietists who wished a "radical reform of doctrine and manners"; the Ashraf, who were relatives of the Mahdi, and riverain Sudanese, who expected to exploit the movement for their own advantage in the Sudan; middle-class malcontents, especially "aggrieved with the Egyptian administration"; and tribesmen from the western Sudan who hoped to escape taxation and acquire booty in the exciting campaigns. With such diverse elements thrown together by several fates, the cohesion could not be other than fleeting. Holt not only combed all the available printed sources but had access to numerous letters and unpublished archival material in the Sudan. One can only wish that he will now come forward with a volume on the period that will give a broader picture and some interpretation of the political, economic, social, and religious nationalism responsible for catapulting the Mahdi to fame.

Ohio State University

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

FAR EAST

ASPECTS OF ISLAM IN POST-COLONIAL INDONESIA: FIVE ESSAYS. By *C. A. O. Van Nieuwenhuijze*. (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations. 1958. Pp. xii, 248. \$5.00.) This short volume forms a welcome addition to the few studies on Indonesia written in English by Dutch scholars in recent years. In the five essays collected in this book, Dr. Van Nieuwenhuijze, whose two major works in this field have only appeared in Dutch, presents some important insights into the nature and future of Islam

in Indonesia. With the exception of the third essay, which is devoted to Japanese Islamic policies on Java during World War II, the book's central theme is a confrontation between the ideals of Islam and Indonesian socio-cultural reality: "The history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia can be written as the history of one protracted acculturation process of which the end is not yet in sight." The first essay carries this confrontation into the era of the Islamization of the Indonesian isles. The author argues that the new faith was able to penetrate quickly because its revivalism bridged the spiritual crisis of the "closed community" threatened by outside forces. The continuity of the revivalist theme in modern Indonesia is demonstrated in the author's discussion of the *Darul Islam* movement in the fourth essay, the only one to have previously appeared in English. The second and fifth papers, entitled "Islam in a Period of Transition in Indonesia" and "The Indonesian State and 'Deconfessionalized' Muslim Concepts," respectively, are to my mind the most important contributions. The former is concerned with such fundamental confrontations as that between Islam and freedom and Islam and democracy, the latter with more specifically Indonesian problems. Thus Van Nieuwenhuijze regards the *Pantja Sila* (the official ideological basis of the young republic) as a "brilliant . . . example of deeply intuitive, typically Indonesian, positive and constructive thought" in whose fabric "the warp is national ideology and the woof ('deconfessionalized') Islam." At the same time, however, he voices throughout the essay his concern about the ultimate compatibility of warp and woof. Another typically Indonesian institution, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, is a "half-way solution" inherent in the "deconfessionalized" nature of modern Indonesian Islam; "the essence of its task is contrary to the essence of its own structure. . . . As a theoretical position, terribly labile; as a practical position in the given conditions, relatively workable." Though Van Nieuwenhuijze's predominantly cultural, religious, and ideological approach leads to several original and highly stimulating conclusions, I do not think that it does adequate justice to some of the profound social and political problems besetting Islam in contemporary Indonesia. Much of his confrontation is, moreover, based on aprioristic assumptions about both Islam and the West, and is conducted in a virtual vacuum of historical reality. In the case of Islam, Van Nieuwenhuijze has a tendency to dismiss reformism as mere apologetics; in the case of the West, he is unhistorical in the sense that he fails to analyze the long and devious route by which Western civilization arrived at the modern notion of liberty. Surely the concept of a "deconfessionalized" faith—a term coined by Van Nieuwenhuijze in a specifically Islamic context—could be used for postmedieval or post-Reformation Christianity as well, and thus lead to a more fruitful confrontation.

University of Rochester

HARRY J. BENDA

UNITED STATES

PROVINCE AND COURT RECORDS OF MAINE. Volume IV, THE COURT RECORDS OF YORK COUNTY, MAINE, PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, NOVEMBER, 1692-JANUARY, 1710-11. Edited by Neal W. Allen, Jr. (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1958. Pp. lxxvii, 427. \$18.00.) The passing years bear witness to a continuing recognition by historians of how important it is to make available in print the records of American colonial courts. Sporadic and occasional though such publications have been, they provide cumulative and hence increasingly significant material for both social and legal history. Not only do court records reveal the law in action and supply firsthand evidence of the relationship between legislation and judicial decisions, they demonstrate convincingly that the life of the law has not been logic but

experience. The present volume of *Maine Province and Court Records* is the fourth of a series begun thirty years ago. It contains the records of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas and of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for York County from 1692 to 1711. It also includes numerous but selected papers and entries from the records and files of the Superior Court of Judicature of Massachusetts Bay to which appeals from the county courts were taken. The records are prefaced by a sixty-one-page introduction which describes the composition and jurisdiction of these courts, as well as their officers and attorneys. Particularly welcome, in spite of its brevity, is a section on law and procedure which comments on such matters as the frequent use of "actions on the case" and the use of the action of trespass to try title to land. Altogether, the volume provides invaluable material for understanding numerous aspects of local life and of the administration of county justice during difficult war years on the turbulent eastern frontier of Massachusetts.

University of Pennsylvania

GEORGE L. HASKINS

THE WORKS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. Volume I, FREEDOM OF THE WILL. Edited by Paul Ramsey. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 494. \$6.50.) This ably edited volume inaugurates the new Yale edition of Edwards' works, which will eventually include many hitherto unpublished manuscripts. In view of Edwards' influence on early American philosophical, psychological, and religious thought, this project is of great importance. Professor Ramsey introduces *Freedom of the Will* as one of several books that Edwards wrote to clear the ground for a *summa* on Christian thought. He knew the contemporary literature, owed somewhat to Locke, but was not a Lockean. Deliberately he chose his major opponents: a deist, an Anglican, and a Dissenter. The Arminians had committed themselves especially to two points that he attacked: "the self-determination of the will" and "the liberty of indifference." He used the *reductio ad infinitum* to show that some reason or cause always lies behind an act of the will; therefore no man is ever truly self-determining. As for "liberty of indifference," this would mean, he asserted, liberty to be indifferent to good and to evil. Hence "liberty of indifference" could only mean complacency toward evil, which the Arminian—motivated as he was by a fear that Calvinism might encourage moral complacency—had supposed was the danger in predestinarian thought. To Edwards Arminianism was not just heresy; it was a muddle in philosophical and psychological thought.

McCormick Theological Seminary

L. J. TRINTERUD

HENRY KNOX: GENERAL WASHINGTON'S GENERAL. By North Callahan. (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1958. Pp. xi, 404. \$6.00.) Henry Knox is known principally for his portliness, his joviality, and his booming voice. But as this book enumerates, there was much more to the man than fat and wind. He made himself an extraordinarily competent artillery commander and a rock of reliability. He was loyal to George Washington and generous to his colleagues as were few other men. He was deeply religious, and to say that he was in love with his wife is almost understatement. He was a man of sorrows, for of his twelve joyously welcomed children nine died young and the remaining son was a disappointment. He was solicitous of the injustices endured by the Indians and advanced a radical idea for their assimilation. He established the United States Military Academy and the Society of the Cincinnati. He was Secretary of War for ten years, from the opening of western settlement through the Ohio Valley Indian wars, Shays' Rebellion, and the Whiskey Insurrection. He had difficulty with his personal financial affairs in managing a huge estate. Like most men,

he was a more complicated individual than he appeared to be, and therefore a challenge to any biographer. Mr. Callahan has made extensive use of the Knox papers and always knows where Knox was and what he was doing. He quotes his opinions as found in letters. His relations with other persons are fairly well defined. His occasional lapses of military judgment are not disguised. And the narrative does move and carry the reader along. Yet despite all the detail, somehow the essential character of Knox does not come through clearly, and it is difficult to tell why. Possibly it is a deficiency in insight. Perhaps it is the organization of the material: the strict chronology tends to make disconnected paragraphs, and the only violation of this order separates Knox's important dealings with the Indians from his other duties as Secretary of War. Possibly it is the feeling one gains that the author is not truly at home in the eighteenth century; occasional naïve remarks reveal that he does not seem too familiar with the customs, the issues, and the ideas of the time. Moreover, despite his journalistic experience, his writing is loose. Such expressions as "most anything" and "a nice house" should have been caught by the editor. Occasionally there is repetition of adjectives in the same sentence or following sentence. Many quotations carry no citations. We are told at Monmouth that Knox had trained his men carefully at Valley Forge, but we have no details; and the other officers in the artillery get scant mention. If this is not the definitive biography of Henry Knox, it is easily the best to date. It contains bibliographical notes, an index, frontispiece portrait, and maps.

University of Michigan

HOWARD H. PECKHAM

THE REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF BARON LUDWIG VON CLOSEN, 1780-1783. Translated and edited with an introduction by *Evelyn M. Acomb*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1958. Pp. xxxvi, 392. \$7.50.) Professor Acomb has rendered a signal service to readers interested in the American Revolution by editing and translating the journal of Baron von Closen, onetime aide to the Count de Rochambeau. The journal was destroyed by fire in 1921, but, fortunately, a transcript of it has been preserved at the Library of Congress. It is clear from the text that Von Closen was an alert, intelligent, and well-informed participant in the Revolution. His comments about the operations of the French and American armies in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in North America are of considerable value to the student of military history. His position as a general's aide gave him access to "inside" information on military planning and on the reasons underlying some of the command decisions made by Generals de Rochambeau and Washington. It should be emphasized that Von Closen was able to speak and write English and was, therefore, able to communicate with American officers, soldiers, and civilians as well as with his French comrades-in-arms. Von Closen's journal is particularly useful for the information that it contains on matters of military planning and operations, but it also has useful information on many other subjects. The author took time to record his impressions of the towns he visited and the countryside through which he traveled. He jotted down his observations about the customs and manners of the Americans whom he met during his sojourn in their country. He observed and took notes upon the climate, the flora and fauna, and the various curiosities of nature that he encountered in North America and, later, in the West Indies. The most interesting part of Von Closen's journal deals with his experiences in North America. However, his account of the stay of the French troops in Venezuela and Santo Domingo during the winter of 1782-1783 is also of interest.

Lehigh University

GEORGE W. KYTE

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF EDWARD GREENE MALBONE, 1777-1807. By *Ruel Pardee Tolman*. With an introduction by *Theodore Bolton* and a foreword by *John Davis Hatch, Jr.* [New-York Historical Society, the John Divine Jones Fund Series of Histories and Memoirs, Volume XIII.] (New York: the Society, 1958. Pp. xxiii, 322. \$12.50.) Many of the top American portrait painters, Copley, Charles Wilson Peale, James, Rembrandt and Raphaelle Peale, John Wesley Jarvis, Thomas Sully, tried their hand at miniatures on ivory. Yet it is not one of these but a man unfamiliar to most laymen who is generally conceded to hold first place in this field. Despite this, he has had no biographer. Edward Greene Malbone died in 1807 at the age of twenty-nine, after having painted, the editor estimates, more than seven hundred miniatures in ten years. Hardly a third of these have been located. Little has been added to the already known facts of Malbone's life; there are despairingly few documents from which to work. This volume, then, devotes itself primarily to a discussion of his work, both in text and in the careful catalogue of his known output that resulted from a lifetime of study. But we are also greatly indebted to the Society's skilled editor Mr. Charles E. Baker, who prepared the manuscript for press and provided the proper coordination of text, catalogues, index, and illustrations after the untimely death of the author.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission

EARLE NEWTON

CONSENSUS AND CONTINUITY, 1776-1787. By *Benjamin Fletcher Wright*. [The Gaspar G. Bacon Lectures on the Constitution of the United States.] (Boston: Boston University Press, 1958. Pp. 60. \$3.00.) President Wright's thesis in these lectures is that American political thought in the era of the Revolution was chiefly remarkable for the broad area of agreement that existed among the fathers of the republic and the steadiness with which they adhered to the inherited experience and proven institutions of the past. The revolutionists, in other words, were not revolutionary, nor were the Constitution-makers reactionary; in fact, they were, by and large, the same men, thinking and acting in the same patterns. Between Thomas Paine on the left and Alexander Hamilton on the right (neither of whom, he points out, commanded any significant following) the revolutionary generation plotted a steady course characterized by moderation rather than extremism, by wise compromise rather than intransigence, and (where they blazed new trails) by shrewd invention rather than innovation. The patriots of 1776 agreed on equality, though it did not ring with the majoritarian overtones of 1828 or the socio-economic overtones of 1936. The fifty-five men of 1787 buried most of their (primarily sectional) differences in compromise, but there was a wide range of items on which there was no need to compromise—representative government, a written constitution with a built-in amending process, separation of powers, bicameralism, and so on. The dominant ideas of the period were drawn from "the reservoir supplied partly by the central stream of English development . . . but even more by the experience of self-government in the colonies." In this argument there is little that is new. For some years historical writing has been slowly but steadily turning in this direction—away from the seductive simplicities of the revolutionary "fever-chart" and the dramatic dogmas of economic determinism. Wright's contribution is to sum up our present understanding of the era with a clarity and authority born of a historian's familiarity with the sources and a political scientist's capacity to analyze them.

Swarthmore College

FREDERICK B. TOLLES

A YANKEE JEFFERSONIAN: SELECTIONS FROM THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF WILLIAM LEE OF MASSACHUSETTS WRITTEN FROM 1796 TO 1840. Edited by *Mary Lee Mann*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xvii, 312. \$5.75.) The life of a minor bureaucrat does not ordinarily open wide horizons to view, but when that man is as vivacious as William Lee and has as friends James Madison, James Monroe, Joel Barlow, and John Quincy Adams, the publication of his letters and a portion of his diary excites interest. Lee served as American consul at Bordeaux from 1801 to 1816. His sprightly commentary on the manners and mores of Napoleonic salon life, his own sense of involvement in that brilliant world, and his dedication to American commercial interests are reflected throughout. Historians will find most valuable those letters concerned with American shipping problems in that age of Berlin and Milan Decrees. That this good Jeffersonian, Yankee though he was, should be swept from his post as accountant in the Treasury by Jackson's broom adds an ironical twist to this story of a life spent in devotion to republicanism.

Wabash College

STEPHEN G. KURTZ

WHAT HAPPENED TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION? THE DECLINE OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, 1776-1861. By *William Kailer Dunn*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. xv, 346. \$5.00.) The purpose of this study is to establish a case on historical grounds for doctrinal teaching in the public schools as the only way to teach the Christian principles. The author, Father William Kailer Dunn, is chaplain and instructor in religious education at Notre Dame College of Maryland. This book is a condensation and revision of his doctoral dissertation written at Johns Hopkins University. To answer his question the author examined a considerable number of representative textbooks and literary works used without substantial challenge in the colonial schools and through the early period of the republic. A considerable body of supplementary evidence in support of his thesis is drawn from the writings of teachers, ministers, and publicists of the period under discussion. The evidence presented shows that during this period religious instruction was accepted as a "basic ingredient" in public education and was regularly taught in the schools. Although secular subjects received increasing emphasis, there was no intention of eliminating religious instructions; doctrinal teaching was not considered a violation of the First Amendment. Freedom of conscience implied no hostility to religious teaching in the schools, nor did it presume absolute separation of church and state. In 1827 the change in the Massachusetts law paved the way for the complete elimination of doctrinal and (or) sectarian teaching by restricting the religious instruction to Bible reading. This was accentuated by the disestablishment of the Congregational Church in 1833, but more especially by the policies of the Unitarian Horace Mann, the first secretary of the newly created board of education. Under Mann the only religious teaching that enjoyed official sanction "was composed of ethics, natural theology and what was gotten from the reading of the Bible." While this was good, it made the teaching of the fundamental tenets of Christianity impossible. Father Dunn admits that Horace Mann and his contemporaries did advance freedom of conscience if not the essentials of orthodoxy as understood by the mass of believers. The author takes sharp issue with those who contend that prohibition of doctrinal instruction "became the guiding principle, in law and policy of the American people." He presents a defense on historical grounds for quite the opposite policy, and concludes from the evidence that Americans wanted "freedom of religion but not freedom from religion." Those who have given thought to the problem of teaching religion in the public schools will find their case strengthened by this historical investigation.

University of Maryland

W. M. GEWEHR

THOMAS WORTHINGTON: FATHER OF OHIO STATEHOOD. By *Alfred Byron Sears*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1958. Pp. viii, 260. \$5.50.) Professor Sears has written the first biography of Thomas Worthington. With the aid of the Jeffersonian Republican clique at Chillicothe, Worthington brought the territory of Ohio into statehood in 1803 against the strong opposition of General Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory. Worthington, a Virginian in modest circumstances, rode into the Northwest Territory in 1796 with the "Ohio fever" and a packet of military land warrants. By 1800 he owned eighteen thousand acres of good land. By 1820 he owned numerous mills, flatboats, droves of livestock, and the beautiful mansion Adena which is now the prized possession of the Ohio State Historical Society. Duncan MacArthur helped him to survey his lands, and for years Edward Tiffin, his brother-in-law, helped him to lead the Ohio Republicans and to control political appointments. The wooded hills visible from his front door are memorialized in the Ohio state seal. Worthington was a businessman, farmer, banker, and politician who served in offices ranging from justice of the peace to governor of Ohio and United States senator. He served in the first territorial assembly and was floor leader of the constitutional convention. After the constitution was written and adopted, he was deputized to carry it to Washington. He was elected to the first state assembly, and that assembly elected him one of the first senators from Ohio. He voted against the War of 1812, but as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs he put forth every effort to win. In the Senate he eagerly voted for the Louisiana Purchase, sponsored land laws that favored farmers, and championed national roads and canals with federal aid. He voted against the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, but three years later voted for its establishment and became a director in both Ohio branches. He was repeatedly elected governor, senator, or to some other office by a constituency that appreciated his encouragement of manufactures and his support of the Cumberland Road and cheap lands. Not until 1822 was he sidetracked from politics for younger men. By 1824 he was afraid of the upstart Andrew Jackson in national politics. He left a long diary which the author has used to advantage. The author has consulted public documents, newspapers, monographs, magazine articles, and other sources. There is a useful bibliography and a lengthy index. The volume is the result of extended and painstaking research. Historians of the Old Northwest Territory will welcome this much-needed biographical history of Ohio politics to 1820.

Miami University

WILLIAM E. SMITH

ILLINOIS INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, 1818-1848. By *John H. Krenkel*. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press. 1958. Pp. 252. \$4.00.) There was a high degree of commendable ambition as well as of roseate optimism in the efforts of the several American states to bring about extensive improvements in their transportation systems during the first half of the nineteenth century. No one has captured this sentiment more adequately nor reflected more accurately the disappointment and failure which usually followed such schemes than Professor John Krenkel in this fully documented account. Except for the eventual completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848, there is little in the way of productive achievement in the Illinois experiment. Growing out of the lessons of failure, however, and of lasting value in the long run, was the state's willingness to accept the legacy of disappointment and crushing debt which the reckless years from 1837 to 1840 had laid at her door. That Illinois did not fall back upon bankruptcy and repudiation as an easy way out of her dilemma is a tribute both to her leaders and to her people.

University of Illinois

ROBERT M. SUTTON

A POLISH CHAPTER IN JACKSONIAN AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES AND THE POLISH EXILES OF 1831. By *Jerzy Jan Lerski*. [Poland's Millennium Series of the Kościuszko Foundation.] (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 242. \$5.00.) The year 1966 will mark the millennium of Poland's recorded history, dating back to her acceptance of Christianity in 966. Looking forward to the commemoration of this millennium in 1966, the Kościuszko Foundation is planning to publish and sponsor the publication of a series of books dealing with Poland, important aspects of Polish culture, and Polish-American relations. The book has been included in this series "because of its objectivity." The topic revives a fascinating and almost forgotten fragment of American history: the saga of the Polish exiles who were welcomed in the United States as heroes of universal freedom, and the interest in and understanding of Europe's troubles shown by leading intellectuals of Jacksonian America and their stand for the cause of enslaved Poland. A revision of the author's doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University, the book does not suffer from the usual ailments of such theses. It has an amiable style that holds the reader's attention. At the same time it is characterized by model scholarly erudition. Lerski's scholarship is remarkably wide. As a definite contribution to the role that immigration has played in American history, his study will be carefully noted by all specialists in the field. It helps to correct a prevailing historical myth: that the Poles are "new" American immigrants, and that throughout American history the political immigrants from what is now known as the "Iron Curtain" area have had little influence on United States politics.

University of Bridgeport

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

GREAT BASIN KINGDOM: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS, 1830-1900. By *Leonard J. Arrington*. [Studies in Economic History published in cooperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xviii, 534. \$9.00.) This book illustrates the fact that the mine of Mormon history has rich possibilities for an understanding of American life and beliefs. Leonard J. Arrington works over a vein that has been prospected before, but his amalgamation brings out the value of what can be accomplished where the spirit is willing and the leadership able. The author uses primary sources to illustrate his points. He uses secondary works skillfully, or has discarded these works when the evidence does not seem to support an accurate understanding of what occurred. The result is a most rewarding picture for those who want to understand the part played by the Latter-Day Saints in the economic development of Utah, Nevada, parts of Idaho, Arizona, and Colorado. The actual concern of the church leaders and founders with the material well-being of their adherents is traced from the 1830's to the year 1900, with the changes that took place about 1870 receiving full consideration. Many specific enterprises go into the hopper of this search, some of them successful. Among these projects were the enthusiastically supported handcart emigration, the investment of tithing funds in railroad bonds, the experiment with silk culture, the management of a department store (ZCMI), the drive for metal discarded as junk on the plains, the development of hydroelectric plants. These are but samples of the intertwining of the church leadership with the economic development of the Great Basin. The physical aspects of the geographical region may have been dry and arid, but not the treatment of the facts. The author has fully assayed the dramatic and human nuggets; he brings out what human beings can and cannot do. After showing how Puritan attitudes about the relationship between individual and community influenced early Mormonism, the author advances the thesis that the Mormon attitude toward social welfare comes closer

to the American tradition than does that of the "robber-barons" of the nineteenth century. And for the Mormons he supports this thesis judiciously, fairly, fully, and convincingly.

Miami University

W. J. McNIFF

THE MESCALERO APACHES. By *C. L. Sonnichsen*. [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 51.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 303. \$5.75.) The story of the Mescalero Apaches and their relations with the government of the United States is a somber chapter added to a long and sordid account. Based only on its dealings with Indian tribes, the government's reputation would appear one of basest perfidy. The treatment of the Indians was in a modern tradition, but one no longer acceptable to "civilized" countries when part of the "internal" affairs of others. Professor C. L. Sonnichsen of the English department at Texas Western College has had a long and active interest in Indians and in the Southwest. This interest, combined with careful research and skillful writing, has resulted in an accurate and readable book on one of the small and almost forgotten branches of the Apaches. The book describes the desert life of the Apaches and traces their relations with the Spaniards of New Mexico before the Americans arrived. From this time on it is an account of Mescalero attempts to abide by American rules, interrupted by desperate and violent outbreaks brought on by frustration and failure. The frustration was not all on the side of the Apaches. General Crook, a man trusted by Indians, promised Geronimo and his warriors a two-year imprisonment and return to their own lands if they surrendered. From Washington, Sheridan refused to accept these terms and ordered the surrendered warriors shipped off to Florida. Crook's telegraphic reply was a request for transfer, a request promptly granted. Reservation life was one of starvation or theft. "Thoughtful observers," Sonnichsen writes, "noted with amazement how much the government was willing to spend to kill an Indian, and how little to keep him alive." The book ends, however, on a relatively hopeful note. "If the government does not liquidate them too soon—if they can get themselves educated fast enough—if they can continue to be Indians but learn the white man's methods, there will be a better day for all of them."

University of Florida

DONALD E. WORCESTER

THE TEXAN-SANTA FÉ PIONEERS. By *Noel M. Loomis*. [American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 25.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 329. \$5.00.) Was the Texan-Santa Fe expedition of 1841 designed for conquest of Mexican territory or was it a badly managed attempt to solve pressing financial problems by opening a route to tap the lucrative Santa Fe trade? Noel M. Loomis' concern to find answers to these questions has led him to examine, seemingly, every scrap of material on the subject. From it he has constructed a full report from the call for volunteers to the return of the prisoners from Mexico eighteen months later. His record is detailed and soundly documented, his narrative compact, his point of view objective and impartial. From the start the expedition was plagued by bad management and poor field leadership, by stupid commissary arrangements and lack of discipline, by ignorance of the country and inadequate guides. One-tenth of the strength was lost to Indians and accidents during the crossing of Texas. When the straggling parties, suffering from thirst and starvation, finally arrived at the outlying Mexican settlements, they were induced through treachery to surrender without firing a shot. On the terrible march for two thousand miles to Mexico City nearly one hundred more died of starvation, disease, exhaustion, or were shot by their captors. Loomis found no evidence

to support the concept of military conquest (fewer than four hundred men to capture a territory of 57,000 people!) nor did he find that any act of hostility was committed by Texans on Mexican soil. He concluded that it was the trading expedition it purported to be. One hundred pages of biographical rosters and chronology, a sixteen-page bibliography, a twenty-seven-page index, and a series of maps tracing the entire route of the party complete what must be the last necessary word on the expedition of the "Texan-Santa Fe pioneers."

Washington University

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

NEW MEXICO'S ROYAL ROAD: TRADE AND TRAVEL ON THE CHIHUAHUA TRAIL. By *Max L. Moorhead*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 234. \$4.00.) This volume constitutes "a narrative and description of the origins, development, inner workings, and significance of the commercial, cultural, political, and military traffic on the oldest major highway in what is now the United States." Scarcity of continuous records compelled Moorhead to modify his original intention of testing the hypothesis that the so-called Santa Fe trade constituted not so much an interchange of goods between Missouri and New Mexico as it did a very extensive commerce involving a large part of both the American and Mexican nations. Nevertheless, his book does elaborate the extent and ramifications of the trade and provides as well a compressed and accurate account of it. Although some may question conclusions as to the over-all importance of the trade, his judgments, based on long and patient study, will command respect. Moorhead has traveled over the various routes involved (a set of maps help orient the reader), has examined source materials all the way from Washington, D. C., to Mexico City, and has made judicious use of secondary materials. Scholarly in nature and clearly written, his book in general confirms observations and descriptions to be found in Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*. This remains the classic account, but serious students will find Moorhead's study a necessary companion volume.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATEN IN AMERIKA: DIE ACHTUNDVIERZIGER UND IHRE SCHRIFTEN. By *Eitel Wolf Dobert*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1958. Pp. 233. DM 12.80.) The political refugees who adopted the United States as their new fatherland after the tragic failure of the German revolutions of 1848 and 1849 were a unique group in the history of American immigration, and provided the cultural leaven for a political and intellectual renaissance among the whole German element in the United States. In their hearts the new arrivals carried the image of a great and free American republic, and an unshakable faith in freedom and rational intelligence. When they discovered glaring inconsistencies between the theories and practices of American democracy, they took pen in hand to rebuild their adopted fatherland according to their heart's desire. In this excellent study the author provides a synopsis of the books of fifty-five of the "forty-eighters," whose literary output, not including their extensive activities as journalists, was truly remarkable. Their publications give us a clear insight into the ideas, principles, and political and intellectual currents in Germany's golden age of liberalism and rationalism. Some published only one or two books, others a dozen or more. Some of the authors are fairly well known, others not, and their writings cover a wide variety of interest, philosophy, religion, pedagogy, travel, the theater, history, geography, botany, linguistics, music, phrenology, and penology, not to mention some interesting novels and memoirs. The author has produced an excellent book, based on thorough research. The synopses are

well done, and the author's comments and biographical sketches show a remarkable understanding of his characters and the spirit of the age. One lays down this beautifully written and significant contribution to our immigration history with a sense of the tragic loss for Germany and an appreciation of what America gained when the fatherland drove these men into exile.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITTE

THE COTTON REGENCY: THE NORTHERN MERCHANTS AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1880. By *George Ruble Woolfolk*. [Bookman Monograph Series.] (New York: Bookman Associates. 1958. Pp. 311. \$5.00.) As defined in this significant little monograph, the "cotton regency" comprised the men of commerce in the Northeast and the Middle West who, during 1865-1880, "had truly become the Regents of the former power and wealth of the 'Cotton Kingdom.'" Accepting Beard's "second American Revolution," Professor Woolfolk endeavors to show in greater detail how and by whom it was accomplished. The result is to bring into the main stream of Reconstruction history a varied assortment of local and hitherto relatively unknown business leaders from the cities of the North and the West, whom he designates "urban regionalists" and the "new men" of the period. His main thesis proceeds from the not-too-startling hypothesis that dominant groups in contiguous regions may combine to control other regions, but he seeks to demonstrate that the Civil War introduced what he chooses to call "group democracy" as a "new pattern" in American politics. From the shambles of the agrarian era northern businessmen, previously eschewing politics, "emerged with both the skills and collective experience necessary to begin a new economic nationalism and fit the disorganized American pattern into the bourgeois mould." The period 1865-1880 was one of purely commercial exploitation of the South. Initially New York reestablished its hegemony and maintained it until about 1870. Bitter competition from Boston and Philadelphia ensued, and the failure of purely regional methods of fitting the staple economy of the South into the national pattern led to a new idea of national and local pressure politics, which Western urban businessmen espoused with the broader objective of controlling the new order. Thus the politics of business succeeded the business of politics. A succinct preface and unusually copious notes supplement the 171 pages of actual text, and are integral parts of the volume. Unfortunately the book is marred by poor writing in spots and careless proofreading, but there are particularly good chapters on the famine year of 1866 in the South and the postwar extension of railroads into the South. Most important in the impressive bibliography are the proceedings of the various boards of trade, chambers of commerce, and commercial conventions which nurtured the "new men."

Colgate University

CHARLES R. WILSON

BEN BUTLER: THE SOUTH CALLED HIM BEAST! By *Hans L. Trefousse*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1957. Pp. 365. \$5.00.) Benjamin F. Butler usually achieved the goal of all politicians—notoriety. From his early days in Lowell, Massachusetts, through his explosive careers as Union general, conqueror of New Orleans, radical of radicals, and party-jumping hack, his doings were not dull. So colorful a subject is grand grist for a biographer's mill, and Butler has recently been the subject of several scholarly studies. None of them, present work included, have done him full-rounded justice. There is much to commend in Mr. Trefousse's *Ben Butler*—wide research in a multiplicity of sources, careful analysis of much material, and attempts at objectivity—but more to condemn. The book is designed as a full-scale biography and consequently covers a time span from 1818 to 1893. Butler had his finger in all

sorts of national affairs, but a volume of only 256 pages of text is hard pressed to include all of his activities, much less treat them in adequate detail. Controversial episodes such as Butler's New Orleans administration and his famed "woman order" receive ample favorable attention, as do his post-Civil War political machinations, but the book's over-all dimensions are as canted as the general's physiognomy. Warped dimensions are not helped by an occasionally awkward style, and the author's conclusions suffer from excessive watering down. For instance, the last sentence in the book: "So we leave him, slightly tarnished perhaps, but productive of good nonetheless." Pedestrian composition and organizational flaws reduce the effectiveness of good research and the end product is a volume that will not remove the necessity for still another study of Butler.

Rice Institute

FRANK E. VANDIVER

TRENDS IN BIRTH RATES IN THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1870. By *Bernard Okun*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXVI, Number 1.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. 203, viii. \$3.50.) This study is a refinement and extension of studies that made use of the ratio of children, generally from birth to four years of age, to women, generally from fifteen to forty-four or twenty to forty-four. These studies were rather widely used as measures of fertility in the days before births were adequately recorded for the entire United States. The first essay studies the changes in the child-woman ratios in the white population, 1870-1950. The principal findings are in general accord with those of earlier studies. There were rather wide differentials in these child-woman ratios which endured over time but also diminished: as between different regions of the country; as between different states; as between rural and urban populations; as between cities of different sizes; as between native whites and foreign-born whites; and as between rural farm and non-rural farm communities. The author's examination and refinement of the data lead him to believe that changes in the proportion of the women aged fifteen to forty-four who were twenty to twenty-nine (the most fertile ages) had little to do with these changes. He also rejects the decline in the proportion of foreign-born as an important factor. Likewise "urbanization" seems to him to have had little effect if one defines urbanization as "changes in the distribution of persons from one setting to another." On the other hand "urbanization" defined as a state of mind or a way of life seems to him to account for most of the differentials and changes in ratios. The second essay, on Negro child-woman ratios, shows that in general these ratios are higher among Negroes than among whites, except in northern cities, but that most of the same trends and differentials are found among Negroes as among whites. The chief exception found is that "In states where Negroes are much more heavily urbanized, whites have higher birth ratios; in states where whites are much more heavily urbanized, Negroes have higher birth ratios." Thus urbanization plays a more important role in the child-woman ratios among Negroes than among whites. The third essay is "A Review of Hypotheses and Approaches Used in Explaining Declining Birth Trends in Birth Rates." There can be no quarrel with the conclusion that the best scientific methods should be used and that some are more valuable than others, but there is nothing here with which demographers are not fully acquainted and the lay reader is quite likely to skip this essay.

Oxford, Ohio

WARREN S. THOMPSON

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1880. By *Herbert J. Clancy, S. J.* [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 294. \$4.00.) This careful study, though offering no revisionist interpretations other than a somewhat more

sympathetic treatment of Tammany's John Kelly and the introduction of some hitherto overlooked religious questions, gives a fine coverage of an almost forgotten election. It is a revealing picture of the politics of personalities, prejudices, patronage, and factional strife. Both presidential nominees were logical choices. Garfield was no Polk or Pierce but was regarded beforehand as a likely choice if Blaine and the favorite sons stopped Grant's third term phalanx. An undercover movement for Garfield's nomination casts doubts on his loyalty to John Sherman, but the floor leader of the anti-Grant forces could hardly help advertising himself. Hancock, with Tilden finally eliminated, won apparently because pledged delegates felt no deep loyalty to their favorites and climbed on the most available bandwagon. The author's high opinion of Bayard cannot alter the hard fact that his Civil War record made him too vulnerable in a bloody-shirt campaign. The Republicans, after Garfield mollified the Stalwarts, dragged out the war issues but shifted to the tariff after the September loss of Maine. The unfortunate Democratic "tariff for revenue only" plank helped them raise money and frighten voters. The Democrats made the most of the dark spots on Garfield's record, but business felt that the adaptable soldier-politician would do more to preserve the recently returned prosperity than the inexperienced professional soldier. Among the few errors are "General George H. Pendleton" and the statement that "E. G. Laplan and Warren Miller" succeeded Senators Conkling and Platt. And is it not pure conjecture to suggest that President Arthur's "reformation" was inspired by a letter from a feminine admirer? Space limitations probably explain the rather summary treatment of Greenbackism and the listing of newspapers in the index but not in the bibliography. This excellent study fills one of the few remaining gaps in the history of presidential elections.

Ohio State University

EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM

IN DEFENSE OF YESTERDAY: JAMES M. BECK AND THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATISM 1861-1936. By Morton Keller. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1958. Pp. 320. \$6.00.) Perhaps the best measure of the depth of James M. Beck's conservatism is the fact that in 1936 he was deeply suspicious of Alf Landon, whom he considered the "candidate of the 'liberal' wing of the [Republican] Party." In this biography Morton Keller uses Beck to exemplify the difficulties faced by an old-fashioned conservative who tried to participate in twentieth-century political affairs. Beginning his career as a Democrat attacking Standard Oil and the Pennsylvania Railroad, Beck broke with his party over free silver and became a Republican. As a government lawyer under Theodore Roosevelt he took part in the Northern Securities case, but by 1907 he had abandoned all faith in reform. He was a lawyer for the manufacturers in the Danbury Hatters case in 1907, and in 1936 he argued against the government in *Ashwander vs. TVA*. Between these dates it is difficult to find a case or a public issue on which he failed to take an extremely conservative position. Mr. Keller points out carefully that even at the height of Republican supremacy in the twenties, Beck was frequently at odds with what he considered the Supreme Court's tendency to enhance national power at the expense of the free enterprise system. But unlike many conservatives, Beck was consistent. With trifling exceptions he was always on the side of individualism. Civil liberties were as important to him as economic, and he uniformly rejected the advances of protofascist conservative groups. Keller tends sometimes to slight the most important aspects of Beck's life in favor of comprehensive coverage of minor details. He makes no attempt, for example, to analyze or even to describe in detail the many books that Beck wrote in his long career. Keller is also something of a "name dropper" in behalf of his subject. It seems scarcely necessary in

this brief study to point out that at Beck's funeral Herbert Hoover, George Wharton Pepper, John W. Davis, and Newton D. Baker were honorary pallbearers *in absentia*. But this is a useful and interesting book, based on a great deal of hard work. It attempts throughout to use the small matters of one man's life to add to our understanding of the exciting and dynamic era in which that man lived.

Michigan State University

JOHN A. GARRATY

MISSIONARIES, CHINESE, AND DIPLOMATS: THE AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN CHINA, 1890-1952. By *Paul A. Varg*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 335. \$6.00.) Professor Varg has not attempted a full or well-rounded account of the American Protestant missionary enterprise during the little over six decades that he has covered. His general thesis is that the missionary effort was a phase of the impact of the United States upon China and that its basic assumptions were so alien to Chinese culture and to what the Chinese believed to be their needs that early in the 1950's the triumphant combinations of Marxism and Chinese nationalism snuffed it out. Frankly an outsider to the missionary enterprise and primarily interested in Sino-American diplomatic relations, Varg has stressed the fashion in which American Protestant missions were dovetailed with those relations. He also speaks of what he regards as the changing emphases in the programs of those missions, with their increasing adjustment to Chinese nationalism and their growing attention to the social and rural problems of China. Viewing his subject from this angle, Varg has gone diligently into the pertinent printed and manuscript sources. Although he has brought out no facts that are not familiar to the experts, he has provided a readable and comprehensive account of those aspects of the subject which are his special interest. The book is marred by a number of errors which a greater familiarity with the field would have avoided. Thus Moody's theology was not learned when he was "a schoolboy," but later. The conference of 1886 which saw the beginning of the Student Volunteer Movement was not called at the instance of Robert Wilder and was held at Mt. Hermon, not Northfield. The list could be lengthened. More serious is the failure to cite the exact source of many statements. For the majority of the data adequate footnote references are given, and, happily, at the foot of the page and not at the conclusion of the chapter or the book. But the absence of such references for a substantial proportion of the information suggests a faulty methodology.

Yale University

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY 1912-1916. By *Amos R. E. Pinchot*. Edited with a biographical introduction by *Helene Maxwell Hooker*. (New York: New York University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 305. \$7.50.) The publication of this unfinished manuscript is a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Progressive movement. Written in the early thirties, the *History* was intended to be the political counterpart to the author's also uncompleted *Big Business in America*. Although Amos Pinchot was quite secondary to his brother Gifford in the councils of the Bull Moose party, his *History of the Progressive Party 1912-1916* is an arresting account by a leader of what TR called the "lunatic fringe" of the party. Pinchot emphasizes throughout his opposition to the influence of the "Steel Trust" on TR and the party, an influence indicated by Roosevelt's affinity for George W. Perkins. One is not startled by the conclusions that the Progressive party failed because "it had aspirations and no issues . . . under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt it attempted the impossible feat of reaching a goal through means that were politically antagonistic to the goal. . . ." Further, it was used by an industro-financial organization seeking to protect itself.

While such conclusions lack adequate documentation, the fact is important that Pinchot's stringent opposition encouraged suspicion of Perkins and Roosevelt. The historian will particularly appreciate this publication because of the well-written seventy-eight-page biographical introduction. Without a doubt it is the definitive description of Amos Pinchot's role in the Progressive movement. Utilizing manuscript material, including the personal recollections of contemporaries and secondary sources, Professor Hooker presents the sweep of Pinchot's political and ideological life. She notes, incidentally, that he came to fear FDR's "statism." Concentrating, however, on the 1910-1916 phase of Pinchot's life, the editor describes in some detail his participation in the La Follette and Roosevelt candidacies for the Republican nomination in 1912; the Progressive campaign of that year, including his consternation about the famous "missing anti-trust" plank; the postelection anti-Perkins drive; the 1914 campaign; and his swing to Wilson in 1916. This reviewer was most impressed by Pinchot's sincere support of La Follette in 1912 and his courageous criticism of Perkins' influence. Professor Hooker concludes her assessment by properly applying to Amos Pinchot a principle best stated by Lord Acton: "Ideals in politics are never realized, but the pursuit of them determines history."

New York State Teachers College, Geneseo

MARTIN L. FAUSOLD

PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY: WOODROW WILSON AND THE BRITISH LIBERALS. By *Laurence W. Martin*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 70.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 230. \$4.50.) A careful reading of this work will reveal that the author has not made an exhaustive study of the subject suggested by the subtitle. Mr. Martin, it is true, has stated that he "has devoted most of his attention to the exploration of relations between Wilson and the British radicals." His use of the term "radicals" and his failure to define liberalism sharply is confusing at first, though he does eventually indicate that "radical" refers to those British Liberals who in the first decade of the twentieth century protested against the growth of armaments and Britain's joining one of the rival continental alliances, and who after the outbreak of World War I found in Wilson their chief advocate of a just and lasting peace settlement. The author deals only briefly with the "Liberal-Imperialists," to which group he assigns Lord Grey and the "orthodox Liberals." This concentration upon the "radical" wing of the Liberal party is defensible to a certain extent since the men whom the author assigns to this group did have an affinity for Wilson and helped him to crystallize his ideas about a new order to assure world peace. But Martin's treatment of the Peace Conference, when the relation between Wilson and the British Liberals met its severest test, is inadequate. Certainly this portion of the study deserves to be considered more than a mere "epilogue." The author does, however, make the excellent point that "though the radicals did their best to promote liberal principles" and exhibited greater concern than Wilson "for economic affairs and greater awareness of the possible dangers of self-determination," they did not share his "onerous duty of putting them into practice." The main theme of this study, which will be most useful to mature scholars, is how Wilson and the "radicals" started out with similar ideas derived from a common liberal tradition and drew closer and closer as World War I dragged on until finally the President by promulgation of his Fourteen Points became the advocate of a postwar settlement almost fully endorsed by the British "radicals." Especially interesting is the story of how some of the views of the "radicals" were filtered through Colonel House and William H. Buckler, who was attached to the American embassy in London. Within the limits he has set for himself, which this reviewer considers too narrow, Martin has been thorough in his research. Much of his

information has been drawn from the numerous published biographies and memoirs dealing with the period and from the writings of the prolific British radicals. For manuscript materials he has utilized papers in the Yale Library, the most important of which are the collections of Colonel House and Sir William Wiseman.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN WELLS DAVIDSON

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1950-1955. BASIC DOCUMENTS. Volume II. [General Foreign Policy Series 117. Department of State Publication 6446.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1957. Pp. lix, 1709-3222, xxv.) This volume concludes the three-thousand-page collection of diplomatic papers for the years 1950 to 1955 prepared largely for official use by the Historical Division of the State Department. It continues the series inaugurated earlier with the publication of *A Decade of American Foreign Policy: Basic Documents, 1941-49*. Because the arrangement of documents in the collection under review is topical, it must be used with its companion volume for the years following 1950. Volume II contains materials that relate specifically to the problems of Germany, Austria, and European security; the Soviet Union; the Eastern European Communist regimes and the Baltic states; the Near and Middle East, South Asia, and Africa; the Far East and Southeast Asia; Korea; disarmament and the control of atomic energy; foreign economic policies; international information and educational exchange programs; and the organization of the State Department and Foreign Service. These documents reveal much that is essential for an understanding of recent American policy. The important statements by Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and Secretaries of State Acheson and Dulles, for example, reveal how slight the shifts in formal policy have been in this decade (there have been no significant changes since 1955). That there were vast differences in intent and spirit indicates how extensively actual policy transcends mere documentary evidence. This volume avoids the real wellsprings of decision making during those formative years. There are no references to the charges of subversion, yet American action since 1950 can hardly be separated from the illusion of omnipotence that emanated from those charges. If this compilation is not exhaustive, it leaves no doubt as to the nature of American policy. It comprises one long commentary on the nation's continuing adherence to its idealistic purpose rather than to any realistic evaluation of the power and security interests, real or imagined, of the Soviet Union or continental China. For that reason it demonstrates the futile sequence of objectives persistently and confidently enunciated and seldom achieved. But these observations on the diplomatic record are no reflection on the volume itself. This is a useful collection that will satisfy the requirements of all but the most specialized scholars.

University of Illinois

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

LEYTE, JUNE 1944-JANUARY 1945. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume XII.] (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1958. Pp. xxv, 445. \$6.50.) On a hot day in October, 1944, a bored Seabee took to the hills overlooking Humboldt Bay in New Guinea. From a high point he looked down and saw riding at anchor hundreds of naval vessels of all sizes. The next day the fleet left to rendezvous with history at Leyte Gulf. This rendezvous forms the climax of Admiral Morison's book, the latest in the annotated series on the operations of the United States Navy in World War II. The volume rounds out the picture of the Leyte operation previously presented by the historians of the Army and the Air Force. And what an operation it was! Two great naval powers, the United States and Japan, sent their armadas to do battle with each other! The result was one of the greatest naval

engagements of all time. The Japanese employed three naval forces in their attempt to destroy the American naval and landing forces in Leyte Gulf and thus prevent General MacArthur from securing a foothold in the Philippines. The sea battles that followed destroyed Japan as a naval power, but not before the American forces had received a thorough scare. As Admiral Sprague put it, the United States won by "the definite partiality of Almighty God." In his series Morison has followed the example of his precursor Thucydides, who prefaced his history of the Peloponnesian War in this wise: "Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others, of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry." In the Leyte volume Morison has exploited all available materials, both American and Japanese, and has interviewed the leading participants on both sides. The result is an authoritative, objective history, written in vigorous, salty prose that captures the fears, the angers, the hopes, the tears, and the sweat of all men who have ever gone down to the sea in ships to fight for their country.

United States Air Force Academy

M. HAMLIN CANNON

LATIN AMERICA

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY: A GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH. By R. A. Humphreys. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 197. \$4.00.) This small but heavily freighted book, the first major effort of its kind, achieves with distinction its stated purpose of unlocking the doors to the literature on Latin American history in the English language. Excellently organized for convenient reference by topic, period, and geographical area, it will simplify the research tasks both of the beginning student and the specialist in the field. The generous breadth and variety of its contents, based on the widest possible interpretation of history, enhance the value of the book. Such supplementary areas as economics, politics, and sociology receive very careful attention. In addition to surveying the monographic literature, the book lists numerous published guides to archival material, government publications, periodicals, travel accounts, and the more illuminating works of historical fiction. The annotations are brief, perceptive, and just in appraisal, taking due note of important works and properly pungent when dealing with the commonplace or shoddy. Coverage of most periods and areas appears to be very thorough and sometimes exhaustive. However, this reviewer would have preferred a fuller treatment in the section on "Ancient Peoples and Cultures," and does not altogether comprehend the compiler's criteria for inclusion in this field (e.g., Professor Humphreys cites a fairly technical article on Indian languages in the June, 1955, issue of the *American Anthropologist*, but omits G. C. Willey's highly informative and stimulating synthesis, "The Prehistoric Civilization of Nuclear America," in the same issue). Withal this is a model work of its kind, and should inspire Latin American historians to make a frontal attack on the larger problem of compiling a guide to the enormous corpus of material in Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, and other European languages.

Springfield, Massachusetts

BENJAMIN KEEN

CRÓNICAS DE PUERTO RICO DESDE LA CONQUISTA HASTA NUESTROS DÍAS. Part I, Volume I (1493-1797). Selected, with introduction and notes by Eugenio Fernández Méndez. [Antología de Autores Puertorriqueños, Volume I.] (San Juan: Ediciones del Gobierno, Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico. 1957. Pp. xx, 366.) This

is the first volume of a series of anthologies for the general reader published under the official auspices of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. It contains selected material from a number of primary sources illustrating the historical development of Puerto Rico from prehistorical times to the end of the eighteenth century. There is a wide variety as to the selections presented, ranging from excerpts from Fray Ramón Pané and Oviedo to official documents, fragments from travel books, memoirs, and, mainly, "memorias informativas," these last being the core of the volume. The emphasis is thus on descriptive material bearing on the social, economic, and cultural history of the island, and the second half of the eighteenth century receives the greatest attention (seven of the fifteen items offered belong to this period). All of the material had been previously published separately. Not enough care has been exercised in some instances, however, to reproduce from the most authorized version or the available original. Some of the selections are full reproductions, others are mere fragments of the original. Most of the explanatory notes are by the editor; some are reproduced from previous editions of the selected item. In some cases this is not clearly indicated, and the result is confusion. The illustrations are from contemporary sources, but in most cases these are not clearly identified. Within these limitations this is a praiseworthy and pioneer effort, offering a handy collection of heretofore dispersed sources of basic importance for the socio-cultural history of Puerto Rico.

University of Puerto Rico

ARTURO SANTANA

DISCURSO SOBRE LA IMPORTANCIA, FORMA, Y DISPOSICIÓN DE LA RECOPILACIÓN DE LEYES DE LAS INDIAS OCCIDENTALES QUE EN SU REAL CONSEJO PRESENTA EL LICENCIADO ANTONIO DE LEÓN, 1623. By *José Toribio Medina*. Preface by *Aniceto Almeyda*. [Estudios Biobibliográficos.] (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina. 1956. Pp. xix, 176.) Despite the fact that for thirty-eight years following publication in 1623 of his *Discurso*, Spanish-born, Peruvian-educated Antonio de León Pinelo dedicated much time to the crystallization of the *Recopilación*, which ultimately emerged in 1680, it was only with Medina's biobibliographical studies early in the present century that the stature of this seventeenth-century jurist was widely appreciated. Since Medina's day the juridical system of the Spanish colonial empire has drawn increasing attention. Now it is generally agreed that León Pinelo is challenged only by Solórzano Pereira as the principal contributor to that epochal summation of Spanish colonial law. The present volume, issued by the foundation that honors the achievement of José Toribio Medina, contains the following: Aniceto Almeyda's perspective-establishing introduction in reference to both León Pinelo and Medina; Medina's biographical study of León Pinelo, first published in 1902; Medina's bibliographical study of León Pinelo, first published in 1907; Medina's documents on León Pinelo's family, first published in 1902; and the text of León Pinelo's *Discurso* of 1623. Unifying Medina's separated writings of León Pinelo with the work that essentially inspired his interest in that jurist, this volume possesses a welcome measure of thematic unity and scholarly utility.

Southern Illinois University

C. HARVEY GARDINER

FROM COMMUNITY TO METROPOLIS: A BIOGRAPHY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL. By *Richard M. Morse*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1958. Pp. xxiii, 341. \$7.50.) Loath as he is to accept all the advertising statements on the jacket, the present reviewer can formulate no more accurate characterization of the volume's contents than that found in the wrapper's last paragraph: "Interweaving a wide range of material in the economic, cultural, sociological, and demographic areas, this volume

portrays the emergence of a nucleated urban order within agrarian, patriarchal Brazil. The city's Law Academy, the coffee boom, the republican and abolitionist campaigns, mass immigration, industrialization, the 'modernist movement' in arts and letters, the changing architectural styles, and the *paulista* movement of 1932 are among the many trends, forces, and institutions which are examined as influencing and reflecting the new metropolitan temper." The author presents his subject in four main parts, and subdivides these into twenty-one chapters, some of whose titles are more modernistic in manner than suggestive of contents. More important, the chapter contents are often in the form of extracts and quotations from pertinent Brazilian authorities interspersed with the author's own comments. While this method has the virtue of introducing wide-range points of view from distinguished writers, it has the disadvantage of fragmentation and disunity. This biography of the city of São Paulo (subtitle) contains enormous quantities of material. On the other hand it has the weakness common to all such ambitious efforts of weaving an intelligent pattern out of a dozen disparate disciplines, real and fanciful. Although the author uses the historical approach to his numerous subjects, legitimate history generally takes a back seat to some of the newer types of study. The work is frequently marred—at least for the historian—by the use of vague, unusual, and meaningless words and phrases. The bibliographical material at the end of each chapter and at the end of the volume is quite impressive, even for a university press publication.

Ohio State University

LAWRENCE F. HILL

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* * * * * *Historical News* * * * * *

The Washington Meeting, 1958

I

The seventy-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., on December 28, 29, and 30. Continuing the trend of recent years, the 2,238 paid registrants made this meeting the largest to be held in Washington and second in size only to the record attendance of 2,450 at the New York meeting in 1957.

The problems of handling this large attendance were in the able hands of the Committee on Local Arrangements, headed by Richard C. Haskett of George Washington University. He was assisted by Fredrick Aandahl, Department of State; David Brandenburg, American University; John T. Farrell, Catholic University of America; William Fox, Montgomery Junior College; and David Millar, George Washington University. In addition to the full program of formal sessions, there were many informal gatherings and exhibits. Several of the sessions were subjects of feature articles in the Washington press.

The members of the Program Committee for 1958 were George Barr Carson, Jr., Service Center for Teachers of History; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Hilary Conroy, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., American University; Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Horace S. Merrill, University of Maryland; and C. E. Black, Princeton University, who served as chairman.

In requesting suggestions for the program and in selecting among the many proposals submitted, the Program Committee gave special consideration to topics calling for broad comparative treatments of societies at similar stages of development, remote though they might be from one another in area or in time. The Committee also favored papers that promised to be interpretative rather than primarily informational. Of the thirty-nine discussion sessions, twelve were on broadly comparative themes; ten were in European, ten in American, two in Latin American, and one in Canadian history; while four sessions were concerned with aspects of the historical profession.

II

Of the sessions on comparative themes, a number placed primary emphasis on ideas and influences. "New Approaches to World History" was the subject of

a session under the chairmanship of Frederick H. Jackson of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Speaking on "The Concept of World History," William H. McNeill of the University of Chicago maintained that the usual Europe-centered presentation of the history of mankind is unsatisfactory. Until quite recent times world affairs did not hinge upon events along the northwestern rim of the Eurasian continent, and in our own time they are again ceasing to do so. The question of how our common view of world history should be revised cannot be answered exactly until a number of scholars have made the attempt. A promising method might be to focus attention upon major centers of social and cultural innovation in any given epoch, and study how other societies within the *oecumene* reacted to the novelties introduced at such centers. In his paper on "World History and the Teacher," Leften S. Stavrianos of Northwestern University deplored current teaching of world history. The typical world history course might be entitled more appropriately "Europe and Its World Relationships." Such courses should be organized on a global basis, and world history should be taught on several levels. The advanced undergraduate and the graduate courses should concentrate on limited phases of world history, while the freshman and high school courses should be comprehensive in scope. European movements and institutions should be treated in the context of non-European movements and institutions of similar magnitude and world significance. Comments by Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University were followed by a lively general discussion.

The session on "The UNESCO History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" was presided over by Waldo G. Leland of the American Council of Learned Societies. "A Progress Report" was presented by Ralph E. Turner of Yale University, the general editor of the UNESCO History; and Caroline F. Ware, author-editor of Volume VI, dealing with the twentieth century, discussed "Problems of Interpretation." Comments were offered by Sylvia L. Thrupp of the University of Chicago, and the discussion that followed included remarks by several scholars who have been active in the preparation of the project. It was generally agreed that the UNESCO History is a valuable undertaking that presents possibilities of failure as well as of success. The view was expressed that the volumes, in spite of their individual excellence, do not constitute such a consistent and coherent history as had been hoped. Also, an adequate scholarly apparatus must be supplied, and notes must be added in order to present important views or conclusions at variance with those expressed in the texts. The UNESCO History is Western in its orientation to a degree disappointing to scholars of those Eastern countries where interest in national history is rapidly developing. They feel that more recourse should have been had to them and their colleagues. It was generally agreed that this undertaking is supplying invaluable experience in one of the most difficult kinds of international intellectual cooperation.

Martin E. Malia of the University of California, Berkeley, served as chairman

of the session on "Social Thought in England and Russia." James H. Billington of Harvard University discussed the role of N. K. Mikhailovsky in Russia as "journalistic high priest" of Auguste Comte's "religion of humanity." This religion spread to Russia to give comfort to the "uprooted urban intellectuals" in the face of government repression in the mid-1860's. For Billington, Mikhailovsky's chief importance was "to prepare the way for Soviet practice by institutionalizing ritual excommunication in ideological journals" and by denigrating mere reform and personal pleasure "in the name of an optimistic, pseudoscientific theory of history and a belief in the 'people' as a new source of truth." Walter M. Simon of Cornell University, in "Spencer, Comte, and the Social Organism," treated the differences between Comte and Spencer in their use of the biological analogy. Comte, like most exponents of such a theory, relied on it to advocate paternalistic and authoritarian government. Spencer, however, was a doctrinaire political and economic liberal; but he could defend this position only by sacrificing consistency in the use of the biological analogy, which he used as proof of natural social progress. In his comments, George L. Kline of Columbia University pointed out, first, that Mikhailovsky and Spencer shared a common individualism and hence a distrust of the authoritarian, centralizing elements in Comte; for this reason Kline felt that Billington made too much of Mikhailovsky as a precursor of the Soviets. Secondly, Kline indicated that Mikhailovsky viewed progress as an increasing approximation to the fullness of personality, whereas Spencer held it to be the development of social and technological specialization. In Kline's summary, Mikhailovsky shared with Spencer and with all positivism a belief in the empirical origin of knowledge and the cult of science as applied to society; but he had also a phenomenological sense of individuality and the idea that man, not nature, sets history's ends, an attitude characteristic of much of the Russian intelligentsia, but lacking in Comte and Spencer.

At the session on "Western Culture in Eastern Lands," presided over by Richard Pipes of Harvard University, Firuz Kazemzadeh of Yale University and R. Bayly Winder of Princeton University read papers on the civilizing influence of Russia in Turkestan and of England in Egypt, respectively. There was a broad area of agreement between the two interpretations as to the achievements and failures of the great imperial powers. Both praised the achievements of the Western powers in the realm of economic life, even if the advance in Egypt was presented as less spectacular than that in Turkestan. They also stressed the shallowness of Western education, which in both areas was confined to a small elite. Finally, both dwelt at length on the pernicious political effects of Western domination, although the solid British achievement in Egypt in the field of public administration was conceded. John C. Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations pointed out that despite the striking similarities between the original Western influences in the east of Russia and England, the long-range effects were quite different. He ascribed this difference to the nature of the political systems

of the two ruling powers. Several speakers from the floor took issue with the evaluation of the Western influence presented in the two papers, maintaining that it was more positive than either had indicated. The chairman suggested in his concluding statement that historians analyze the standards by which they judge "progress."

The joint session with the Conference on Asian History on "Liberalism and Nationalism" was held under the chairmanship of Hans Kohn of City College of New York. Howard A. Reed of the American Friends Service Committee reviewed representative liberal and national trends and personalities in the Middle East for the period 1865 to 1925, with special reference to Jamal al-din al-Afghani. Nationalism with a particularly Islamic character has become one of the most dynamic forces in the Middle East. By contrast, liberalism has failed to make a substantial impact on popular opinion, due partly to its decline in the West and even more to the recognition by Middle Easterners that the West paid only lip service to its ideals when it dealt with Middle Eastern peoples. Delmer M. Brown of the University of California, Berkeley, showed that in the Meiji period in Japan the traditionalist forces and progressive reforms were not exclusive and contradictory, but supported each other. Traditional beliefs in the "Way of the Emperor" provided the direction for a unified drive to enrich the country and strengthen the army, and the reforms provided more modern efficient ways of fulfilling responsibilities to the divine emperor. Eugene Anderson of the University of California, Los Angeles, contrasted liberalism and nationalism in Western Europe. Both developed in conflict with absolutism and the old regime. Liberalism rejected the organization and ideals of its absolutist opponent; nationalism compromised with them. Neither movement solved all the problems posed by the transition from the old to the new society; yet liberalism can contribute to the future the ideal of freedom, and nationalism the recognition of the need of the individual for the inspiration of being part of a group. In the ensuing discussion some contrasted the nature of nationalism in Asia and in nineteenth-century Europe; others emphasized the possibility of a fusion of liberalism and nationalism as it took place in some Western countries.

"Near Eastern Bureaucracy" was the subject of an address by Sir Hamilton Gibb of Harvard University at the luncheon session of the Conference on Asian History, of which Eugene P. Boardman of the University of Wisconsin was chairman. The speaker undertook a comprehensive inquiry into the nature and structure of bureaucracy in the Near East from the Sumerians to Nasser, and stressed several common features in the social structure and functions of bureaucracy, its cultural attitudes and attributes, and its relationship to other classes. Functional segmentation by kin-groups has been a prevalent feature of Near Eastern society, and can be demonstrated for the early class of scribes, whose special function required memorization of an extensive body of texts. Their functions as a bureaucracy were of supreme importance for the maintenance of

material culture through the political and religious revolutions of the Near East, and reinforced their conservative bent. Their self-consciousness was even more clearly exposed in the continuity of their tradition and of its literature, and they became the bearers and guarantors of a humanistic, cultural tradition. In the middle Islamic centuries this tradition was weakened by the virtual coalescence of the scribal and religious classes and the accompanying institutionalization of education. But in the Ottoman Empire a new secretarial class emerged, which gradually re-created the traditional features of Near Eastern bureaucracy.

A session on "Religion and Socialism," led by Carl E. Schorske of Wesleyan University, explored the differences in the relations between these two forces in various parts of modern Asia. Wolfram Eberhart of the University of California, Berkeley, examining the social thought of Islam in Pakistan, revealed a predominantly archaic orientation uncongenial to the development of capital accumulation and modern industrialism, whether under state or private auspices. Not the national state, but the supranational religious community is the focus of much of Pakistani Islam's social thinking, so that the development of the political and legal prerequisites for any socialist movement is inhibited. George O. Totten of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology compared the relations between Buddhism and socialism in Burma and Japan. In the struggle against British rule Burmese socialism readily allied itself with Buddhism, since both represented aspects of the national thrust for independence. In Japan, socialism arose not with but against the stream of nationalism which had earlier established a connection with capitalistic industrialism, whose social consequences were the center of Japanese socialistic concern. Buddhism in Japan, which had no strong civil significance, was at best viewed with indifference by Japanese socialists. James W. Morley of Columbia University, who served as commentator in place of Will Herberg of Drew University, criticized the papers in terms of four variables affecting relations of religion and socialism: the nature of the religious creed and ecclesiastical structure; the type of socialism involved; the status and problems of the social strata affected by socialist ideas; and the special nature of each society's relation to the West. The discussion, conducted in terms of these criteria, vividly demonstrated the value of comparative historical analyses.

III

Another group of sessions stressed the comparison of institutions. The session on "Feudalism in History: A Reassessment," was presided over by Sidney Painter of Johns Hopkins University. John Whitney Hall of the University of Michigan devoted a large part of his paper on "Japanese Feudalism" to a discussion of the methodology of comparative history. He suggested that such terms as "feudalism" could be used effectively in a very general way as a key to the study of institutions that had both similarities and differences. He then surveyed those Japanese

institutions that seemed to fall into this category, and briefly traced their development. Of particular interest to students of European feudalism was his demonstration that land grants were replaced by stipends toward the end of the period under consideration. Bryce Lyon of the University of Illinois presented a concise summary of the origins, development, and decline of "Western Feudalism." He then argued that the differences between Western and Japanese feudalism were so much greater than the similarities that the Japanese institutions cannot properly be called feudal. The commentator, Fred A. Cazel, Jr., of the University of Connecticut recognized certain similarities between European and Japanese feudalism. At the same time he maintained that historians would do well to describe past societies as accurately as possible in their own terminology and leave comparisons to sociologists. In the discussion it was pointed out that the two papers could hardly be expected to reach agreement, as their method of approach to the problem was entirely different. Several objected to leaving historical comparisons to the sociologists.

John U. Nef of the University of Chicago presided over the joint session with the Society of the History of Technology on "Technology and Culture." Lynn White, jr., of the University of California, Los Angeles, read a paper on "India, Tibet, and Malaya as Sources of Medieval Technology." Suggesting that important inventive ideas had come from this area, he traced their development in Europe from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. The problem around which the paper and the discussion centered was the reasons for the technological leadership achieved by Europe, one of the explanations for the triumph everywhere of industrialism. As the chairman pointed out, the sources of this industrialism, once sought mainly in the origins of capitalism, have been discovered now not only in many non-European areas, but also in many other fields of history than the economic. Science and technology are two of those that have been recently much explored. Other aspects of historical development—particularly cultural—remain to be studied. Robert I. Crane of the University of Michigan discussed "The Impact of Technological Innovation on Social and Cultural Values in Modern India." He stressed the resistance of old modes of living to technological innovation. This led him, with strong support from Arthur W. Hummel of the Library of Congress, who discussed both papers, to emphasize the fact that the values inherent in modern technology are by no means the only ones that are of moment to the human race at a time when the world has become economically and politically interdependent. The values of art are to a considerable extent independent of modern technology, and the human mind outside the West had perhaps much to teach Western civilization.

John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota presided over the joint session with the Economic History Association on "Agriculture and Industrialization." In a paper on "American Agriculture in the Process of Industrialization, with Some European Comparisons," William N. Parker of the University of North

Carolina suggested that in a period of industrialization agriculture must be "squeezed" of both populations and food supplies by pressures greater than the price system ordinarily produces. He compared conditions in early nineteenth-century England with those in the United States in the last decades of the century. In the English cases he emphasized the role played by concentrated land ownership of an earlier period in creating an agricultural proletariat and in stimulating commercial production through the accompanying system of tenancy and money rents. In the United States, he suggested, the pressures on agriculture were less social than financial. Morris David Morris of the University of Washington read a paper on "The Recruitment of an Industrial Labor Force in Asia, with European and American Comparisons," in which he drew on case studies in areas as far removed as Bombay, India, Lancashire, and New England. He found that the pattern varied in each area. The child labor characteristic of English mills was of slight importance in Bombay, as was the large-scale use of unmarried women that was common in New England. Yet each proved able to recruit an adequate labor force with far less difficulty than has been generally assumed. In a detailed analysis of the papers, Eric Lampard of Smith College expressed the historian's reluctance to accept some of the distinctions and causal relationships.

Robert H. Bremner of Ohio State University presided over the session on "The History of Philanthropy." In the opening paper on "The Uses of Philanthropy in Victorian Society," David Owen of Harvard University examined the connection between philanthropic activity and public welfare policy. During most of the period Victorians assigned major responsibility for welfare to voluntary groups and charitable foundations. When the task exceeded the resources of private bodies a state welfare policy developed. Philanthropy was assigned the tasks of supplementing statutory social services and experimenting in fields not yet entered by the state. Irvin G. Wyllie of the University of Wisconsin discussed the pitfalls and complexities of "The Problem of Motive in American Philanthropy." He urged care in distinguishing between actual and attributed motives. Warning against the tendency to overemphasize ulterior motives and to underrate altruism in philanthropy, he suggested that historians adopt the judicial view that a selfish motive does not in itself discredit an act of charity. The commentator, Thomas H. Greer, Jr., of Michigan State University praised both papers as "significant contributions to the study of philanthropy—a subject much neglected by historians," and offered some information on Franklin Roosevelt's attitudes toward philanthropy. The questions and remarks of younger scholars and graduate students suggest a growing interest in the study of philanthropy.

The session on "Conservatives in the Twentieth Century" was under the chairmanship of Henry Cord Meyer of Pomona College. Eugen Weber of the University of California, Los Angeles, in a paper entitled "No Enemies on the Right," questioned the validity of the dictum "No Enemies on the Left" popular

in French historical writing and political commentary since the 1890's. Careful investigation of French politics since that time showed quite the opposite: a persistent trend toward conservatism under camouflage of liberal slogans. In this light developments of the last two decades appear less to be a reversal of a longer trend than as its ultimate confirmation. A rather different view of "Right-Wing Political Parties in the Weimar Republic" was presented by Lewis Hertzman of Princeton University. Personalities like Hugenberg, Hergt, Stresemann, and Westarp and their parties have been neglected in the present era of interest in Social Democrats and Nazis. These conservative groups were weakened by their confused origins in 1918, and by consistent internal antagonisms that made their stand on public issues unduly sharp or awkward. By the early 1930's they had been reduced by antagonism and defeats to ineffective clusters around competing strong men and obvious foils for Nazi conspiracy. Klemens von Klemperer of Smith College commented that both papers were limited to governmental aspects of conservatism. The study of this phenomenon required a broader perspective: consideration of its spiritual sources and analysis of its nongovernmental aspects, such as movements like the Croix de Feu and the Heimwehr, or ideological groupings like the German neoconservatives. Discussion showed the need of clarifying now traditional conceptions of "right" and "left," the usefulness of studying conservatism in its regional context, and the importance of evaluating outside pressures on conservative ideas and policies.

"New Perspectives on World War II" was the subject of a joint session with the American Military Institute presided over by Stetson Conn of the Department of the Army. Louis Morton of the Department of the Army began his review of Pacific strategy by emphasizing that Japan, not the United States, started the war, and that American policy and action had been designed to deter, not provoke Japan. But in this case deterrents may have caused war. Another lesson may be drawn from Japan's intention to fight a limited war while starting a war in a way that made a negotiated peace impossible. Military rather than political factors dominated strategy toward the end in the Pacific; both the joint chiefs and General MacArthur felt Soviet entry essential, even though they recognized that a large price must be paid for it. Norman H. Gibbs of All Souls College, Oxford, discussed "Mediterranean Strategy in 1942-1944." Though recognizing British preference for a Mediterranean "end run" against Germany, he insisted that throughout the war Mediterranean strategy was essentially defensive and governed by only a limited desire for exploitation. Herbert Feis of the Institute for Advanced Study announced his intent to open new controversies rather than settle old ones, and began by casting strong doubt on the feasibility of a 1943 invasion of the Continent—a point which met with general agreement. George A. Lincoln of the United States Military Academy, the second commentator, stressed the necessity of viewing strategy in any area in the context of global war. He also raised questions as to whether the Pacific really was a secondary

theater after Casablanca, and whether the surrender of Japan was truly unconditional, since it was arranged on terms.

At the luncheon session of the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado presided, and the chairman of the Conference for 1958, Geroid T. Robinson of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, read a paper entitled "The Communist, the Individualist, and the Machine." He noted that the Soviet leaders had challenged the United States to a "battle of production." It would be greatly to the disadvantage of the United States to accept the challenge in the terms in which it had been issued. First, there was no real assurance that the Soviet Union would hereafter concentrate on economic warfare alone. Second, the United States should not fight the economic battle as such, simply in terms of quantities of goods produced. The work process makes its own workers into a certain kind of human beings. Soviet society is committed to the mechanization of both the work process and the worker. American society should strive above all to make free men, and every problem of production should be evaluated in those terms. If we hold strictly to this criterion, we can, by promoting small farming and the associated handicrafts, be of great assistance in the building of a free non-Communist life in the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries. We should not be satisfied with a simple exportation of technology and capital to the underdeveloped countries for the sake of increasing their output. It is essential that our plants in those countries should pay their workers generously, associate them in some degree with management, and introduce some variety and interest into the work process itself.

IV

A variety of topics were touched upon in the field of European history before the modern period. The joint session with the American Society of Church History, led by George H. Williams of the Harvard Divinity School, was on "Christianity and Culture." Glanville Downey of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library discussed "Julian and Justinian and the Unity of Faith and Culture." In comparing the policy of Julian in disestablishing Christianity with that of Justinian in suppressing paganism, he placed emphasis on the role of classical literature in such centers of higher education as Gaza and Athens. In a paper on "Paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England," William Chaney of Lawrence College dealt with Germanic myth and cultic practices as perpetuated in Christian guise in England into the ninth century. He cleared the ground for his demonstration of extensive and persistent Germanic survivals by showing how earlier English scholars had, because of their classical training in Greco-Roman pagan law, been unable to recognize fully the distinctively Germanic features of Anglo-Saxon paganism with its striking parallels to Christian belief, notably in

respect to the suffering god and the self-sacrificing ruler. Milton Anastos of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, commenting on the two papers, concentrated on the Christological policy of Justinian as further substantiation of the first paper.

The session on "The City-State in European History" was under the chairmanship of C. A. Robinson, Jr., of Brown University. In a paper on "The City-State in Antiquity: Some Reasons for Its Durability," John W. Snyder of Indiana University pointed out that the city was regarded in antiquity as the ideal political body. Its durability sprang from the protection it afforded, from its economic convenience, and from the idealism in which it was held. The upper classes were chiefly responsible for establishing and maintaining ancient cities. Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors used the urban upper classes for territorial administration. Marvin B. Becker of Western Reserve University discussed "The Republican City-State in Florence: Its Origin and Survival (1280-1434)." Two "social facts" encouraged the emergence of the republican city-state in Florence when despotism was triumphing in northern Italy. First, the guilds acted as the primary force for differentiating between public and private rights. Second, the emergence of new, wealthy citizens strengthened the machinery of government to the detriment of entrenched organizations and groups. In his comment, Robert S. Hoyt of the University of Minnesota suggested that in the first paper a clearer distinction might have been made between the ancient city-state and the medieval borough and other urban communities, and that the relation between town and country might have been expressed more clearly. He also noted that the second paper did not show how and why the industrial and commercial interests of the Florentines led to a fusion of the old aristocracy and the "newcomers," in contrast with the competition and exclusion that characterized other later medieval towns. The subsequent discussion was acute, lively, and often humorous.

Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University presided over the session on "Numismatic Contributions to the Study of the Middle Ages." Howard Adelson of City College of New York, in a paper on "Trade and Trade Routes during the Early Middle Ages," discussed a series of light-weight *solidi* struck by Byzantine mints in the sixth and seventh centuries. He suggested that these *solidi* had been coined for purposes of trading with the barbarians, and that the location of hoards containing them indicates the routes along which Byzantine-barbarian trade was active. In his comments, Robert Lopez of Yale University discussed the values and limitations of numismatic evidence in historical research and argued against giving too much weight to statistics based on hoards.

The annual dinner of the Mediaeval Academy of America, presided over by Gaines Post of the University of Wisconsin, was attended by two distinguished scholars from abroad, Helen M. Cam and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. After the dinner Deno J. Geanakoplos of the University of Illinois read a paper, "Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice," in which he stressed the importance of

Venice as an intellectual center when Erasmus was preparing a new edition of the *Adages* for the Aldine Press. Members of the community of Byzantine scholars discussed philological and literary problems with Erasmus and lent him Greek manuscripts, some of which were hitherto unavailable in the West. Erasmus' own statements and the considerable number of new proverbs in the *Adages* reveal the extent of his indebtedness to Venice. This Venetian episode, combined with his influence, made Erasmus an important agent in the dissemination of Greco-Byzantine literature and learning throughout the West.

The joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research on "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Movement" was under the chairmanship of Walther Kirchner of the University of Delaware, president of the Society. The first speaker was Frederick G. Heymann of the State University of Iowa, who dealt with the "Hussite-Utraquist Church in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries." He showed that the Hussite movement gradually developed a right, a left, and a center, and he pointed out the importance of John Rokycana and his successors, whose guidance of the center gave vitality to the movement for over a century. The way was thus paved for the favorable reception of the Protestant Reformation and Luther in sixteenth-century Bohemia. William J. Bouwsma of the University of California, Berkeley, discussed "Sarpi and Religious Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." He pointed out Sarpi's pessimism, individualism, and antisacramentalism, and related Sarpi's thought to tendencies prevalent in the fourteenth century, which also influenced the Protestant reformers. He showed how Sarpi could insist on the Catholic orthodoxy of his views long after they had been rejected by the Counter Reformation; and he suggested that Sarpi was not an isolated figure. Comments by Otakar Odložilík of the University of Pennsylvania and Quirinus Breen of the University of Oregon emphasized the speakers' points. The former underscored in particular the power of survival of Utraquism as opposed to that of the more radical trends among the followers of Huss. Discussion brought out the role of nationalism as an element in the persistence of the Hussite movement.

V

In the field of modern European history, the session on "The Hapsburg Monarchy," under the leadership of Robert A. Kann of Rutgers University, discussed economic and general administrative policies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Herman Freudnerger of Rutgers University read a paper on "Industrialization in Bohemia and Moravia in the Eighteenth Century," which dealt primarily with the period after the conclusion of the Silesian wars. He demonstrated that the governmental policy in the first postwar decades followed strictly mercantilistic principles. By the end of the 1770's these were, however, markedly liberalized. R. John Rath of the University of Texas offered a

critical analysis of "Hapsburg Government in Lombardy-Venetia, 1814-1821." He started from the premise that the popular welcome greeting the Hapsburg troops in northern Italy as liberators in 1814 had changed to disappointment by 1821. Lack of coordinated administrative principles, slowness in adjustment to new conditions, and above all a far too limited recognition of local autonomy and insufficient understanding for traditions, customs, and aspirations of the Austro-Italian domains were chiefly responsible. The comments of Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester stressed in particular the necessity of linking the topics to the general intellectual and political currents and problems of the era. Thus industrialization in Bohemia and Moravia was related to the question of incipient Czech nationalism and Western physiocratic doctrine.

At the luncheon session of the Modern European History Section, presided over by Leo Gershoy of New York University, Hajo Holborn of Yale University read a paper on "Bismarck's *Realpolitik*." He suggested that a true appraisal of Bismarck calls for an analysis of the intellectual and religious ideas, as well as of the social and political forces that molded his mind in his formative years. Close examination shows that Bismarck was not affected by Hegel or the Young Hegelians or even by Schleiermacher, with whom he came into personal contact. But he was deeply influenced by those ideas in German literature that from the days of *Sturm und Drang* built up toward a realistic interpretation of the world. He also accepted the romantic cult of personality, which, together with a vague pantheism coupled with skepticism, might have led to a dissipation of his personality. His religious "conversion," followed by his marriage and entrance into politics, gave his life its ultimate purpose. In Germany he parted company with the old Christian conservatism, while he fought liberalism and democracy with even greater vigor, although his political outlook allowed him the use of many "revolutionary" devices. His policies are, however, ill described as *Realpolitik*, because they rest on principles. Their shortcomings drove the old Bismarck closer to naturalistic theories of nationalism, which the following generation could adapt to altogether irreligious philosophies.

"Extraconstitutional Factors in Modern European History" were discussed in a session presided over by William O. Aydelotte of the State University of Iowa. Norman Rich of Michigan State University, speaking on "Bismarck and the Prussian Court," identified the personalities of Bismarck and, to a lesser extent, of the three emperors he served as extraconstitutional factors exerting a major influence on modern German history. Bismarck's skill in dealing with William I and the support he received in return made possible his early successes, while his notable lack of foresight in dealing with William II paved the way for his eventual dismissal. George Curry of the University of South Carolina traced the development of "The Office of Private Secretary to the Sovereign" in Great Britain from its chance beginnings in the early nineteenth century to its present acceptability and usefulness. He discussed the characters of the successive holders

of this office, the attitudes toward them of the sovereigns they served, and the relationship of these matters to the increasing efficiency and scope of the position. In his comment Klaus Epstein of Harvard University advocated a more restricted definition of "extraconstitutionality." He would limit it to the unauthorized or at least the controversial exercise of power, which would exclude the topics of the two papers and include other topics to which the term might be more properly applied.

David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri presided at the session on "Nineteenth-Century Democracy." In his paper "Democracy in Victorian England," which dealt with the Reform Act of 1867, Trygve R. Tholfsen of the University of California, Los Angeles, took issue with the view that England became a democracy primarily as a result of statutory changes in the electoral system. The Act of 1867 simply registered important extraparliamentary developments, notably the growing demand of middle-class radicals and advanced liberals for extension of the suffrage and the assimilation of skilled laborers into middle-class urban culture, which made them attractive allies to the bourgeois left. The paper of David I. Kulstein of San Jose State College on "Government Propaganda and the Working Class under Napoleon III" considered the efforts of Napoleon III's government to influence workers' opinion. The government used most of the available media in a constant campaign to publicize its concern with the welfare of the working class. Commentator D. C. Moore of Harpur College, State University of New York, maintained that the Reform Act of 1867, far from being the outcome of Liberal-labor cooperation, was a conservative measure passed by Conservatives with the intention of minimizing shifts in political power. He declared, moreover, that the decades of the century after 1867 reveal no evidence of an influential Liberal-labor coalition. Brief comments from the floor supported this position. Discussion of the second paper centered on possible extension of the inquiry to include the effectiveness of the government's propaganda.

Donald Grove Barnes of Western Reserve University was chairman at the joint session with the Conference on British Studies on "Nineteenth-Century Ireland." In a paper on "The Young Ireland Movement, 1842-1848," Helen F. Mulvey of Connecticut College posed the question: what kind of Ireland were the Young Irelanders hoping to create? Admitting that the central point in their program was an Irish legislature, she stressed the fact that they wished to go beyond a mere repeal of the Union of 1801 and were really asking for the dominion status of a later day. A paper by Lawrence J. McCaffrey of the State University of Iowa dealt with "The Attitude of the Protestant Gentry and the Catholic Clergy to the Home Government Association, 1870-1873." This organization was formed to unite all creeds and classes in a demand for an Irish parliament and to influence public opinion in both England and Ireland in favor of a federal arrangement. While federalism caught the fancy of the Irish masses at once, it failed to win the support of either the Catholic clergy or the Protestant

gentry. Arnold Schrier of the University of Cincinnati supported most of the conclusions of the two papers, but he recommended greater emphasis on the revolutionary aspects of the Young Ireland movement after the death of Davis and suggested that the General Election of 1874 should be included in any discussion of the Association. Discussion from the floor was vigorous, and, as was appropriate for a topic on nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish relations, it ended with firm disagreement.

"Railroads in the First World War" was the subject of the joint session with the Lexington Group, over which Howard F. Bennett of Northwestern University presided. In a paper on "The German Drive on Paris in 1914," Helmut Haeussler of Wittenberg College discussed the planning and execution of the transportation aspects of the famous Schlieffen Plan and in so doing raised again the controversy over the feasibility of the plan in conception and the effectiveness of its execution. Haeussler concluded that "the Schlieffen idea was not logically feasible in 1914 and . . . its technical shortcomings complemented its political shortcomings." In the second paper, "The Retreat through the Province of Limburg, November, 1918," Edwin T. Greninger of East Tennessee State College discussed the implications of the Dutch government's grant of authority to the German generals to withdraw their troops through the province of Limburg after the Armistice was signed. By permitting the General Staff to preserve a very large proportion of its total force, the action permitted it to maintain before the German people that the politicians rather than the army lost the war. Raymond Estep of the United States Air University read a paper on "The Russian Railway Service Corps and the Siberian Intervention," in which he recounted the negotiations of John F. Stevens with the Kerensky government. After discussing the organization, dispatch, and activities of the Railway Service Corps in the American venture into Siberia, he concluded that the Corps lost its original purpose of keeping Russia in the war, and in the end became an instrument of United States diplomacy in maintaining the Open Door in eastern Asia.

"Italy in Two World Wars" was the subject of the joint session with the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano (American Division) of which William C. Askew of Colgate University served as chairman. René Albrecht-Carrié of Barnard College, Columbia University, speaking on "Neutrality *vs.* Intervention, 1914-1915," placed this issue in the larger context of Italian policy. Italy's initial decision for neutrality was influenced by military deficiencies and by the British position, but also by implication a judgment that the Central Powers were the aggressors and were likely to be defeated. Italy's later intervention as a result of deliberate calculation not only destroyed the possibility of claiming self-defense but also divided the country. Howard M. Smyth of the Department of State, in discussing "The Armistice of Cassibile," gave an authoritative account of Italy's surrender in 1943. Outlining Allied, German, and Italian objectives, he found that Hitler did not plan to defend Italy south of

Rome. The Italians, intent on avoiding conflict with the Germans, missed the best opportunity for an effective switch of sides immediately after Mussolini's overthrow. Both the Allies and the Germans aimed to eliminate the Italian army lest it cooperate with the other side. Commenting on the first paper, Kent Roberts Greenfield of the Department of the Army called attention to the fact that when war came in 1914 the national unification of Italy was still incomplete, not only in the territorial sense, but also in the sense of moral unity. Italy intervened to fight two wars, one with Austria to complete the *risorgimento*, and the other to enlarge her place in the Mediterranean sun. Norman Kogan of the University of Connecticut, commenting on the second paper, pointed to the concern of the Italians and the Allies with the political and social consequences of surrender. Victor Emmanuel III and his circle, he found, were still thinking in terms of an eighteenth-century image of international politics which ignored the realities of the twentieth century.

VI

A wide range of topics in terms of subject matter and chronological scope was included in the field of American political history. Helen M. Cam, President of the International Commission for the History of Assemblies, was chairman of the luncheon session of the American Committee, a branch of the International Commission. At this session Wilcomb E. Washburn, Acting Curator of the Division of Political History at the Smithsonian Institution, read a paper on "The Effect of Bacon's Rebellion on the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Relations between England and the Colony of Virginia." He showed how the rebellion revealed the incompetence of the royal government as well as the inability of the king's governor to command obedience. Uncertainty among the king's legal advisers about how to deal with rebellion resulted in chaos and bitterness in Virginia. Perhaps, indeed, the rebellion caused such a financial pinch in England that Charles II had to recall Parliament. In Virginia, again, the rebellion led to the assertion by the loyalists—not the rebels, paradoxically—of the colonial assembly's right to a coequal status with Parliament. Consequently the evolution of representative government in Virginia came after, rather than during, the rebellion.

"Democratic Action in Early American Politics" was discussed in a session under the chairmanship of Edmund S. Morgan of Yale University. Robert E. Brown of Michigan State University presented a paper on "Virginia on the Eve of Revolution: Aristocratic or Democratic," in which he argued that by most of the criteria generally used in discussing the question, Virginia qualified as a democracy. He particularly emphasized the fact, ascertained through his investigation of local records, that the great majority of adult males in colonial Virginia had the right to vote. E. James Ferguson of the University of Maryland discussed

"Madison's Motive for a Discrimination, 1790: Ethics or Political Maneuver." He contended that the kind of discrimination Madison proposed would have been impracticable, and that Madison was motivated by a desire to win political popularity in Virginia. In his comments Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., of the University of Richmond raised questions about the criteria by which the authors had judged their respective questions. Several persons challenged Virginia's qualifications as a democracy on the ground that an aristocratic influence was exerted on Virginia voters. It was further emphasized that whatever political maneuvering Madison may have undertaken in 1790 was not inconsistent with a concern for ethical principle. The question was also raised whether the concepts of aristocracy and democracy had not outlived their usefulness as tools for the analysis of colonial society.

"The Lincoln-Douglas Debates" were reconsidered in a session presided over by Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania. Don E. Fehrenbacher of Stanford University placed "The Debates in Their Historical Setting." Considering this interchange in the light of its contemporary significance, he contended that Lincoln was primarily concerned with reaching the Senate rather than the presidency. He declared that the campaign helped Douglas' chances for 1860 rather than hindered them; Douglas, in his estimation, had lost the South by his opposition to Lecompton in 1857. Robert W. Johannsen of the University of Kansas read the second paper on "Stephen A. Douglas and the Territories." He emphasized the fact that Douglas was dedicated to western development and thought in practical terms of what was necessary to get people organized in the West. Douglas felt self-government was the most attractive lure. While he was not an antislavery idealist, he was a sincere believer in the right of men to rule themselves. Harry V. Jaffa of Ohio State University, in commenting on these papers, pointed out in terms of logic and political science analogy the faulty thinking of Douglas and the superb intellectual consistency of Lincoln.

The session on "American Foreign Policy at the Start of the Century" was presided over, in the absence of Samuel F. Bemis of Yale University, by Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University. Charles Vevier of the University of Rochester spoke first on "Imperial Aspects of American Continentalism." He analyzed the traditional elements in that concept—geographic determinism, political and social separation from Europe, independent action in foreign affairs—and then established a link between the pre-Civil War writings and activities of William Gilpin, Asa Whitney, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and Perry McD. Collins with those of the later and more familiar figures of Alfred T. Mahan and Brooks Adams. Richard D. Challener of Princeton University then dealt with "The Military and the Formulation of American Foreign Policy, 1900-1914." He concluded that while the army and navy did not shape major decisions in these years, they did exert a measurable role. More important still, this period witnessed the beginning of an attempt to grapple with the troublesome question

of the relationship between force and diplomacy. In his comments, Seward W. Livermore of Washington, D. C., noted that the two papers reflected the significant trend of giving a wider dimension to our foreign policy and of drawing upon new research materials. While dissenting on several minor points, he concurred in the desirability of exploring the topics further.

The joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on "Western Political Leadership" met under the chairmanship of George McGovern, congressman from South Dakota. Speaking on the theme, "Senator Thomas P. Gore and Oklahoma Public Opinion, 1917-1918," Monroe Billington of the University of South Dakota concluded that Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma was defeated in his bid for reelection in 1920 primarily because of his attitude toward American participation in World War I. Concentrating on George W. Norris' relations with House Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, Richard Lowitt of Connecticut College traced "The Making of an Insurgent, 1902-1910." He developed the theme that no single dramatic event was responsible for the Nebraska legislator's shift from a regular to an insurgent Republican. As Norris and his insurgent friends pushed their fight for reform of the rules during the period 1908-1910, they felt the sting of the Speaker's patronage and committee appointment power. In his paper on "William Lemke and the Union Party" E. C. Blackorby of Dickinson State Teachers College expressed the view that the congressman was "an agrarian radical and a fervent exponent of a monetary solution for most national ills." He himself was not a hatemonger, but he accepted support from some of the fringe "hate" elements in his discredited bid for the presidency during the third party movement in 1936.

"The Republican Revival, 1937-1938," was the subject of a session led by James Reston of the *New York Times*, in place of Wilfred E. Binkley of Ohio Northern University. Milton Plesur of the University of Buffalo, speaking for "The Winners" in the 1938 election, attributed the Democratic decline to the Supreme Court fiasco, the recession, and the President's attempted intraparty purge. Labor unrest, agrarian disaffection, and scandals in relief administration also hurt the party. Robert E. Burke of the University of Washington discussed the position of "The Losers," and noted that President Roosevelt held aloof from the campaign in most states, apparently determined to avoid Wilson's famous "mistake" of 1918. While Roosevelt was unable to extend the New Deal, he did hold it intact; he even extended his control over the party. In his comments, Wallace E. Davies of the University of Pennsylvania observed that many discredited Republican leaders of an earlier era had vanished by 1938, and the party had brought forth several younger men of ability such as Stassen, Taft, Saltonstall, and Dewey. He expressed the view that neither paper came to grips with why the election turned out as it did.

At the annual dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association under the chairmanship of Frederick Merk of Harvard University, Frank Freidel of

Harvard University presented a paper on "The New Deal Twenty-Five Years Later." The New Deal began at a time when the nation was floundering in its worst depression. Few leaders in business and politics, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, had many ideas on how to end it, except through expending limited sums on public works and keeping the budget balanced. Roosevelt, basically conservative, possessed faith in balanced budgets, willingness to experiment, and brilliant political skill. In the wide panoply of early recovery legislation, especially the NRA and the AAA, he tried to provide benefits for every group. By 1935, impelled more by the discontent of the dispossessed than by attacks from the well to do, he moved toward a reform program. It is easy to overemphasize the differences between the so-called first and second New Deals. Roosevelt never abandoned his earlier economic bases. His second term is important for the shift in Supreme Court decisions to allow almost unlimited government regulations, and the recasting and consolidation of earlier New Deal economic changes. This is the period when stabilizers were first built into the economy.

VII

The social and economic aspects of American history were also treated in a number of sessions. The joint session with the American Studies Association, under the chairmanship of George Rogers Taylor of Amherst College, discussed "American Technology on the Eve of the Civil War." In a paper on "The Uniqueness of American Industrialization, as Reported by European Observers, 1830-1860," Marvin Fisher of the University of Arizona reported that the surprise of most European travelers at finding a rapidly expanding industrialization in this agrarian paradise is repeatedly reflected in their accounts. On the whole they viewed American industrialization as a blessing, but some accounts saw danger in the sharp contrast evident in the rural as compared to the industrial segment of American life. In discussing "Two Kingdoms of Force: Technology and the Literary Imagination in America" Leo Marx of Amherst College emphasized the dominance of the machine image in American literature. He held that American writers typically set this image in opposition to that of landscape, and illustrated his point by examples from Hawthorne, Thoreau, Melville, Adams, Faulkner, and others. He stated that this duality represents the opposition between two ideas of man's relation to nature; the metaphor of contradiction has often been used to arouse feelings of dislocation, fear, or alienation. Perhaps its most dramatic use appears in the *Education of Henry Adams*. In his discussion of the two papers, Kendall Birr of State Teachers College, Albany, New York, agreed with the speakers on the importance of the impact of technology on American thought. He found the first paper unclear on whether the writings of foreign observers contribute reliable evidence on the facts of industrialization, and observed that the second paper had left unexplained the causes for the

contrasting views of American technology held by literary artists and by the great majority of Americans.

T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University presided over the joint session with the Southern Historical Association on the subject of "Southern Scholarship." Roger W. Shugg of the University of Chicago reviewed the relationship of "University Presses and Southern Scholarship." There are few if any commercial publishers in the South; the university presses are the only agency that can fill the South's publishing needs. Of one thousand books reviewed in the *Journal of Southern History* within a given period, over five hundred were published by university presses. The leading southern presses were discussed in terms of the problems and functions of university press publishing. Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University read a paper on "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and the Image of the South." Conceding Phillips' contributions and craftsmanship, he contended that the Georgian had several serious shortcomings. Phillips identified himself with the planter class and the states' rights program and was influenced by concepts of racial superiority. In commenting on the papers, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina said that the university presses at times concentrated on subjects that were too local and that they tended to avoid current issues. Questioning the view that Phillips was the spokesman of the planters, he pointed out that in his time data on other social classes was not available. A lively discussion from the floor followed.

The session on "Business Failures in American History" presided over by Edward C. Kirkland of Bowdoin College presented papers on the downfall of two business titans, Nicholas Biddle and Samuel Insull. Entirely aside from their separation of a century in time, the circumstances of the two instances presented more differences than similarities. Thomas P. Govan of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church read the paper on "The Fall of the House of Biddle, 1841." After a brief survey of Biddle's earlier experiences in the Jackson period, Govan focused on Biddle's efforts to keep the banks and economy going through the successive crises of the late thirties and early forties. He narrowly missed gaining the time essential for saving the economy. On the other hand, Forrest McDonald of the American History Research Center, in discussing "The Fall of the House of Insull, 1932," interpreted this business leader as somewhat naïve in the realm of finance. Insull was portrayed as essentially a man interested in operation and management, and his great utility companies in the Midwest were conservatively capitalized and soundly run. The fear that other capitalists would secure control of his utility empire drove Insull into the complexities of his holding companies. The commentator, Peter J. Coleman of Washington University, thought further research and more fruitful synthesis was essential for an understanding of business failure.

The question of "Progressivism and American Education" was reviewed in the joint session with the History of Education Society under the chairmanship

of Merle L. Borrowman of the University of Wisconsin. Lawrence A. Cremin of Columbia University presented an analysis of "Progressivism and American Education, 1890-1920" which demonstrated that a study of the relationship of school reform to other social reform during this period yields a more adequate understanding of both progressivism in general and of progressive education in particular. He documented his argument by citations showing the very close parallel between new pedagogical doctrines and the view of the ideal community held by agrarian reformers, settlement house workers, industrial reformers, and political reformers. Robert H. Beck of the University of Minnesota, in his paper on "Progressivism and American Education, 1920-1940," argued that the progressive education movement in this period, while not denying the community emphasis of the earlier era, turned its primary attention to the development of individual creativity through play and other self-expressive activity. He illustrated his point by giving rather detailed descriptions of the educational experiments of Margaret Naumberg and Caroline Pratt. He maintained that the newer progressive educators identified themselves with the literary and artistic *avant garde* rather than with political reformers. Robert A. Lively of Princeton University centered his comments on a distinction between the definition of "progressive" implicit in the two papers. The second paper, he maintained, had used a far more specialized definition relevant only to the specific pedagogical practices of people calling themselves progressive educators, whereas the kind of reform sentiment that marked the earlier period continued to exist in the 1920's and flourished in the 1930's. Where, he asked, were the progressive educators when the New Dealers were remaking American life and sharply influencing American education through such activities as NYA and the CCC? General comment from the floor supported this view that during the 1920's and 1930's the pedagogical reformers were cut off from the more powerful elements in general social reform.

The session of "Theodore Roosevelt, Progressivism, and the Corporation," was held under the chairmanship of John M. Blum of Yale University in the absence of Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin. In discussing "The Antitrust Law, 1901-1909," Arthur M. Johnson of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration argued that Theodore Roosevelt's substitution of the "uncertainty of executive . . . discretion" for the "certainty of law and the orderliness of legal processes," his use of moral rather than economic standards in judging business, the unevenness of his antitrust policy, and the lack of restraint in his attacks on his critics created "unnecessary hostility among businessmen" but helped "to counter demands for more drastic action" and thus "left the large corporation as the dominant feature of the American business scene and its managers with increased awareness of their social responsibilities." In his paper on "The Anticorporation Movement and Progressivism: The Case of the South," Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of Vanderbilt University attributed southern antimonopoly sentiment to the legacy of the agrarian revolt, the demands of

southern commercial interests, and "the widespread revulsion against the alliance of corporate wealth and conservative political factions." The anticorporation movement "served as the rallying point for progressive politics in the South," but the goals it achieved were modest for southern progressive leaders, while against big business, were not antibusiness, and were careful not to discourage northern investment. In a commentary that provoked gentle but gratifying dissention, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology first asked why the urban middle class in the South was "so much more concerned about the older railroads than about the new industrials," and then noted that during the Progressive era "few men understood the nature of oligopoly or made a distinction between oligopoly and monopoly. . . ."

An intimate and eloquent account of "The Resettlement Idea," a neglected aspect of the New Deal, was presented in the address of Rexford G. Tugwell of Greenbelt, Maryland, at the luncheon session of the Agricultural History Society, under the chairmanship of Harry J. Carman of Columbia University. The Resettlement Administration of which the speaker himself was the administrator was established in 1935 and existed with its original name and functions for three years. Its large plan soon met with opposition from many sides. The lobbying organizations of the more prosperous farmers convinced the Congress that their less successful neighbors did not deserve aid; private builders opposed the construction of suburbs with public funds; and public sentiment as reflected in the press opposed federal intervention in the private affairs of the destitute. This narrative of social organization, political opposition, and eventual defeat was presented for the lessons that it offered to posterity, and these were summarized with a wisdom from which bitterness had long since been distilled. Judicious administration and political astuteness are necessary if such ventures are to succeed, but mere caution is no virtue.

VIII

Several sessions were devoted to the history of the close neighbors of the United States. At the luncheon session of the Conference on Latin American History, under the chairmanship of John Tate Lanning of Duke University, George M. Addy of Brigham Young University read a paper on "The University of Salamanca and the Spanish Enlightenment." The reform of the University of Salamanca in 1771 is usually considered to have been imposed upon the institution by the enlightened ministers of Charles III. This interpretation overlooks the fact that a generation earlier some members of the cloister made strenuous efforts to reform. When the medical faculty's plan met opposition in the full cloister, the faculty appealed to Madrid. This appeal engendered the reform measures of the Council of Castile. The influence of the Enlightenment upon the reform is clearly seen in the advanced plans offered by the faculties of medi-

cine and art. The application of the plan of studies of 1771 encountered little opposition on the intellectual plane. Rather, hostility to reform crystallized around the efforts of the cloister to preserve its remaining shreds of autonomy and the salaries and perquisites of the professors. Thus, if the University of Salamanca is any indication, historians should at last take note of the desire for reform and enlightenment that surged up from within long-standing Spanish institutions. "Bourbon reform" is a convenient chronological term. It by no means indicates the source of the ferment of the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Spain.

The joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association on "The Enlightenment and the Church in Latin America," was presided over by John Francis Bannon, S. J., of St. Louis University. John Tate Lanning of Duke University opened his discussion of the relationship of the universities to the Enlightenment with the observation that the American scholar in the field of Hispanic culture must give as much attention to the bias of his public as to his research. He must demolish many myths. Within the universities both the lay professors and the clerics gave enthusiastic backing to many of the aspects of the Enlightenment, such as the development of useful knowledge, interest in scientific research, and the propagation of new medical discoveries. When opposition to the Enlightenment appeared, it was either on the grounds of a dogmatic position or by clerical groups. Karl M. Schmitt of the University of Texas analyzed the attitude of the clergy proper toward the Enlightenment in Mexico, Argentina, and Colombia. He noted that even though there was no unanimity among the clergy, the churchmen still played a major role in introducing and spreading "enlightened" doctrines in philosophy, science, economics, and politics. Few churchmen, he noted, supported or opposed the movement *in toto*; there was a large measure of eclecticism. In his comments, Clement G. Motten of Temple University reiterated the necessity of breaking down existing but unfounded beliefs regarding the position of the established intellectual forces, the university and the clergy, in eighteenth-century Latin America.

The centenary of the death of William H. Prescott was appropriately commemorated at the joint session with the Conference on Latin American Studies presided over by Thomas F. McGann of the University of Texas in the absence of Clarence H. Haring of Harvard University. C. Harvey Gardiner of Southern Illinois University presented a three-pronged approach in his "Prescott and the World." First, Prescott's masterworks were viewed in terms of the evolving scholarship of the past century. Next, Gardiner dissolved certain myths attached to Prescott, among them the belief that his pursuit of materials was exhaustive. Finally, Gardiner enlarged knowledge of the Boston historian by revealing Prescott's intense "promotion" of his books, his assistance to an influence on United States and Latin American historians, and his ultimate achievement—the broadening of the American mind to a more just understanding of Spanish-

American history. Guillermo Céspedes of the Universidad de Sevilla evaluated Prescott with words of admiration and gratitude for his lifelong work in the history of Spain, but also with criticism of Prescott's considerable flaws visible in the perspective of over a century. The solid content of Prescott's studies was in part a function of his good fortune in approaching those archives at a moment when they were first opened to the investigator and when extensive documentary collections had been made by Spanish historians. He also commented on the excessive formalism and passion for Plutarchian parallels in Prescott's style, and the shallowness of his knowledge of Spanish Moslem and American indigenous history. The commentator, Wilfrid H. Callicott of the University of South Carolina, after welcoming both papers as valid and complementary contributions to the knowledge of Prescott, introduced other considerations, especially contemporary literary influences on Prescott's style.

The session on "Nationalism and Regionalism in Recent Canadian History" met under the chairmanship of W. L. Morton of the University of Manitoba. In his paper on "Nationalism in Canadian History," D. G. Creighton developed the theme that Canadian historians in the past generation have come to see the development of a Canadian national spirit as being the result of neither an anti-British nor an anti-American animus, but as a positive Canadian achievement. This perception arises from a profounder analysis of Canadian history than the past had known, and in particular from the work of the late H. A. Innis. On the countertheme of "Regionalism in Canadian History," George F. G. Stanley of the Royal Military College of Canada described the extent and inevitability of regional historical writing in Canada. He pointed out how in the recent past much of this writing had been the work of professional historians who wrote in no parochial spirit, but had made regional history a reinforcement of national history. In commenting, Guy Frégault of the Université de Montréal deplored the perhaps excessive concern of Canadians with nationalism. Regionalism, he argued, is of more than one kind. There are metropolitan regions and hinterland regions and the two must not be treated as though they were one. In discussion, the last point was underscored.

IX

Some of the best-attended sessions were concerned with professional problems of general interest to historians. At the session on "The Profession of the Historian in Past Centuries," over which William H. Coates of the University of Rochester presided, two distinct approaches to the topic were made. Leonard Krieger of Yale University, speaking on "History and Law: Pufendorf," showed how significant for historiography were certain aspects of seventeenth-century intellectual history, particularly the writings of jurists who espoused both law and history. Of these Pufendorf was the most representative. He gave an

empirical cast to natural law doctrine and he used *raison d'état* so as to provide a criterion common to his legal and historical works. John Clive of Harvard University, in his paper on "History and the Historian: Macaulay," observed that the Macaulay letters and journals at Trinity College, Cambridge, leave unchanged the main features of Sir George Trevelyan's Macaulay. But behind the appearance of Macaulay's cocksureness the papers disclose unhappiness at school, conflict with his father, occasional bouts of depression, and a delicate sensibility. They also reveal Macaulay as a shrewd observer of men and manners, with a delight in the drama and pageantry of history in the making, and a highly developed fantasy life which sharpened his historical imagination. In his comments Fritz Stern of Columbia University raised some doubts about Krieger's opening remarks concerning the implications of autonomy for history and about Clive's psychological analysis. In the main, however, Stern thought that each paper was appropriate to its subject and consonant with its sources.

The joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European Studies was devoted to "Russian History in Undergraduate Education," with Robert F. Byrnes of Indiana University presiding. John M. Thompson of the Social Science Research Council, in his paper on "Teaching Russian History," first summarized briefly his discoveries concerning the treatment of non-Western areas in undergraduate education in the Indiana colleges. He proposed a number of practical remedies, including establishment of a fellowship program for faculty members who have not had an opportunity to undertake specialized study of Russia; in a determined effort by administrators to appoint instructors with "double-competence"; agreement that graduate history departments should offer courses in Russian history taught by a trained specialist and that every graduate student majoring in European history should devote some study to the history of Russia and Eastern Europe; and greater attention to Russia and other non-Western areas in American secondary education. George B. Carson, Jr., of the Service Center for Teachers of History then discussed "Interpreting Russian History." He emphasized that scholarship and instruction should not concentrate on modern Russian history, and he supported the comparative historical approach and acceptance of coexistence. Ralph T. Fisher of the University of Illinois concentrated his comments upon the first paper, suggesting several other practical methods by which Russian history could be introduced effectively into undergraduate education. In the general discussion, the idea of accepting coexistence with the USSR met with considerable criticism. General agreement was expressed with the practical suggestions made, although some believed no one should teach Russian history who did not know Russian and who had not had intensive training.

"The Implications of Photocopy and Microfilm for the Scholar" was the subject of a session led by Robert B. Eckles of Purdue University. William Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist of Canada, discussed "The Scholar and His Use of

Microfilm" from the point of view of the administrative archivist. The growth recently in the quantity of microfilm available and requested presents to the librarian and archivist certain old problems and a few new ones. Discussion ranged over the restrictions of donors on source material and the dangers to be found in copying microfilm materials that might come under the copyright laws. Legal and moral problems of the librarian were said to have been made more acute by the requests for reproduction of parts of microfilm collections. The use of sources by graduate students to the detriment of more mature scholarship was also a problem that microfilm has imposed on librarians. Who should be allowed first use, or be given privileges, the graduate student or the established scholar? The paper by Richard W. Hale, Jr., of Boston University was a description of the forthcoming "Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada." Hale described the book as one listing primarily manuscripts and imprints to be found in the archives and libraries of both countries. He described briefly the organization as that of accepted guides to historical sources. Verner W. Clapp of the Council of Library Resources, commenting on the two papers, expressed the view that the "Guide" should meet a great need for information and a more correct listing of sources in photocopy. He described problems of the archivist in listing and in making available sources in microfilm. He also advocated the increased use of photocopied materials by scholars. One obstacle was the failure to develop a viewer that could be purchased cheaply and then easily used in the home or office. Discussion from the floor reflected the feeling that microfilm need not necessarily increase the difficulties of the librarian and archivist. Regarding the "Guide," the need was stressed for a careful definition of collections and categories of manuscripts.

"Documenting Central European History" was the subject of the joint session of the Conference Group for Central European History, of which Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia was chairman. Paul R. Sweet, United States Editor-in-Chief of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, summarized the status of this tripartite project. To date eleven volumes have been published in the English translation series and eight additional volumes are in preparation. These nineteen volumes will cover the period 1933-1941. Extensive microfilming has been accomplished outside the years covered by the published series, making the total collection "more accessible for historical study than any comparable collection of European foreign office papers." Gerhard Weinberg of the University of Kentucky spoke on "Nazi Party and Military Records," with particular reference to the cooperative program of microfilming that the American Historical Association and the National Archives at the World War II Records Division in Alexandria, Virginia, are conducting. Under this program, begun in 1956 and supported by foundations, over three million pages of documents have been filmed. Data sheets are prepared for each film roll. Positive copies of the filmed

materials and the mimeographed guides are distributed by the National Archives. Commenting on the impression left by work with this mass of documentation, he described the impact as "depressing" because "the depravity of the system . . . infected all areas of German life." "The Hapsburg Archives" was the title of the paper presented by Friedrich Engel-Janosi, of Catholic University of America. The first Austrian archives were a part of the dynastic "Kunst und Wunderkammer," only later gaining separate identity as archival collections. September 13, 1749, is accounted the "birthday" of the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv," established by order of Maria Theresa. The present structure and organization of the Austrian archives date from 1945, when the five principal divisions were grouped to form the "Österreichische Staatsarchiv." The speaker surveyed the principal resources of the archives for historians of Central Europe and indicated the losses and dispersals suffered in 1918 and during World War II. They are in order again, the speaker stated, and foreign scholars will find in the Staatsarchiv a warm welcome.

At the luncheon session of the Society of American Archivists, over which Oliver W. Holmes of the National Archives presided, Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University presented "Some Reflections on the Clark Manuscripts Case." Two federal courts have held that the manuscripts of William Clark produced during the course of the Lewis and Clark expedition, discovered in 1953 and still held *in camera* by the court, were created for purely personal reasons and that the federal government had no title to them. Judge Gunnar H. Nordbye, who delivered an opinion, did not rule on the government's claim that it had original title because these were records that an official wrote in the performance of duty and in consequence of orders. Gazing steadily past the facts and using two different premises for ascertaining the nature of documents that were essentially a chronological unit, the court pursued its object with Olympian intransigence. The important principle for which the government contended thus disappeared in a fog of legalism. What some hoped and others feared would become a landmark decision in the history of archival progress became a routine pronouncement on private property. The Archivist of the United States, disavowing any purpose to disturb those official records preserved and made accessible in responsible institutions but refusing to compromise with those who would make merchandise of federal records, did not initiate the litigation and had no legal alternative but to assert the public claim when the issue was forced upon him. The issue remains and requires legal definition. When it arises, it is to be hoped that the courts will reject the doctrine of utility developed by Judge Nordbye and that the Archivist of the United States will call upon the American Historical Association to appoint a committee of representative persons, including lawyers, to agree upon and persuade others to adopt equitable procedures that would accommodate legitimate private interest and public right.

X

The annual dinner of the Association drew the usual large attendance, with Leonard Carmichael of the Smithsonian Institution serving as toastmaster.

This was the occasion for the announcement by Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association, of the recipients of the prizes and awards offered by the American Historical Association for distinguished historical writing. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for a monograph in the field of European history was awarded to Arthur Wilson of Dartmouth College for his *Diderot: The Testing Years*; with honorable mention to Andreas Dorpalen of Ohio State University for his *Heinrich Treitschke*. The George Louis Beer Prize for the best work on European international history since 1895 was awarded to Victor Mamatey of Florida State University for *The United States and East Central Europe*; with honorable mention to James W. Morley of Columbia University for *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia, 1918*. The Albert J. Beveridge Award for the best original manuscript in the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada went to Paul Conkin of Southwestern Louisiana Institute, for his "Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program"; with honorable mention to Howard Zinn of Spelman College for his "Conscience of the Jazz Age: Fiorello La Guardia in Congress." The John H. Dunning Prize for a monograph in American history was awarded to Marvin Meyers of the University of Chicago for *The Jacksonian Persuasion*; with honorable mention to Robert Bremner of Ohio State University for his *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States*, and to Robert D. Cross of Swarthmore College for *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*. The Watumull Prize for a work on the history of India published in the United States was awarded to William Theodore de Bary of Columbia University and his collaborators for their edition of *Sources of the Indian Tradition*.

The main event of the evening was the address of Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas, President of the Association, who selected as his theme "History as High Adventure." His sparkling, personal narrative, warmly received by his colleagues, was published in the January, 1959, issue of *The American Historical Review*.

In concluding his report of the 1958 meeting, the Program Chairman wishes to express his gratitude to the Executive Secretary, Boyd C. Shafer, and to the many members of the Association who gave generously of their time as members of the Committees on Program and on Local Arrangements and as participants in the program.

Princeton University

C. E. BLACK

THE YEAR'S BUSINESS, 1958

REPORT FOR 1958 OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
AND MANAGING EDITOR

As historians our ideal is dispassionate search for truth about the past, the past as it was, the past as the foundation of our own societies. As a profession our first concern is always to see that this inquiry goes on, that our understanding of the past and hence of the present may deepen. In our present society, how do we fare? Is it wise, even mandatory, for us once more to reexamine and reevaluate, as Thucydides did and many a historian since has done, our functions, our responsibilities, our duties?

The first fact about our present society that strikes the eye is that it is affluent. It can afford huge athletic stadiums, chromium-covered, power-packed automobiles, and intercontinental, perhaps interplanetary, missiles. The second fact that strikes the historian is that historians still work in an economy of scarcity. We who do research, teach, and write cannot reach our potentialities because our funds for research, for books, documents, and manuscripts, for travel, for publication, and for graduate fellowships are limited.

Possibly the reasons for our relative poverty in the midst of abundance lie deep in our culture. Possibly pragmatic Americans, desirous of creature comforts, do not highly value history. Possibly frontier-minded Americans would rather examine outer space than peer into the murky depths of the past. But possibly, too, we historians have not clearly made known our needs and the values of historical study. Possibly we have not adjusted our thinking and our activities to the present affluent society. Possibly, seeing the consequences of affluence, we are not (and perhaps should not be) eager to share it in every respect.

We historians and this Association, it must be affirmed immediately, have been afforded support by our society. More historians are teaching more history than ever before. More books called historical are being published and a goodly number of these are significant historical works. Foundation grants are going to historians and to historical groups such as this Association. Though our personal incomes lag behind the national averages and those of other professions, in the material aspects of our lives we are better off than the historians among our ancestors.

We must also note that we as scholars do not ordinarily desire much in the way of personal material goods. Every material possession requires care and all except books, historical artifacts, documents, manuscripts, and writing materials take time from historical learning. In the United States many families, including those of professors, have a house surrounded by a yard, but grass, shrubbery, lawnmowers, clippers, and sprays are all enemies of the intellect. And so are many of the gadgets of the affluent society that consume and waste time—the TV sets,

for example, on which appear programs aimed at the adolescent and the mediocre in order to promote mass consumption, which in turn consumes more time. What we individually want to do as scholars is pursue historical studies as our own intelligence, conscience, and will demand, and to render a service by our teaching and our publications that brings understanding of the past to our fellow citizens. Do we as scholars acquire many material things or allow them to dominate us, we impair our scholarship. If we even acquire in great numbers what we as historical scholars value most, books, we risk the danger of being smothered under the details of indexes and catalogues that face and bedevil the librarians. Perhaps the intellectual in fifth-century Athens could produce his marvelous works precisely because he desired little in the way of material goods and hence could devote himself to study and reflection.

In our reflective moods we admit all this and believe that we, on the whole and in spite of poverty, live good lives, lives we would not trade for those of automotive magnates with their Cadillac-size salaries. Our fellows may poke fun at scholars, but our society gives us or allows us to earn a living doing research, writing, teaching, and reading history. And to do these things is to have fun, to be creative, and even to be useful. One danger, indeed, may be that scholarship will be swallowed up in the waves of merchandise pouring off assembly lines, and blatantly jammed into our homes by radio and television.

Do we want to be affluent, then, if affluency merely means material wealth? The answer is, of course, no. For ourselves we want affluence insofar as it promotes scholarship. We do not want riches if they destroy our reason for being, the dispassionate search for truth about the past. And so before we try to be affluent, we must ask about consequences. Suppose we should obtain governmental aid in the large amounts now going to scientists. To what extent would we have to give up our freedom to think, to be critical, to write and teach history? Suppose we should be able to obtain huge foundation grants by talking about "experimental studies on the frontiers of thought," will these grants be for what we historians know to be of first importance, the recovery of the past so that men of the present may better be able to understand themselves? Suppose, by some miracle, that we obtain the salaries we know we deserve, will there be a *quid pro quo*? Would in every respect this be *pro bono publico* of the historical community?

Still, when we think of the millions devoted to scientific research, of the tens of millions spent on recreation, of the billions allotted to the national defense, we historians cannot but conclude that we work in an economy of unnecessary and undesirable scarcity. Our needs for funds for research, for publication, for graduate fellowships, for the improvement of instruction in the secondary schools are far from being met. If only we had the means, we could do so much more to provide our society with the quality of historical insights it ought to possess.

To state this truism is to indulge in a generality with which we will all agree quickly, perhaps too quickly.

When I was a young man I wrote a wonderful plea for liberal education. At least I thought it was wonderful, until I sent it to a friend for comment. He replied in substance, "All you say is easy to say. But how, specifically, can we reach these wonderful general goals, goals to which, incidentally, no one will object? What is necessary is not platitudes but concrete suggestions. When we begin to talk in terms of what can actually be accomplished, of specific ways and means, then we meet the difficult obstacles. The 'how' is the tough question."

What we can accomplish depends much more upon the human resources than upon the material. Here we fare more abundantly, though the problem of how best to use our manpower has no easy answer. We all must concentrate upon our own work, earning our own living. Few of us can afford to give much time to what might be called the public historical interest, and it must be said that a few do not or will not give any time. But there are enough of us with energy, will, and public spirit to hope that we may improve the quality of historical work in America. At this moment, with the human resources we have, we can reasonably expect to move forward if we can somehow adjust to the affluent society.

To most of us the financial aspects of our work are distasteful. Rightly or wrongly—and I think rightly—we have not occupied ourselves much with mundane affairs. Yet historical training and research are not inexpensive and require substantial financial public support from taxes, from Medici-minded patrons, or from modern foundations. Before more public support can be obtained, however, we need to know more definitely than we have what we would now like to do.

Foremost in the minds of many historians is research resulting in publication. Is it time to look hard at fundamental questions? Is it time to ask once more why we so much stress research? What is it that we wish to accomplish? When I was younger I thought in positivist fashion that all we had to do was to get all the facts, fill in the gaps, and then write definitive histories, and that all this was only a matter of time and the expenditure of energy. Then the experiences of my own research and the emergence of philosophic relativism had their effect. As I grow older I become less certain, more skeptical about the chances of success. The records of the past are partial, spotty, and too often scanty. We mortals are limited in our capabilities and our energies as well as in the number of our productive years. We cannot recover more than a part of the past. When we are able to fill in gaps, others appear. If we recover the facts, their meanings change. The interpretations of today slide into those of tomorrow and those of tomorrow. Moreover, conditioned by history and our own times as we historians are, can we escape, stand outside, and write "objectively"? To write a "definitive" history that lasts as a definitive work more than twenty years, a historian would have to possess supernatural powers and none whom I know does. Nevertheless, we

must strive toward an intelligent understanding of the past, for the present needs this understanding. Indeed, without it the present is meaningless.

The goal is lofty, a full and faithful representation of the past and an intelligent understanding of it so that contemporary men may understand themselves. As historians we can have no higher ideal; and though we may never attain it, our efforts to reach it must never cease. But with this as our goal, is our present research unnecessarily and unwisely fragmented? Are there any kinds of teamwork we should try? Are there any patterns for research we should seek or establish? Would any collective enterprise or any pattern restrict our individual imaginations and limit our freedom of inquiry?

Individually or collectively, where should we now press our researches? What fields of history need strengthening? If some do, how shall we move to strengthen them? Shall it be as we are doing in South Asian history under the leadership of Professor Holden Furber, by the provision of visiting professors from the areas concerned? If this is one good way, what are others? Again, can we learn more than we have supposed from the social sciences, the other humanities, and the natural sciences? Once historians thought that they could learn from the techniques and methods of the last. Now we think that we can learn from the anthropologists and psychologists. But can we go beyond or behind the generalities? Can we learn more than the few vague generalities we have so far gleaned? Or is the study of history a separate and independent discipline? Will false analogies from the social sciences lead us astray as those from the natural sciences almost did?

To ask these questions is not to answer them. Questions come first, but they can be answered not by contemplative rhetoric but only through consideration of concrete problems. The tough concrete "how" must be faced in every and any case. When and how shall we again make the forward thrusts? It has been twenty-six years since an Association committee, headed by Langer and Schlesinger, published *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities*. Should not the profession begin once more to put its individual minds and its collective intelligence to the task of describing our research needs and opportunities?

Research is one of our activities. The education of young historians is another. We want the best students and the best training for them. Are we getting our share of them in these days of competition for the "high level" students? And are we preparing them not only for research but for effective teaching? To answer these questions and others our Committee on Graduate Education, headed by Professor Dexter Perkins, has begun a comprehensive study. The first questionnaires have just gone out and the Committee's representative, Professor John Snell of Tulane University, will soon begin visits to various departments about the country. We anticipate an enlightening report sometime in 1960, a report

that we hope will lead the way to further studies of the whole of our education as historians.

On a different level and in a different way we are attacking, with the guidance of a committee led by Professor Sidney Painter, the problems of the high school in the teaching of history. As these lines are being written, we have published fifteen pamphlets summarizing recent research and listing accessible authorities in the various fields of history. At least ten more pamphlets are to come. These pamphlets, produced by the Service Center of the Association and edited by its director, Dr. George Carson, are designed to help high school teachers. They have been warmly received by the teachers and others. Their circulation now totals over 100,000 and will undoubtedly go to twice this number. The Service Center, too, has arranged for more than a dozen highly successful conferences of high school teachers and professional historians. Although the individual consultant service of the Center has not been widely used, the Center has, by and large, fulfilled our hopes for it. We have recognized the high school teachers as individuals with scholarly interests. We have provided them with a place to go for information and with "content" for their high school courses. We have begun "to bridge the gap." Our major problem is whether funds will be forthcoming to continue our service when the present Ford grant expires in July, 1959.

Research and teaching both require bibliographies. Our new *Guide to Historical Literature*, so intelligently conceived by Dr. George Howe and his committee and so constantly pushed by the central editor, William C. Davis, ought to be published in the fall of 1959. Our "Guide to Photocopied Materials of Interest to Historians" is also likely to be published in 1959, if the strenuous work of its editor, Dr. Richard Hale, Jr., and the constant interest of our Committee on Documentary Reproduction, headed by Professor Robert B. Eckles, meet no serious obstacles. In the joint British-American project for British Bibliographies, Professor Conyers Read's revision of his Tudor volume is in press, Professor Edgar Graves is well along with the medieval volume to take the place of the well-known Gross, and Dean Mary Frear Keeler is deeply involved in the new volume on the Stuart period. In the near future work may begin in the Library of Congress on a monumental Register of Manuscripts in the United States. We in the Association have long urged that such a register be started, and the Executive Secretary participated in recent planning conferences for it.

Behind bibliographies are documents and manuscripts, in these days either original or photographically reproduced. I can state, on the basis of the report from the committee which Professor Oron Hale now heads, that all the worthwhile German Foreign Office documents that were in England have been photographed, and that in the United States we continue to microfilm in large numbers the German war records at the Alexandria Record Center. The rate of screening, describing, and filming has been approximately a thousand feet a year, or a million frames. For many of the photographed German records the

National Archives has issued mimeographed indexes, and it will issue others. Covering the German documents in England, a catalogue, prepared under our auspices with the guidance of Professor Howard Ehrmann, will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press. For one other cooperative filming project—that of the Library of Congress and the Association for photographing selected foreign documents, catalogues, and indexes—the Library has been unable to obtain new funds. It may be that Section N of Public Law 480, enacted in September, 1958, will make federal funds available to the Library of Congress for the acquisition of books, documents, and photocopied materials of interest to scholars, but the policies of the federal government under this law have not yet been firmly established.

Our other activities, our more usual activities, continue without diminution. This year we will announce the winners of the Beveridge Award (Professor Frederick Tolles, Committee chairman), the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize (Professor Harold Grimm, Committee chairman), the John H. Dunning Prize (Professor Earl Pomeroy, Committee chairman), and the Watumull Prize (Professor Robert Crane, Committee chairman). In order to relieve the burdens of the prize committees we will also need to revise further the criteria for the prizes. For the Adams Prize, by way of illustration, we should ask the Committee to define quite precisely the types of books that may be submitted. We should, in addition, consider for the Beveridge Award an occasional decrease from fifteen hundred to a thousand in the size of our printings. Few scholarly books sell in larger numbers.

Some of our usual activities, as should be expected, involve cooperation with historians throughout the world. This year the activity in the international field was not only happy but unusual. The Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences met for the first time in the United States. With funds from the Ford Foundation, the Association sponsored the Bureau's visit, October 5-17. The American members of the Bureau, Professor Donald C. McKay and Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland (serving his last year as chairman of our International Historical Activities Committee), together with the Executive Secretary, accompanied the Bureau members as they met and as they visited from Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Washington, D. C. Traveling by bus, the party stopped and was entertained at Harvard, Yale, Amherst, Mt. Holyoke, Columbia, Smith, Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Catholic University of America, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Folger Library, and the Association headquarters. Individual members of the Bureau also lectured in the Middle West and the South. Under the leadership of Sir Charles Webster, the Bureau not only accomplished its major task, the preparations for the 1960 Stockholm meeting, but saw something of the haunts and habitats of American scholars. The warm letters we have since received from the various members of the Bureau should make us believe that international cooperation, of this kind

at least, can be effective, and should give a glow of satisfaction to Waldo Leland and Donald McKay, who shouldered much of the burden.

Another profitable and pleasant international historical meeting occurred in Austin, Texas, November 3-6, when the University of Texas, with other sponsoring groups including the Association, was host to the Second Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico. With other historians from Australia, Brazil, Canada, England, France, and various parts of the United States, some thirty Mexican historians took part in six scholarly sessions devoted to Mexican and United States history and to the theme of President Walter Prescott Webb's book *The Great Frontier*.

As you may annually expect, I shall now turn to concrete questions that more narrowly concern our own *Review* and Association. The *Review* is now in its sixty-third volume. Last year its 1,182 pages included twelve articles and six "Notes and Suggestions," 251 long reviews and 363 book notices, 130 pages listing significant historical articles in all fields of history, 107 covering historical news, and a forty-five-page index. To edit and publish the *Review* is an arduous task. Only its editors know how arduous it is, while only its readers know how well, or the opposite, the task is performed. We would like to publish longer reviews of some books than we do. From the 168 articles submitted last year, we would have liked to have accepted more than we did. But we have a space problem. We cannot, at this time, enlarge the *Review*; we can only allocate our space differently. Because we have been able to save a bit of space through double columns for the lists of articles and books received, we have been able to give more space to a few reviews. We are constantly trying to improve the quality of the articles and the reviews and to enliven without cheapening the style of writing. Dr. Mary R. Dearing (Ph.D., American history, University of Wisconsin, 1938) has just become Assistant Editor of the *Review* as well as Assistant Executive Secretary of the Association. Authors, reviewers, and many of our members will be meeting her and corresponding with her.

One new publication, the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations*, prepared by Dr. Dearing, is just off the press. This *List*, in preventing duplication of effort and in surveying historical work in progress, performs a useful service. Perhaps we should issue it annually instead of triennially. In our office we maintain the Job Register, which registers applicants for positions and sends out vita forms to prospective employers. From December 27, 1957, to December 1, 1958, we received inquiries from some seventy institutions seeking to fill about ninety positions. At the end of November of this year the Job Register contained the vita forms of over four hundred historians. How many obtained positions through our service, we have, except in rare cases, no way of knowing. We do know that some did and that historians and institutions use the service. As big enrollments hit the colleges and universities, it may be that the demand will far exceed the supply and that the colleges, universities, and governmental agencies will experience difficulties

in filling vacancies and new positions. During the coming year we may need to reexamine our procedures and to initiate some changes in our methods of handling the Job Register.

We have had, our Treasurer tells us, a good year financially. I do not soon expect as good a year. Costs, all costs, are mounting rapidly. Owing to the increase in postal rates, our postage charges alone will probably total two thousand dollars more than last year. Salaries are going up because of inflation, and to obtain and to keep good people we shall need to pay good salaries. Again, we cannot always expect to be as effective as we have been in starting special projects, such as that in graduate education, and in obtaining funds to finance them. When costs mount during the coming year, we must try to understand why. I may be wrong, and I am unhappy about it, but perhaps we shall have to consider an increase in dues. The Association's membership dues are among the lowest of comparable groups. The American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the Modern Language Association have all gone to ten dollars a year and are considering going higher. In an affluent society, we cannot accomplish our aims unless we, too, are touched by affluence.

The question remains: What can we do to make the desires of historians known and their needs felt? Whatever we do, we will not barter away, even for large sums and subsidies, our freedom to think, to do research, and to write as our professional standards demand. We will not seek or accept money to promote any cause except that of historical scholarship. Whether or not we live in an affluent society, whether or not we ourselves become affluent, we will strive only for a full and faithful representation of the past and an intelligent understanding of it.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
DECEMBER 27, 1958, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Walter Prescott Webb, President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Crane Brinton, Mildred L. Campbell, James B. Hedges, W. Stull Holt, Robert R. Palmer, Stanley Pargellis, Councilors; Louis Gottschalk, Dexter Perkins, and William L. Langer, former Presidents.

The Executive Secretary of the Association opened the meeting and presided until President Webb, delayed en route, arrived a few minutes after 10:00 a.m.

The Council approved the minutes of the 1958 meeting as published in the April, 1958, issue of *The American Historical Review* (841-47).

Since the report of the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review* had been sent to the Council, it was not read. The Executive Secretary

reported in addition that the total membership has increased from 7,024 to 7,642; that the student membership, which the Association has partly subsidized, now totals over eight hundred; that the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* had just come off the press and was available at the nominal cost of \$1.50; and that the Library of Congress had announced the establishment of the National Register of Manuscripts, a major scholarly enterprise for which the Association has long worked.

The Treasurer of the Association, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, analyzed his report for 1957-1958. He noted that because of a singular combination of favorable circumstances, income had exceeded expenditures for 1957-1958, but that owing to increasing costs, in postage, for example, the financial situation would probably not be as favorable during the next two years. Dean Kayser also stressed the fact that over half of the Association's present funds are restricted as to their use, since they are allocated to specific and not general purposes.

The Executive Secretary and the Treasurer reported on the budgets for 1958-1959 and 1959-1960. They pointed out that while income exceeded expenditures in 1957-1958, a deficit would be possible in 1959-1960. The Council approved minor expenditures exceeding budgeted items for 1957-1958, these having been previously approved by the Finance Committee. It also approved an increase in the annuity for the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, the establishment of a sinking fund for the Association's property at 400 A Street, S.E., increases in the salaries of headquarters staff members; a new provision for the travel expenses of members of the Council and the Board of Editors at their annual meetings; and, finally, the budget for 1958-1959 and the tentative budget for 1959-1960. Separately, the Council approved the establishment of a life insurance plan for staff members and asked the Finance Committee to prepare a pension plan.

The Council reelected the Executive Secretary and Managing Editor for the constitutional term of three years.

The Council approved a policy of sabbatical leave for the professional members of the staff.

Professor Robert A. Wilson of the University of California, Los Angeles, reported to the Council for the Pacific Coast Branch. He stated that the Branch was in good financial condition and estimated an attendance of four hundred at its meeting at Whittier College December 28-30. He added that the Pacific Coast Branch would meet in Salt Lake City in September, 1959, but would return to the regular December dates in 1960. The Council accepted the report.

The Executive Secretary, for the Committee on Committees, submitted nominations to the Council for additions and changes on the various Association committees. The committees for 1959 as approved are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William Hogan, Tulane University; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago; Gordon

Wright,* Stanford University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; Cyril E. Black, Princeton University; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois; Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; C. Easton Rothwell, Hoover Library; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*); Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Committee on the Guide to Historical Literature.—George F. Howe, Washington, D. C., chairman; Gray C. Boyce, Northwestern University; T. Robert S. Broughton, Bryn Mawr College; Howard F. Cline, Library of Congress; Sidney B. Fay, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Michael Kraus, City College of New York; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.—C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Frank Freidel, Harvard University; Walter Johnson,* University of Chicago.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Edward Younger, University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Richard W. Leopold, Northwestern University; Maurice Matloff, Washington, D. C.; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Cornell University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on Honorary Members.—Paul Clyde, Duke University, chairman; Lynn M. Case,* University of Pennsylvania; Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University; Oscar Halecki, Fordham University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Washington; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Arthur P. Whitaker University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Waldo Gifford Leland, Washington, D. C.; John Curtiss, Duke University; Chester Easum, University of Wisconsin; Franklin Ford,* Harvard University; Martin R. P. McGuire, Catholic University of America; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on the Job Register.—Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey C. Land, University of Maryland; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California, Berkeley; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; John J. Biggs, Jr., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Julius

* New member this year.

Goebel, Columbia University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*); Joseph Smith, New York City.

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; David Owen, Harvard University; Earl Pritchard, University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Walter L. Dorn, Columbia University; Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan; Fritz Epstein, Library of Congress; Hans Gatzke, Johns Hopkins University; Reginald Phelps, Harvard University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on Teaching (Service Center for Teachers of History).—Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Nat B. Burbank, Boulder, Colorado; William Cartwright, Duke University; Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; Francis Keppel, Harvard University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*); Edith Starratt, Schenectady, New York.

Committee on Teaching Needs (Graduate Education).—Dexter Perkins, Cornell University, chairman; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University; Fred Harrington, University of Wisconsin; Edward Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Leonard Krieger, Yale University; Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association (*ex officio*).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University, chairman; John Hall Stewart, Western Reserve University; Richard Brace,* Northwestern University.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Carl E. Schorske, Wesleyan University, chairman; Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University; Henry Cord Meyer,* Pomona College.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, chairman; Douglass Adair,* Claremont Graduate School; Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Charles Gibson,* University of Iowa; Glyndon Van Deusen, University of Rochester.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, chairman; William Hogan, Tulane University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., University of California, Berkeley.

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning,
* New member this year.

Haverford, Pennsylvania, chairman; Giovanni Costigan, University of Washington; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University; Charles Mowat, University College of North Wales.

Committee on the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.—Charles Barker, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; John Higham, Rutgers University; Stow Persons, State University of Iowa; Frederick Rudolph, Williams College.

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan, chairman; Donald Grove Barnes, Western Reserve University; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

In response to requests from two chairmen of prize committees, the Council asked the respective prize committees to consider the criteria for the various prizes and to redefine the kinds of books and manuscripts that will be eligible for consideration. Because it has proved impossible to determine the full publication costs of Beveridge Award books over the years and because the limited sale of the Beveridge books in nearly all cases did not bring returns covering the cost of publication, the Council decided to eliminate the clause providing for 5 per cent royalty after publication in future Beveridge awards. After considerable discussion the Council decided to divert the income from the Association's Revolving Fund for Publication to the John H. Dunning Prize for five years, and to keep the capital of the Revolving Fund at its present level for this period. The Executive Secretary reported to the Council that a recent study made by the American Council of Learned Societies reveals a great need for publication funds only in special cases, such as for works too long for an article and too short for a book.

On the nomination of the Committee on Honorary Members, the Council elected to honorary membership Sir Lewis Namier, England; Professor Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, Turkey; and Dr. Silvio Zavala, Mexico.

The Council accepted a new definition of purpose for the Committee on Documentary Reproduction. It is as follows:

The purpose of this Committee is to reproduce or stimulate the reproduction of historical and archival materials of importance to scholars in microfilm, microprint, and other forms of photocopy and photoduplication. The Committee, in initiating, planning, and coordinating projects, shall cooperate with scholars and scholarly institutions in making these materials, as well as guides to them, available.

The Executive Secretary pointed out that the Library of Congress, under Public Law 480, Eighty-third Congress, may now have means to acquire scholarly materials from agricultural counterpart funds available in those countries to which the United States has shipped agricultural products. Acquisition policies, however, have not yet been firmly established and scholarly materials in countries to which the United States has not shipped agricultural products will not be obtainable under the provisions of this law.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Professor Leo Gershoy, New York University, to the Board of Editors of the *Review*.

The Council approved the nomination to the Business Meeting of the Association of Mr. W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., Vice-President of the United States Trust Company of New York City, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Association.

For the Association's delegate to the Social Science Research Council, the Council reelected Professor C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University. For the delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council elected Professor Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, to replace Professor Joseph Strayer, Princeton University, who had resigned because of other commitments.

For future meetings of the Association, the Council confirmed the reservations for the Conrad Hilton in Chicago for 1959 and the Statler in New York City for 1960. It asked the Executive Secretary and the Treasurer to determine the place of the next meeting in Washington in 1961. Because Association meetings are customarily arranged three years in advance, the Council took no action at this time on an invitation from the Pacific Coast Branch to meet on the Pacific Coast in 1962. The Council approved the appointment of Professor Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University as Program Chairman for 1959, and of Professor Paul Barton Johnson, Roosevelt University, as Local Arrangements Chairman for 1959.

The Executive Secretary reported on the activities and accomplishments of various Association projects now in operation. He stated that plans had been made to continue the Service Center for Teachers of History for another five years, and that with the approval of the Executive Committee a request for the necessary funds had gone to a foundation. The Council warmly and enthusiastically endorsed the work of the Service Center. After hearing of the work of the German War Documents Committee, the Council approved in principle a request for additional funds to continue reproduction of German war documents in Alexandria. The Executive Secretary spoke of the probable publication in 1959 of *The Guide to Historical Literature* and "The Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada." The Chairman of the Committee for the Study of Graduate Education in History, Dexter Perkins, reported that questionnaires had been mailed to graduate and undergraduate departments and that visits to colleges and universities would soon begin. Dr. Stanley Pargellis announced that, of the new British bibliographies, the new Tudor volume by Conyers Read will shortly be published; that the revision of the medieval volume by Edgar Graves was more than half finished, as was the Stuart volume by Dean Mary Frear Keeler; and that new editors, I. R. Christie and A. J. Taylor, had been appointed for the 1769-1852 volume.

The Executive Secretary described the visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences to the United States. He also stated that under

the sponsorship of the Association four professors from abroad will be at American universities, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Michigan, in 1958-1959 and 1959-1960 to teach South Asian history.

The Executive Secretary described the operation of the Association's Job Register. Approximately four hundred persons were registered as of December 1, 1958, and during the year the Register has been informed of ninety positions in about seventy institutions. He pointed out that there was no way to determine how many persons had found positions through the Job Register, though he was certain some had. He spoke of the large amount of time devoted by the staff to the Register and asked the Council to advise him on the continuation of the Register or changes in Register procedures. The Council expressed strong interest in the Register, asked that it be continued, and that the Association make the service more widely known. The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to make any changes in procedure that he believed advisable.

The Council extensively examined a proposal for a committee on needs and opportunities in research. While several Council members believed that the study would require much time and effort, the Council approved the appointment of a committee of five scholars, preferably young historians, to examine the proposal and to report.

A proposal from history department chairmen of the "Big Ten" institutions for the establishment of an increased number of scholarships in history was reported by Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago. Professor Gottschalk supported the proposal, declaring that fewer and smaller fellowships were available in history than in several other disciplines of equal or lesser importance, and that more fellowships must be provided if the profession was to obtain a sufficient number of able young men. The Council expressed interest in the proposal, although precise information and funds are not at present available. It asked that the proposal be referred to the Committee on Graduate Education and be given further consideration after the Committee completed its factual study, already under way.

A second proposal of the "Big Ten" chairmen, on foreign language teaching, was received with sympathetic attention. The Executive Secretary was asked to write a letter to the Commissioner of Education, Lawrence Derthick, in support of intensified school instruction at the secondary levels in the foreign languages.

A proposal of the Archivist of the United States for a "Jameson Travel Fund" to be used by scholars doing research in archival and manuscript depositories in the United States was tabled. The Council desired to honor the distinguished editor and historian J. Franklin Jameson on the hundredth anniversary of his birth (1959), but favored other means. The Council believed it would be difficult to obtain sufficient funds for and to administer small travel grants.

The Executive Secretary read a proposal of Professor James L. Sellers of the University of Nebraska for a "planning and supervisory council for history in

our schools." On the ground that the Association was at present helping the schools through its Service Center, and that the establishment of a supervisory council seemed neither desirable nor feasible, the council took no action.

A request of the Department of State for a historical advisory committee for the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History was approved. The Executive Secretary was asked to establish a committee of five.

The Council again considered a proposal for a televised course in American history. The Committee on Teaching had opposed the creation under Association auspices of such a course and had recommended special lectures on specific subjects by specialists. The Council agreed that a basic course in American history would not be advisable and also agreed with the Committee that it would be desirable to establish lectures by specialists. The Executive Secretary was asked to determine the opinion of the Fund for the Advancement of Education on this proposal.

The Council agreed with the proposal of the American Political Science Association for a conference on matters of joint concern to the social sciences. The Executive Secretary was asked to so inform the American Political Science Association.

For the Executive Committee, the following members were elected for 1959: Professor Robert R. Palmer, chairman; Professor Mildred L. Campbell; Professor James B. Hedges; Dean Elmer Louis Kayser; Professor William L. Langer; and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer. The Finance Committee for 1959 will consist of Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, Professor Robert R. Palmer, and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer.

On a last minute proposal for Association support of a National Science Foundation project concerning indexing, abstracting, and translating, the Council took no action.

For the preparation of a resolution at the Business Meeting, the Council appointed Professor Mildred L. Campbell.

The meeting adjourned at about 5:30 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
DECEMBER 29, 1958, 4:30 P.M.

President Walter Prescott Webb called the meeting to order with about 150 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1958, pp. 848-50) were approved.

The Executive Secretary and Managing Editor of the *Review*, Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, gave his annual report (see pp. 802-809). Dean Elmer Louis Kayser pre-

sented the Treasurer's report for 1957-1958. He pointed out that for general purposes Association assets on August 31, 1958, totaled \$493,797.10, and that for specific and for restricted purposes \$529,102.62 was available. The increase of \$153,159.46, he stated, was primarily owing to grants from foundations for special projects. The Treasurer declared that because of favorable circumstances, the financial year 1957-1958 was unusual and that increased costs and decreased income over the next two years might be expected. He invited members to inspect his mimeographed report, which had been distributed, and he added that the financial accounts had been audited and were on file at Association headquarters for inspection by interested members. The Treasurer's report was accepted unanimously.

Upon Council nomination Mr. W. A. W. Stewart, Jr., Vice-President of the United States Trust Company of New York City, was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Association.

Professor Kenneth M. Setton, University of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1958, presented the nominations for the offices of the Association in 1959: for President, Professor Allan Nevins, the Henry E. Huntington Library; for Vice-President, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; for Treasurer, Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees, and they were declared elected. Following this Professor Setton announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and Nominating Committee, Professor John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College and Professor Frederic C. Lane of Johns Hopkins University had been elected to the Council; and that Professor Arthur S. Link of Northwestern University, Professor H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard University, and Professor Catherine E. Boyd of Carleton College were elected to the Nominating Committee. The report of the Nominating Committee was accepted. The chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1959 will be Professor Paul W. Gates of Cornell University.

The Executive Secretary reported on actions taken by the Council at its meeting on December 27 (see Minutes, pp. 809-16). The new Council appointments to various Association committees and its selection of delegates to various scholarly groups were announced. The Executive Secretary particularly praised Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland, retiring chairman of the International Historical Activities Committee, for his many years of service to the Association and to its international historical activities. The Executive Secretary stated that, with the enthusiastic support of the Council, the Association would attempt to continue the Service Center for Teachers of History as well as to reproduce the German war documents. He announced the election of new honorary members of the Association: Sir Lewis Namier of England, Professor Mehmet Fuad Köprülü of Turkey, and Dr. Silvio Zavala of Mexico; the establishment of a national register of manuscripts in the Library of Congress; the publication of the 1958 *List of Doctoral*

Dissertations; and the probable publication during 1959 of *The Guide to Historical Literature* and "The Guide to Photocopied Historical Material in the United States and Canada." For the Committee on Graduate Education, Professor Dexter Perkins, Cornell University, discussed the work in progress and asked for cooperation in the Committee's study of practices and policies at various colleges and universities throughout the United States.

The Executive Secretary announced the time and places of meeting for the next three years (see page 814), and said that for the 1959 meeting the Program Chairman would be Professor Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, and the Local Arrangements Chairman, Professor Paul Barton Johnson, Roosevelt University.

As Managing Editor of the *Review*, Dr. Shafer stated that the new member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* will be Professor Leo Gershoy, New York University, replacing Professor Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago, whose term had expired.

The members of the Executive Committee for 1959, Dr. Shafer indicated, would be Professor Robert R. Palmer, Princeton University, chairman; Professor Mildred L. Campbell, Vassar College; Professor James B. Hedges, Brown University; Dean Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University; Professor William L. Langer, Harvard University; and Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, American Historical Association.

Professor Robert A. Wilson, University of California, Los Angeles, presented a summary of the activities of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association in 1957-1958. The Branch, he reported, is not only in good financial condition but its membership continues to grow and its scholarly sessions at its annual meetings have been attracting more and more interest. The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was accepted.

Professor John Snell of Tulane University presented the following resolution for the Conference Group for Central European History, asking that it be made a matter of record:

The Conference Group for Central European History, at its meeting on December 28, authorized the following resolution, and asked that it be read at this business meeting:

The Conference has special reasons to appreciate the work of the American Historical Association Committee for the Study of War Documents. By making available to the historical profession an immense amount of microfilmed German records, the Committee is providing unprecedented research opportunities in modern European history. The Conference Group wishes to assure the American Historical Association of its continued interest in, and support of this work, and expresses the hope that it will be possible for the Committee to complete the microfilming.

As the meeting turned to "Other Business," Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland rose to speak of the great services of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson to the profession and

to ask that the Association in 1959 properly commemorate the centenary of Dr. Jameson's birth. The Council had earlier and likewise expressed a desire to honor Dr. Jameson.

Dr. David C. Moore of Harpur College pointed out the possibilities of economical air travel to Europe for scholars and asked that interested members of the Association get in touch with him.

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Mildred L. Campbell presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That the American Historical Association extend its sincere thanks and deep appreciation to Professor Cyril E. Black and the members of his committee for the varied and excellent program that we have enjoyed; and to Professor Richard C. Haskett and those who have worked with him for the magnificent way in which they have taken care of us. Despite our large numbers, we have been made to feel the warmth of the welcome and the genuineness of the hospitality accorded us.

This resolution was accepted with applause.

No other business being presented, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, following his custom of many years, moved adjournment. The meeting was adjourned at approximately 5:45 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFFER, *Executive Secretary*

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will meet in 1959 at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30. The Program Chairman is Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University and the Local Arrangements Chairman Professor Paul Barton Johnson of Roosevelt University.

Paul W. Gates of Cornell University is Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1959. He will welcome suggestions from members of the Association for the office of Vice-President, membership on the Council, and the Nominating Committee for 1960.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* for 1955-1958 is available for \$1.50 at the Association headquarters. The Association keeps a running file of doctoral dissertations during the periods between publications of the *List*. Candidates or their advisers should register doctoral dissertations as soon as they are chosen.

The Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American Intellectual History, made possible by the generosity of the Cornell University Press and by action of the Council of the American Historical Association, is to be offered in 1959 for the best complete original manuscript submitted in English on American intellectual history.

"American intellectual history" is to be understood broadly; it may include histories of movements of thought and of recognized institutions or agencies of intellectual life, and biographies or studies of intellectual leaders in America. The only restriction as to period and place is that the history must concern the area of the present United States during the years since 1607.

Manuscripts must be scholarly and well written. They must be the author's first or second book. A doctoral dissertation, to be eligible, even though it be revised from its original form, must be accompanied by a statement from the professorial adviser (or, in special cases, from another senior expert in the field) certifying that in his judgment it is now ready for publication, subject to the usual procedures in the offices of the publisher. Two copies of the manuscript must be submitted, one of them the ribbon copy, and must be received no later than June 1, 1959. While every care will be taken in the handling of the material, the Committee cannot accept responsibility in case of loss or damage.

The prize consists of \$1,500 in cash and publication by the Cornell University Press. One half of the cash award will be paid on announcement of the award at the 1959 meeting of the American Historical Association, and the remainder on the publication of the manuscript.

The 1959 Committee members are: Charles A. Barker of Johns Hopkins University, chairman, John Higham of Rutgers University, Stow Persons of the State University of Iowa, and Frederick Rudolph of Williams College. All manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Professor Charles A. Barker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Maryland.

The fifty-first meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at Whittier College, December 28-30, 1958. Registration for the eighteen sessions totaled 287. At the annual dinner President John W. Caughey traced the literary patterns of California history in his address "California in the Third Dimension." The officers of the Branch for 1959 are: President, Raymond Sontag, University of California, Berkeley; Vice-President, Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Secretary-Treasurer, John A. Schutz, Whittier College; Editor, *Pacific Historical Review*, John W. Caughey, University of California, Los Angeles; Council members: James G. Allen, University of Colorado; Russell Ewing, University of Arizona; William S. Greever, University of Idaho; Wilbur Jacobs, University of California, Santa Barbara; Solomon Katz, University of Washington; Arthur Kooker, University of Southern California; T. A. Larsen, University of Wyoming; John B. McGloin, S.J., University of San Francisco; Abraham P. Nasatir, San Diego State College; and C. Bickford O'Brien, University of California, Davis. The Program Chairman for 1959 is C. Bickford O'Brien.

The annual Pacific Coast Branch Award was given to Joseph R. Levenson for his book *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*. Rodman Wilson Paul

received the Lewis Knott Koontz Memorial Award, given annually for the most deserving contribution to the *Pacific Historical Review*, for his article "The Great California Grain War."

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received the papers of Marquis James (1891-1955) as a gift from Mrs. James. Numbering approximately sixteen thousand pieces, the group contains the notes, drafts, and final manuscripts of many of James's major works, two of them winners of the Pulitzer Prize for biography, as well as an extensive correspondence file. The latter contains letters from many of the outstanding literary figures of the time, and also from such national figures as Cordell Hull and Harold L. Ickes.

Some fifteen thousand papers of Irving Langmuir (1881-1957), distinguished chemist and Nobel Prize winner, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Langmuir. A large part of the collection consists of notes, articles, and other materials concerned with scientific research. There are also numerous personal letters, among them a group that Dr. Langmuir wrote to his mother while he was attending the University of Göttingen. These give a detailed picture of the life that the local American "colony" led there at the turn of the century.

Significant additions have been made to three important bodies of personal papers in the Library. To the Kermit Roosevelt papers there has been added, by gift of Mrs. Roosevelt, a series of holograph letters from their close friend, Edwin Arlington Robinson; notes concerned with his long-time "battle of the slums" are among papers of journalist and philanthropist Jacob A. Riis, received from four of his grandchildren; and more than two thousand pieces of correspondence, memoranda, and reports, mainly concerned with his service as statistician with the army in World Wars I and II, have been added to the Leonard P. Ayres papers by the Honorable W. Randolph Burgess.

A new division, the World War II Records Division, has been established in the National Archives to manage the records of permanent value that were transferred with the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office last summer. Sherrod E. East, former head of that branch, is head of the new Division, Philip P. Brower of its Archival Operations Branch, Wilbur J. Nigh of its Reference Branch, and Lewis M. Robeson of its Security and Services Branch.

Among the records recently acquired by the National Archives are two volumes of minutes, 1871-1874, of the board appointed by President Grant that came to be known as the Grant Civil Service Commission; correspondence of the present Civil Service Commission, 1884-1906, some of it with the President; records of the National Park Service that complete the central files of that agency

through 1949; and records of the United States Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration, 1921-1948, documenting the organization and operations of those agencies at high policy levels during World War II as well as earlier operations of the Maritime Commission and its predecessors.

Several important additions have been made to the National Archives Microfilm Publication series. Especially notable are the Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881. These letters were written from five superintendencies—California (twenty-one rolls), Dakota (twenty-four rolls), Minnesota (one roll), Oregon (twelve rolls), and Washington (fourteen rolls)—and from twenty-one agencies (101 rolls). Other new microfilm publications are the Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers below the Rank of Commander, 1802-1854 (226 rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the State of Georgia (five rolls) and for the State of Ohio (ten rolls); Records Relating to Confederate Naval and Marine Personnel (seven rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1820-1860 (forty-nine rolls) and Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1846 (103 rolls).

Two more guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, have appeared under the National Archives imprint: no. 5, *Miscellaneous German Records Collection (Part I)* and no. 6, *Records of Nazi Cultural and Research Institutions and Records Pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East*. These guides were prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents.

In the series of preliminary inventories published by the National Archives the following have recently appeared: no. 110, *Records of the Public Buildings Service* and no. 111, *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives on Foreign Aid, 1947-1948*. A revised edition of Special List no. 9, *List of Foreign Service Post Records in the National Archives*, has also appeared.

The Roosevelt Library has published on microfilm the stenographic transcripts of Franklin D. Roosevelt's press conferences, which comprise a total of about thirteen thousand typewritten pages. There is one roll of film for each year, 1933-1945, and each roll has been indexed. Less than 10 per cent of the text of these press conferences had previously been published.

The Library of Congress will establish an inventory of important manuscript collections throughout the nation with the grant of \$200,000 it has just received from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., of Washington, D. C. The inventory will be known as the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. It is expected to be of invaluable aid to scholars seeking the "primary" source materials they need for research—in history, literature, economics, science, etc. It will enable them to determine which United States collections have manuscript material written by or to particular persons and organizations or dealing with particular historical periods, places, topics, or events. The project's immediate

goal is to prepare uniform descriptions of some 24,000 collections known to exist in about seventy-five cooperating libraries and archives, as well as of three thousand collections (representing millions of individual manuscripts) in the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress will then print and sell catalogue cards describing each collection, so that any library in the country may maintain a similar record.

In 1948 the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History, on the recommendation of the American Historical Association, established a Joint Committee on Historical Manuscripts to plan for a register of manuscripts. Its subsequent report called for the description of manuscripts by group rather than by individual pieces, and it recommended a national register rather than several regional ones. In 1951 the Library of Congress proposed that it be the home of such a register, or union catalogue, and the Joint Committee endorsed this idea. The plan agreed upon contemplated a catalogue that would aim at recording collections rather than individual papers and it required the prior development of standard rules—which would be generally acceptable—for cataloguing manuscript materials of varying forms, ages, languages, etc.

To this end the Library of Congress undertook to develop a code of cataloguing rules. It now provides a basis for assembling the data in consistent form. With the assistance of an advisory committee representing several interested groups and with the grant from the Council on Library Resources, the Library of Congress will now request data on standard forms or data sheets from institutions holding manuscript collections. On the basis of these reports, the Library will prepare catalogue entries and publish catalogue cards for them. Each entry will contain the description and location of a collection and will list the persons, organizations, places, and subjects primarily represented in it.

The new National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections has the endorsement of the American Historical Association, the American Association for State and Local History, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the Society of American Archivists.

A previously unknown collection of Simon Cameron papers has recently been microfilmed in ten reels by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission at Harrisburg. The collection numbers approximately 4,100 pieces extending from 1836 to 1892, with nearly 3,800 pieces for the years 1853-1865. It consists primarily of correspondence and papers on political and business affairs.

The Library of Ohio Wesleyan University is collecting material pertaining to the Spanish Civil War. Anyone interested in promoting the collection, whether by gifts of manuscripts, documents, books, or periodicals, or by cash donation to permit purchase of materials, should write to Dr. John Herrold Lancaster, Head Librarian, Slocum Library, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

MEETINGS

At its business meeting held on December 28, 1958, at the Mayflower Hotel, in Washington, D. C., the American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano voted to change its official designation to the Society for Italian Historical Studies. At the same time the members unanimously expressed their desire to continue the present cordial official relations between them and the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano of Rome, Italy. Announcement was made of the winner of the essay contest sponsored by the American Division for the best unpublished study on the history of modern Italy. The winner of the \$200 prize was Dr. Raymond Grew of Princeton University for his essay on "A Sterner Plan: The History of the Italian National Society." Two contestants received honorable mention: Richard A. Webster of Columbia University for his "The Formation of the Democratic Cadres in Italy, 1929-1945," and Paul W. Schroeder of Concordia Senior College for "Metternich and the Restored Governments at Naples and Piedmont, 1821-1822."

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a three-year grant of \$37,500 to the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise, Washington, D. C., to assist in the preparation of a definitive history of the Supreme Court. The grant will free a number of the authors from teaching and other academic commitments during certain periods so that they may give undivided time to work on the history.

According to *Higher Education*, November, 1958, published by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, universities and colleges awarded 24,277 graduate fellowships with a value of about \$17,800,000 in 1955-1956. Of these, 666 were in history. Among the fifty major fields of study, history ranked ninth in the number of fellowships, while the mean grant in history totaled \$809 as compared to the general mean of \$737.

An announcement of January 30, 1959, by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare concerning the first graduate fellowships under the National Defense Education Act reveals that the program will provide 160 fellowships in 1959-1960, of which eleven will be in history at Duke and Emory Universities and at the University of Kentucky. Additional fellowships may be awarded in 1959-1960. After 1959-1960 the Act authorizes fifteen hundred fellowships for each of the three subsequent years. Fellows receive \$2,000 the first year, \$2,200 the second, and \$2,400 the third, plus \$400 per year for each dependent. Reimbursement to each school is also authorized to a maximum of \$2,500 per fellow.

Henry and Ida Schuman of New York City have established an annual award of \$250 for an original prize essay in the history of science and its cultural influences. This competition is open to undergraduate and graduate students in any American or Canadian college, university, or institute of technology. Papers submitted for the prize competition should be approximately five thousand words in length exclusive of footnotes, and thoroughly documented. They should be sent to A. Hunter Dupree, Chairman of the Prize Committee, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley 4, California. July 1, 1959, is the deadline for the papers.

The American Council of Learned Societies made 249 awards to individual scholars during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1958, according to its annual report. These awards were in connection with a number of ACLS programs, which have as their aim the encouragement of scholarly endeavor in the humanities and social sciences. They include special prizes of \$10,000, given in recognition of distinguished scholarship; fellowships; grants-in-aid; travel grants for international congresses; and summer study aids in linguistics.

The Council has announced that two of its special awards in 1959 (\$10,000) will go to Professor Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago and Professor Stephan Kuttner of Catholic University of America. Fellowships under its October, 1958, competition went to Peter Jack Gay, Howard Roberts Lamar, Archibald Ross Lewis, William Gurnee Sinnigen, and Bernard Allen Weisberger.

Grants-in-aid of scientific research are available from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Work in any field that may properly be called scientific is eligible for this support, including mathematical, physical, biological, and social sciences. In general the several fund committees favor the support of individuals over that of organizations, although grants are permissible to public or private associations, societies, or institutions. Special consideration will be given to projects on new frontiers of science, those that lie between or include two or more of the classical fields, and those proposed by investigators who may be on the threshold of investigational careers or are handicapped by inadequate resources and facilities. Although grants-in-aid normally do not exceed \$1,500, requests for substantially larger amounts for especially meritorious projects will be considered. Applications must be filed in duplicate on forms obtainable from the Academy office, not later than February 1 and September 1. Address communications to: Chairman, Committees on Research Funds, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 280 Newton Street, Brookline 46, Massachusetts.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies, formerly the American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, announces a prize of \$200 for the best unpublished study or article of essay length on the history of Italy. Since the object of the award is to invite and encourage fresh interest in Italian

history, the prize is offered for a first or second study in the field. Further information may be obtained from Professor Howard R. Marraro, Room 502, Casa Italiana, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

An annual \$400 award has been established at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace on the basis of a grant from the Borden Company Foundation for the purpose of recognizing and encouraging distinguished and original work based essentially upon materials of the Institution. The first award was made October 31, 1958, to Dr. Oliver H. Radkey, professor of history at the University of Texas for his book *The Agrarian Foes of Bolshevism: Promise and Default of the Russian Socialist Revolutionaries, March to October, 1917*.

PUBLICATIONS

The Advisory Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States met November 7 and 8, 1958. A summary of its report follows: Since the initial meeting of the Committee in December, 1957, the members have been appointed as consultants to the Historical Division, thus assuring them an official status. The Committee expressed its confidence in the competence of Dr. G. Bernard Noble and his staff, and in their efforts to publish a faithful record of our government's diplomacy as soon as the papers can be made public. The committee noted that during its meetings numerous desk and area officers were in attendance. It also conferred with Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs; Andrew Berding, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs; and E. M. Kretzmann, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. The Committee devoted much attention to the question of the China volumes. The preparation of these volumes was requested of the Historical Division by the Senate Appropriations Committee. The relations between the United States and both Communist China and Nationalist China are in many ways delicate. The Department of State therefore deems it advisable, in our national interest, to delay further publications in the China series for the present. The Committee believed that a public statement to this effect was desirable. The Committee noted with pleasure the continuing efforts for the publication of the Conference volumes. It observed with satisfaction that early publication of the Potsdam volume seems assured, and it expressed hope that such obstacles as have arisen concerning clearance for the Cairo-Tehran volume will be speedily resolved. It again called attention to the publication by the Department's publication of a two-volume compilation entitled *American Foreign Policy 1950-1955: Basic Documents*, which was released in July and December, 1957. It heartedly approved of the plan to bring this project up to date and to issue annual volumes of selected and nonclassified materials. It believed that these volumes, under the careful editorship of Dr. Noble and his colleagues, will go far to provide useful material for the period since 1950.

The first volume of *Annali*, published by the Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli di Studi Economici Politici e Sociali per la Storia del Socialismo, has just appeared.

The Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, announces that it is sponsoring a proposed edition of selected correspondence of Rear Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont for the year 1861-1865, to be prepared by Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, USN (Ret.). Though the bulk of Admiral du Pont's letters is included in the large collection of Du Pont family papers now at Longwood, Admiral Hayes and the director of the Longwood Library welcome communications from anyone knowing of materials that exist elsewhere, and particularly letters from Du Pont to his fellow officers.

The British Association for American Studies has begun to publish the results of its activities. It has announced that in 1959 Oxford University Press will publish a guide to manuscripts relating to America in Great Britain and Ireland.

Radcliffe College announces that it is sponsoring the preparation of a biographical dictionary of American women. To be titled *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, it will contain sketches of approximately fifteen hundred women from the colonial period to the present and will comprise two or more volumes. The articles will be written by historians and other scholars and will, in general, be on the same scale as those in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The editor is Dr. Edward T. James. A committee of consultants has been appointed under the chairmanship of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., but the editor solicits suggestions from the entire historical guild, particularly names of women who might be included and information about qualified contributors. He may be addressed at Radcliffe College, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

The Westerners Foundation has been established at the College of the Pacific by the Chicago Westerners. The book publishing program will include source materials in the frontier period of the American West, as well as out-of-print items and current historical studies. The Foundation is collecting books and all categories of historical materials, building on the western Americana collection of the College of the Pacific. Inquiries should be directed to Glenn W. Price, Director, College of the Pacific, Stockton, California.

A study of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported in *Higher Education*, January, 1959, reveals that average faculty salaries in 1958-1959 increased about 11 per cent over 1957-1958 in private institutions and about 4½ per cent in public institutions. In four-year colleges and universities the mean salaries varied according to the type of institution: for professors from \$7,030 (private liberal arts colleges) to \$10,160 (private universities); for associate professors from \$5,880 (private liberal arts colleges) to \$7,290 (private universities);

for assistant professors from \$5,080 (private liberal arts colleges) to \$6,280 (public liberal arts colleges); and for instructors from \$4,410 (private liberal arts colleges) to \$5,120 (public liberal arts colleges).

A special "crash" research program is being conducted by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior on all phases of the physical history of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, from 1795 to 1861. The purpose of this research is to make possible the accurate restoration of the old-town section of Harpers Ferry National Monument as of the 1859-1865 period. As a part of this project much primary source material relating to all phases of the town's history from 1795 to 1865 has been collected on microfilm, indexed, and is available for the use of scholars and researchers at the Monument.

The Peruvian government has presented the United States with a plaque to commemorate the centenary of the death of William Hickling Prescott. It has been placed in the historian's home in Boston.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

American School of Classical Studies (Athens, Greece): Peter Topping appointed professor. *Boston College*: John R. Willis, S.J., of Bates College appointed assistant professor. *University of Buffalo*: Bradley Chapin appointed assistant vice-chancellor in charge of educational affairs and assistant professor. *University of Chicago*: C. L. Mowat has accepted a position at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. His successor as editor of the *Journal of Modern History* will be S. William Halperin. *Teachers College of Connecticut* (New Britain): William L. Winter promoted to associate professor. *University of Hawaii*: Arthur J. Marder promoted to senior professor, Donald D. Johnson to professor, and Welden A. Ernest to assistant professor; Thomas D. Murphy on Fulbright leave in Australia. *Lafayette College*: Edwin B. Coddington named national president of Phi Alpha Theta, honorary history society. *University of Maryland*: Wesley M. Gewehr named professor emeritus; Wilhelmina Jaschinski, David S. Sparks, and Roland N. Stromberg promoted to associate professors; Leonard M. Pitt appointed to the staff. *University of Massachusetts*: John J. Beer appointed assistant professor, James Henderson instructor. *Mills College*: C. Easton Rothwell of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, named president.

National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division: David C. Eberhard appointed to succeed Bernard R. Kennedy, who has retired. *National*

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Historical Publications Commission: Robert E. Cushman, retired from Cornell University, appointed editor of the Commission's projected documentary history of the ratification of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; Leonard A. Rapport of the National Archives appointed editor. *New York University*: Thomas P. Robinson, director of admissions, named dean of the University College of Arts and Science. *City College, New York*: Edward Rosen promoted to professor, Aaron S. Noland and Reginald E. Raab to associate professors. *Ohio Wesleyan University*: Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., promoted to assistant professor. *Pennsylvania State University*: Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky named Distinguished Visiting Professor of History for the spring semester, 1959. *Pennsylvania State Teachers College* (Clarion): Charles W. Robbe named head of the department of social science. *Roosevelt University*: Paul Barton Johnson named acting chairman of the department; Walter Arnstein appointed assistant professor, David H. Corkran visiting assistant professor.

San Fernando Valley State College (Northridge, California): Marin Pundeff of the Library of Congress appointed assistant professor. *Texas Southern University* (Houston): J. Reuben Sheeler, head of the department of history and geography, appointed as an American specialist in cultural affairs by the United States Department of State. *Valparaiso University*: Arthur P. Kautz appointed associate professor, Conrad J. Engelder instructor. *University of Wisconsin*: Alfred L. Rowse of All Souls College, Oxford University, George M. Trevelyan of Cambridge University, Werner Philipp of the Free University of Berlin, Bankey Bihari Misra of the University of London, and Oscar J. Hammen of Montana State University appointed for the spring semester, 1959. Chester V. Easum and Theodore S. Hamerow on leaves of absence for the second semester, 1959.

Erratum: Harold Hulme has been promoted to professor at New York University, not associate professor, as noted in the January, 1959, *Review*.

RECENT DEATHS

Robert P. Esty of Philadelphia, a life member of the Association, died February 22, 1958.

William Walker Rockwell of New York City, a life member of the Association since 1904, died May 30, 1958.

Umphrey Lee, chancellor of Southern Methodist University, died in Dallas, Texas, June 23, 1958.

Rafal Taubenschlag died in Warsaw, Poland, June 25, 1958, at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Taubenschlag, professor of Roman law at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow until 1939, was lecturing at the university in Aix-en-Provence at the time of the German invasion. He escaped to the United States, where he became professor at the New School for Social Research in New York

City and later research professor at Columbia University. Here he wrote *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of Papyri 332 B.C.-640 A.D.* and founded the *Journal of Juridical Papyrology*. In 1947 Taubenschlag returned to his native Poland to become professor of ancient law at Warsaw University. During his lifetime he published more than seventy books and scholarly papers.

Anson Phelps Stokes of Lenox, Massachusetts, life member of the Association, died August 13, 1958.

George M. Stephenson, emeritus professor of history at the University of Minnesota, died October 11, 1958. Dr. Stephenson, who earned his doctorate under Frederick J. Turner at Harvard, served on the faculty of the University of Minnesota temporarily in 1914-1915 and regularly from 1918 until his retirement in 1952. His brief *History of American Immigration* appeared in 1926 and his basic work on *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* six years later. Other works included *The Political History of Public Lands*, *The Conservative Character of Martin Luther*, *John Lind of Minnesota*, and a two-volume college textbook in American history. His final volume, entitled *The Puritan Heritage*, was published in 1952. Stephenson was knighted by the king of Sweden, and, as a Guggenheim fellow in Sweden in 1927-1928, he was one of the first to collect "America letters." His critical use of such sources gave impetus to the new school of nonfiliopietistic study of immigration and immigrant elements in America. With the same objective approach, he also concerned himself with church history, and many of his graduate students wrote dissertations in this field. He was widely known and admired for his thoroughgoing scholarship, his substantial contributions, his fearless candor, his sharp-tongued wit, and his skill as a storyteller.

Walter Goetz died on October 30, 1958, at the age of ninety. As director of the Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte at the University of Leipzig from 1915 to 1933, he was a leader in early efforts to build up an assured place for *Geistesgeschichte* in university teaching and research. He was editor of the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (fifty-five volumes by 1939), as well as of the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (since 1912). He republished Burckhardt's *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, without the posthumous changes; rebuilt the Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft; and as editor of the illustrated *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* (eleven volumes, 1929-33), created for the educated reader in Germany a new kind of history that combined a political narrative with *Kulturgeschichte*.

After 1918 Goetz took a positive stand on the Weimar Republic. As a member of the Democratic party, he served in the Reichstag from 1920 to 1928, and his research, which formerly had emphasized the Italian Renaissance, as in *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des hl. Franz von Assisi*, and sixteenth- and seventeenth-

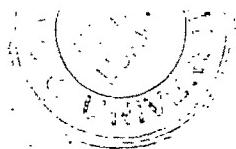
century Bavarian history, broadened to include the age of Wilhelm II, of whom a critical biography was near completion at Goetz's death. During the Nazi era he lived in retirement in Gräfelfing near Munich, completing a two-volume work on the roots of Renaissance Italy, *Italien im Mittelalter* (1942). After Germany's collapse a great deal of the reorganization of German historical scholarship was thrown upon his shoulders. At seventy-eight he resumed lectures and seminars in the University of Munich, reorganized in 1947-1948 the "Zentraldirektion" of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* when it was transferred to Munich, and served as president of the Historical Commission at the Munich Academy of Sciences from 1947 to 1951. In this capacity he was chiefly responsible for the creation of the *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, of which three volumes have appeared. A volume of collected essays on the history of historical research in Germany, *Historiker in meiner Zeit*, was published on his ninetieth birthday with an introduction by Theodor Heuss, President of the Federal Republic.

Marian Silveus, professor at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, died on November 13, 1958.

Tarakanath Das, a life member of the Association, long a familiar figure at its meetings, and instrumental in establishing two of the prizes it offers—the Watumull and the Schuyler—died in New York City on December 22, 1958, at the age of seventy-five. Dr. Das was an early fighter for the independence of India and an international figure in political science. Born in Bengal, he came to the United States in 1906 and soon afterward became an American citizen. After receiving his doctorate from Georgetown University in 1924 he was special lecturer for Catholic University of America, the University of Maryland, the City College of New York, Queens College (Flushing), and Columbia University. His principal interests were in the history of India, on various aspects of which he published a number of books, and in international relations as affecting the Far and Middle East. His greatest interest was in the promotion of better understanding among the peoples of the world, especially between East and West, and to this end he and his wife established the Tarakanath Das Foundation (incorporated in 1935), which has been active in furthering Indian studies in a number of American universities.

William Warren Sweet, church historian and retired head of Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University, died in Dallas, Texas, January 3, 1959, at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Sweet was the author of twenty-seven books of which the latest is a four-volume series on religion in America.

Bernard F. Donovan, professor at Merrimack College in North Andover, Massachusetts, died on January 23, 1959, at the age of sixty.



The
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

Vol. LXIV, No. 4

July, 1959

What Happened to the Progressive
Movement in the 1920's?*

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If the day has not yet arrived when we can make a definite synthesis of political developments between the Armistice and the Great Depression, it is surely high time for historians to begin to clear away the accumulated heap of mistaken and half-mistaken hypotheses about this important transitional period. Writing often without fear or much research (to paraphrase Carl Becker's remark), we recent American historians have gone on infatigably to perpetuate hypotheses that either reflected the disillusionment and despair of contemporaries, or once served their purpose in exposing the alleged hiatus in the great continuum of twentieth-century reform.

Stated briefly, the following are what might be called the governing hypotheses of the period under discussion: The 1920's were a period made almost unique by an extraordinary reaction against idealism and reform. They were

* This paper was read in a slightly different form before a joint meeting of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New York City on December 28, 1957.

a time when the political representatives of big business and Wall Street executed a relentless and successful campaign in state and nation to subvert the regulatory structure that had been built at the cost of so much toil and sweat since the 1870's, and to restore a Hanna-like reign of special privilege to benefit business, industry, and finance. The surging tides of nationalism and mass hatreds generated by World War I continued to engulf the land and were manifested, among other things, in fear of communism, suppression of civil liberties, revival of nativism and anti-Semitism most crudely exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan, and in the triumph of racism and prejudice in immigration legislation. The 1920's were an era when great traditions and ideals were repudiated or forgotten, when the American people, propelled by a crass materialism in their scramble for wealth, uttered a curse on twenty-five years of reform endeavor. As a result, progressives were stunned and everywhere in retreat along the entire political front, their forces disorganized and leaderless, their movement shattered, their dreams of a new America turned into agonizing nightmares.

To be sure, the total picture that emerges from these generalizations is overdrawn. Yet it seems fair to say that leading historians have advanced each of these generalizations, that the total picture is the one that most of us younger historians saw during the years of our training, and that these hypotheses to a greater or lesser degree still control the way in which we write and teach about the 1920's, as a reading of textbooks and general works will quickly show.

This paper has not been written, however, to quarrel with anyone or to make an indictment. Its purposes are, first, to attempt to determine the degree to which the governing hypotheses, as stated, are adequate or inadequate to explain the political phenomena of the period, and, second, to discover whether any new and sounder hypotheses might be suggested. Such an effort, of course, must be tentative and above all imperfect in view of the absence of sufficient foundations for a synthesis.

Happily, however, we do not have to proceed entirely in the dark. Historians young and old, but mostly young, have already discovered that the period of the 1920's is the exciting new frontier of American historical research and that its opportunities are almost limitless in view of the mass of manuscript materials that are becoming available. Thus we have (the following examples are mentioned only at random) excellent recent studies of agrarian discontent and farm movements by Theodore Saloutos, John D. Hicks, Gilbert C. Fite, Robert L. Morlan, and James H. Shideler; of nativism and problems of immigration and assimilation by John Higham, Oscar Handlin,

Robert A. Devine, and Edmund D. Cronon; of intellectual currents, the social gospel, and religious controversies by Henry F. May, Paul A. Carter, Robert M. Miller, and Norman F. Furniss; of left-wing politics and labor developments by Theodore Draper, David A. Shannon, Daniel Bell, Paul M. Angle, and Matthew Josephson; of the campaign of 1928 by Edmund A. Moore; and of political and judicial leaders by Alpheus T. Mason, Frank Freidel, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Merlo J. Pusey, and Joel F. Paschal.¹ Moreover, we can look forward to the early publication of studies that will be equally illuminating for the period, like the biographies of George W. Norris, Thomas J. Walsh, and Albert B. Fall now being prepared by Richard Lowitt, Leonard Bates, and David Stratton, respectively, and the recently completed study of the campaign and election of 1920 by Wesley M. Bagby.²

Obviously, we are not only at a point in the progress of our research into the political history of the 1920's when we can begin to generalize, but we have reached the time when we should attempt to find some consensus, however tentative it must now be, concerning the larger political dimensions and meanings of the period.

In answering the question of what happened to the progressive movement in the 1920's, we should begin by looking briefly at some fundamental facts

¹ Theodore Saloutos and John D. Hicks, *Agrarian Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939* (Madison, Wis., 1951); Gilbert C. Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman* (Columbia, Mo., 1948), and *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity* (Norman, Okla., 1954); Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955); James H. Shideler, *Farm Crisis, 1919-1923* (Berkeley, Calif., 1957); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1955); Oscar Handlin, *The American People in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Robert A. Devine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952* (New Haven, Conn., 1957); Edmund D. Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison, Wis., 1955); Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIII (Dec., 1956), 405-27; Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956); Robert M. Miller, "An Inquiry into the Social Attitudes of American Protestantism, 1919-1939," doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955; Norman F. Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, Conn., 1954); Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1957); David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (New York, 1955); Daniel Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxian Socialism in the United States," *Socialism and American Life*, ed. Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons (2 vols., Princeton, N. J., 1952), I, 215-405; Paul M. Angle, *Bloody Williamson* (New York, 1952); Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor* (New York, 1952); Edmund A. Moore, *A Catholic Runs for President: The Campaign of 1928* (New York, 1956); Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life* (New York, 1946), and *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956); Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston, 1957); Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (2 vols., New York, 1951); Joel Francis Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man against the State* (Princeton, N. J., 1951).

² Wesley M. Bagby, "Woodrow Wilson and the Great Debacle of 1920," MS in the possession of Professor Bagby; see also his "The 'Smoked-Filled Room' and the Nomination of Warren G. Harding," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (Mar., 1955), 657-74, and "Woodrow Wilson, a Third Term, and the Solemn Referendum," *American Historical Review*, LX (Apr., 1955), 567-75.

about the movement before 1918, facts that in large measure predetermined its fate in the 1920's, given the political climate and circumstances that prevailed.

The first of these was the elementary fact that the progressive movement never really existed as a recognizable organization with common goals and a political machinery geared to achieve them. Generally speaking (and for the purposes of this paper), progressivism might be defined as the popular effort, which began convulsively in the 1890's and waxed and waned afterward to our own time, to insure the survival of democracy in the United States by the enlargement of governmental power to control and offset the power of private economic groups over the nation's institutions and life. Actually, of course, from the 1890's on there were many "progressive" movements on many levels seeking sometimes contradictory objectives. Not all, but most of these campaigns were the work of special interest groups or classes seeking greater political status and economic security. This was true from the beginning of the progressive movement in the 1890's; by 1913 it was that movement's most important characteristic.

The second fundamental fact—that the progressive movements were often largely middle class in constituency and orientation—is of course well known, but an important corollary has often been ignored. It was that several of the most important reform movements were inspired, staffed, and led by businessmen with very specific or special-interest objectives in view. Because they hated waste, mismanagement, and high taxes, they, together with their friends in the legal profession, often furnished the leadership of good government campaigns. Because they feared industrial monopoly, abuse of power by railroads, and the growth of financial oligarchy, they were the backbone of the movements that culminated in the adoption of the Hepburn and later acts for railroad regulation, the Federal Reserve Act, and the Federal Trade Commission Act. Among the many consequences of their participation in the progressive movement, two should be mentioned because of their significance for developments in the 1920's: First, the strong identification of businessmen with good government and economic reforms for which the general public also had a lively concern helped preserve the good reputation of the middle-class business community (as opposed to its alleged natural enemies, monopolists, malefactors of great wealth, and railroad barons) and helped to direct the energies of the progressive movement toward the strengthening instead of the shackling of the business community. Second, their activities and influence served to intensify the tensions within the broad reform movement, because they often opposed the demands of farm groups, labor unions, and advocates of social justice.

The third remark to be made about the progressive movement before 1918 is that despite its actual diversity and inner tensions it did seem to have unity; that is, it seemed to share common ideals and objectives. This was true in part because much of the motivation even of the special-interest groups was altruistic (at least they succeeded in convincing themselves that they sought the welfare of society rather than their own interests primarily); in part because political leadership generally succeeded in subordinating inner tensions. It was true, above all, because there were in fact important idealistic elements in the progressive ranks—social gospel leaders, social justice elements, and intellectuals and philosophers—who worked hard at the task of defining and elevating common principles and goals.

Fourth and finally, the substantial progressive achievements before 1918 had been gained, at least on the federal level, only because of the temporary dislocations of the national political structure caused by successive popular uprisings, not because progressives had found or created a viable organization for perpetuating their control. Or, to put the matter another way, before 1918 the various progressive elements had failed to destroy the existing party structure by organizing a national party of their own that could survive. They, or at least many of them, tried in 1912; and it seemed for a time in 1916 that Woodrow Wilson had succeeded in drawing the important progressive groups permanently into the Democratic party. But Wilson's accomplishment did not survive even to the end of the war, and by 1920 traditional partisan loyalties were reasserting themselves with extraordinary vigor.

With this introduction, we can now ask what happened to the progressive movement or movements in the 1920's. Surely no one would contend that after 1916 the political scene did not change significantly, both on the state and national levels. There was the seemingly obvious fact that the Wilsonian coalition had been wrecked by the election of 1920, and that the progressive elements were divided and afterward unable to agree upon a program or to control the national government. There was the even more "obvious" fact that conservative Republican presidents and their cabinets controlled the executive branch throughout the period. There was Congress, as Eric F. Goldman had said, allegedly whooping through procorporation legislation, and the Supreme Court interpreting the New Freedom laws in a way that harassed unions and encouraged trusts.⁸ There were, to outraged idealists and intellectuals, the more disgusting spectacles of Red hunts, mass arrests and deportations, the survival deep into the 1920's of arrogant nationalism, crusades against the teaching of evolution, the attempted suppression of the

⁸ Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York, 1953), 284. The "allegedly" in this sentence is mine, not Professor Goldman's.

right to drink, and myriad other manifestations of what would now be called a repressive reaction.⁴

Like the hypotheses suggested at the beginning, this picture is overdrawn in some particulars. But it is accurate in part, for progressivism was certainly on the downgrade if not in decay after 1918. This is an obvious fact that needs explanation and understanding rather than elaborate proof. We can go a long way toward answering our question if we can explain, at least partially, the extraordinary complex developments that converge to produce the "obvious" result.

For this explanation we must begin by looking at the several progressive elements and their relation to each other and to the two major parties after 1916. Since national progressivism was never an organized or independent movement (except imperfectly and then only temporarily in 1912), it could succeed only when its constituent elements formed a coalition strong enough to control one of the major parties. This had happened in 1916, when southern and western farmers, organized labor, the social justice elements, and a large part of the independent radicals who had heretofore voted the Socialist ticket coalesced to continue the control of Wilson and the Democratic party.

The important fact about the progressive coalition of 1916, however, was not its strength but its weakness. It was not a new party but a temporary alliance, welded in the heat of the most extraordinary domestic and external events. To be sure, it functioned for the most part successfully during the war, in providing the necessary support for a program of heavy taxation, relatively stringent controls over business and industry, and extensive new benefits to labor. Surviving in a crippled way even in the months following the Armistice, it put across a program that constituted a sizable triumph for the progressive movement—continued heavy taxation, the Transportation Act of 1920, the culmination of the long fight for railroad regulation, a new child labor act, amendments for prohibition and woman suffrage, immigration restriction, and water power and conservation legislation.

Even so, the progressive coalition of 1916 was inherently unstable. Indeed, it was so wracked by inner tensions that it could not survive, and destruction came inexorably, it seemed systematically, from 1917 to 1920. Why was this true?

First, the independent radicals and antiwar agrarians were alienated by the war declaration and the government's suppression of dissent and civil liberties during the war and the Red scare. Organized labor was disaffected

⁴ H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Norman, Okla., 1957); Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1955).

by the administration's coercion of the coal miners in 1919, its lukewarm if not hostile attitude during the great strikes of 1919 and 1920, and its failure to support the Plumb Plan for nationalization of the railroads. Isolationists and idealists were outraged by what they thought was the President's betrayal of American traditions or the liberal peace program at Paris. These tensions were strong enough to disrupt the coalition, but a final one would have been fatal even if the others had never existed. This was the alienation of farmers in the Plains and western states produced by the administration's refusal to impose price controls on cotton while it maintained ceilings on the prices of other agricultural commodities,⁵ and especially by the administration's failure to do anything decisive to stem the downward plunge of farm prices that began in the summer of 1920.⁶ Under the impact of all these stresses, the Wilsonian coalition gradually disintegrated from 1917 to 1920 and disappeared entirely during the campaign of 1920.

The progressive coalition was thus destroyed, but the components of a potential movement remained. As we will see, these elements were neither inactive nor entirely unsuccessful in the 1920's. But they obviously failed to find common principles and a program, much less to unite effectively for political action on a national scale. I suggest that this was true, in part at least, for the following reasons:

First, the progressive elements could never create or gain control of a political organization capable of carrying them into national office. The Republican party was patently an impossible instrument because control of the GOP was too much in the hands of the eastern and midwestern industrial, oil, and financial interests, as it had been since about 1910. There was always the hope of a third party. Several progressive groups—insurgent midwestern Republicans, the railroad brotherhoods, a segment of the AF of L, and the moderate Socialists under Robert M. La Follette—tried to realize this goal in 1924, only to discover that third party movements in the United States are doomed to failure except in periods of enormous national turmoil, and that the 1920's were not such a time. Thus the Democratic party remained the only vehicle that conceivably could have been used by a new progressive coalition. But that party was simply not capable of such service in the 1920's. It was so torn by conflicts between its eastern, big city wing and its southern and western rural majority that it literally ceased to be a national

⁵ On this point, see Seward W. Livermore, "The Sectional Issue in the 1918 Congressional Elections," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXV (June, 1948), 29–60.

⁶ Arthur S. Link, "The Federal Reserve Policy and the Agricultural Depression of 1920–1921," *Agricultural History*, XX (July, 1946), 166–75; and Herbert F. Margulies, "The Election of 1920 in Wisconsin: The Return to 'Normalcy' Reappraised," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, XXXVIII (Autumn, 1954), 15–22.

party. It remained strong in its sectional and metropolitan components, but it was so divided that it barely succeeded in nominating a presidential candidate at all in 1924 and nominated one in 1928 only at the cost of temporary disruption.⁷

Progressivism declined in the 1920's, in the second place, because, as has been suggested, the tensions that had wrecked the coalition of 1916 not only persisted but actually grew in number and intensity. The two most numerous progressive elements, the southern and western farmers, strongly supported the Eighteenth Amendment, were heavily tinged with nativism and therefore supported immigration restriction, were either members of, friendly to, or politically afraid of the Ku Klux Klan, and demanded as the principal plank in their platform legislation to guarantee them a larger share of the national income. On all these points and issues the lower and lower middle classes in the large cities stood in direct and often violent opposition to their potential allies in the rural areas. Moreover, the liaison between the farm groups and organized labor, which had been productive of much significant legislation during the Wilson period, virtually ceased to exist in the 1920's. There were many reasons for this development, and I mention only one—the fact that the preeminent spokesmen of farmers in the 1920's, the new Farm Bureau Federation, represented the larger commercial farmers who (in contrast to the members of the leading farm organization in Wilson's day, the National Farmers' Union) were often employers themselves and felt no identification with the rank and file of labor.

It was little wonder, therefore (and this is a third reason for the weakness of progressivism in the 1920's), that the tension-ridden progressive groups were never able to agree upon a program that, like the Democratic platform of 1916, could provide the basis for a revived coalition. So long as progressive groups fought one another more fiercely than they fought their natural opponents, such agreement was impossible; and so long as common goals were impossible to achieve, a national progressive movement could not take effective form. Nothing illustrates this better than the failure of the Democratic conventions of 1924 and 1928 to adopt platforms that could rally and unite the discontented elements. One result, among others, was that southern farmers voted as Democrats and western farmers as Republicans. And, as Professor Frank Freidel once commented to the author, much of the failure of progressivism in the 1920's can be explained by this elementary fact.

⁷ For a highly partisan account of these events see Karl Schriftgiesser, *This Was Normalcy* (Boston, 1948). More balanced are the already cited Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal*, and Schlesinger, *The Age of Roosevelt: The Crisis of the Old Order*.

A deeper reason for the failure of progressives to unite ideologically in the 1920's was what might be called a substantial paralysis of the progressive mind. This was partly the result of the repudiation of progressive ideals by many intellectuals and the defection from the progressive movement of the urban middle classes and professional groups, as will be demonstrated. It was the result, even more importantly, of the fact that progressivism as an organized body of political thought found itself at a crossroads in the 1920's, like progressivism today, and did not know which way to turn. The major objectives of the progressive movement of the prewar years had in fact been largely achieved by 1920. In what direction should progressivism now move? Should it remain in the channels already deeply cut by its own traditions, and, while giving sincere allegiance to the ideal of democratic capitalism, work for more comprehensive programs of business regulation and assistance to disadvantaged classes like farmers and submerged industrial workers? Should it abandon these traditions and, like most similar European movements, take the road toward a moderate socialism with a predominantly labor orientation? Should it attempt merely to revive the goals of more democracy through changes in the political machinery? Or should it become mainly an agrarian movement with purely agrarian goals?

These were real dilemmas, not academic ones, and one can see numerous examples of how they confused and almost paralyzed progressives in the 1920's. The platform of La Follette's Progressive party of 1924 offers one revealing illustration. It embodied much that was old and meaningless by this time (the direct election of the president and a national referendum before the adoption of a war resolution, for example) and little that had any real significance for the future.⁸ And yet it was the best that a vigorous and idealistic movement could offer. A second example was the plight of the agrarians and insurgents in Congress who fought so hard all through the 1920's against Andrew Mellon's proposals to abolish the inheritance tax and to make drastic reductions in the taxes on large incomes. In view of the rapid reduction of the federal debt, the progressives were hard pressed to justify the continuation of nearly confiscatory tax levels, simply because few of them realized the wide social and economic uses to which the income tax could be put. Lacking any programs for the redistribution of the national income (except to farmers), they were plagued and overwhelmed by the surpluses in the federal Treasury until, for want of any good arguments, they finally gave Secretary

⁸ For a different picture see Belle C. La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette* (2 vols., New York, 1953); and Russel B. Nye, *Midwestern Progressive Politics, 1870-1950* (East Lansing, Mich., 1951). Both works contribute to an understanding of progressive politics in the 1920's.

Andrew Mellon the legislation he had been demanding.⁹ A third and final example of this virtual paralysis of the progressive mind was perhaps the most revealing of all. It was the attempt that Woodrow Wilson, Louis D. Brandeis, and other Democratic leaders made from 1921 to 1924 to draft a new charter for progressivism. Except for its inevitable proposals for an idealistic world leadership, the document that emerged from this interchange included little or nothing that would have sounded new to a western progressive in 1912.

A fourth reason for the disintegration and decline of the progressive movement in the 1920's was the lack of any effective leadership. Given the political temper and circumstances of the 1920's, it is possible that such leadership could not have operated successfully in any event. Perhaps the various progressive elements were so mutually hostile and so self-centered in interests and objectives that even a Theodore Roosevelt or a Woodrow Wilson, had they been at the zenith of their powers in the 1920's, could not have drawn them together in a common front. We will never know what a strong national leader might have done because by a trick of fate no such leader emerged before Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Four factors, then, contributed to the failure of the progressive components to unite successfully after 1918 and, as things turned out, before 1932: the lack of a suitable political vehicle, the severity of the tensions that kept progressives apart, the failure of progressives to agree upon a common program, and the absence of a national leadership, without which a united movement could never be created and sustained. These were all weaknesses that stemmed to a large degree from the instability and failures of the progressive movement itself.

There were, besides, a number of what might be called external causes for the movement's decline. In considering them one must begin with what was seemingly the most important—the alleged fact that the 1920's were a very unpropitious time for any new progressive revolt because of the ever-increasing level of economic prosperity, the materialism, and the general contentment of the decade 1919 to 1929. Part of this generalization is valid when applied to specific elements in the population. For example, the rapid rise in the real wages of industrial workers, coupled with generally full employment and the spread of so-called welfare practices among management, certainly did much to weaken and avert the further spread of organized labor, and thus to debilitate one of the important progressive components.

⁹ Here indebtedness is acknowledged to Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation: Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (New York, 1942).

But to say that it was prosperity per se that created a climate unfriendly to progressive ideals would be inaccurate. There was little prosperity and much depression during the 1920's for the single largest economic group, the farmers, as well as for numerous other groups. Progressivism, moreover, can flourish as much during periods of prosperity as during periods of discontent, as the history of the development of the progressive movement from 1901 to 1917 and of its triumph from 1945 to 1956 prove.

Vastly more important among the external factors in the decline of progressivism was the widespread, almost wholesale, defection from its ranks of the middle classes—the middling businessmen, bankers, and manufacturers, and the professional people closely associated with them in ideals and habits—in American cities large and small. For an understanding of this phenomenon no simple explanations like “prosperity” or the “temper of the times” will suffice, although they give some insight. The important fact was that these groups found a new economic and social status as a consequence of the flowering of American enterprise under the impact of the technological, financial, and other revolutions of the 1920's. If, as Professor Richard Hofstadter had claimed,¹⁰ the urban middle classes were progressive (that is, they demanded governmental relief from various anxieties) in the early 1900's because they resented their loss of social prestige to the *nouveaux riches* and feared being ground under by monopolists in industry, banking, and labor—if this is true, then the urban middle classes were not progressive in the 1920's for inverse reasons. Their temper was dynamic, expansive, and supremely confident. They knew that they were building a new America, a business civilization based not upon monopoly and restriction but upon a whole new set of business values—mass production and consumption, short hours and high wages, full employment, welfare capitalism. And what was more important, virtually the entire country (at least the journalists, writers in popular magazines, and many preachers and professors) acknowledged that the nation's destiny was in good hands. It was little wonder, therefore, that the whole complex of groups constituting the urban middle classes, whether in New York, Zenith, or Middletown, had little interest in rebellion or even in mild reform proposals that seemed to imperil their leadership and control.

Other important factors, of course, contributed to the contentment of the urban middle classes. The professionalization of business and the full-blown emergence of a large managerial class had a profound impact upon social and political ideals. The acceleration of mass advertising played its role, as did

¹⁰ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 131ff.

also the beginning disintegration of the great cities with the spread of middle- and upper-middle-class suburbs, a factor that diffused the remaining reform energies among the urban leaders.

A second external factor in the decline of the progressive movement after 1918 was the desertion from its ranks of a good part of the intellectual leadership of the country. Indeed, more than simple desertion was involved here; it was often a matter of a cynical repudiation of the ideals from which progressivism derived its strength. I do not mean to imply too much by this generalization. I know that what has been called intellectual progressivism not only survived in the 1920's but actually flourished in many fields.¹¹ I know that the intellectual foundations of our present quasi-welfare state were either being laid or reinforced during the decade. Even so, one cannot evade the conclusion that the intellectual-political climate of the 1920's was vastly different from the one that had prevailed in the preceding two decades.

During the years of the great progressive revolt, intellectuals—novelists, journalists, political thinkers, social scientists, historians, and the like—had made a deeply personal commitment to the cause of democracy, first in domestic and then in foreign affairs. Their leadership in and impact on many phases of the progressive movement had been profound. By contrast, in the 1920's a large body of this intellectual phalanx turned against the very ideals they had once deified. One could cite, for example, the reaction of the idealists against the Versailles settlement; the disenchantment of the intellectuals with the extension of government authority when it could be used to justify the Eighteenth Amendment or the suppression of free speech; or the inevitable loss of faith in the "people" when en masse they hounded so-called radicals, joined Bryan's crusade against evolution, or regaled themselves as Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Whatever the cause, many alienated intellectuals simply withdrew or repudiated any identification with the groups they had once helped to lead. The result was not fatal to progressivism, but it was serious. The spark plugs had been removed from the engine of reform.

The progressive movement, then, unquestionably declined, but was it defunct in the 1920's? Much, of course, depends upon the definition of terms. If we accept the usual definition for "defunct" as "dead" or "ceasing to have any life or strength," we must recognize that the progressive movement was certainly not defunct in the 1920's; that on the contrary at least important parts of it were very much alive; and that it is just as important to know

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5, 131, 135 ff. For a recent excellent survey, previously cited, see Henry F. May, "Shifting Perspectives on the 1920's." Schlesinger's previously cited *Age of Roosevelt* sheds much new light on the economic thought of the 1920's.

how and why progressivism survived as it is to know how and why it declined.

To state the matter briefly, progressivism survived in the 1920's because several important elements of the movement remained either in full vigor or in only slightly diminished strength. These were the farmers, after 1918 better organized and more powerful than during the high tide of the progressive revolt; the politically conscious elements among organized labor, particularly the railroad brotherhoods, who wielded a power all out of proportion to their numbers; the Democratic organizations in the large cities, usually vitally concerned with the welfare of the so-called lower classes; a remnant of independent radicals, social workers, and social gospel writers and preachers; and finally, an emerging new vocal element, the champions of public power and regional developments.

Although they never united effectively enough to capture a major party and the national government before 1932, these progressive elements controlled Congress from 1921 to about 1927 and continued to exercise a near control during the period of their greatest weakness in the legislative branch, from 1927 to about 1930.

Indeed, the single most powerful and consistently successful group in Congress during the entire decade from 1919 to 1929 were the spokesmen of the farmers. Spurred by an unrest in the country areas more intense than at any time since the 1890's,¹² in 1920 and 1921 southern Democrats and mid-western and western insurgents, nominally Republican, joined forces in an alliance called the Farm Bloc. By maintaining a common front from 1921 to 1924 they succeeded in enacting the most advanced agricultural legislation to that date, legislation that completed the program begun under Wilsonian auspices. It included measures for high tariffs on agricultural products, thoroughgoing federal regulation of stockyards, packing houses, and grain exchanges, the exemption of agricultural cooperatives from the application of the antitrust laws, stimulation of the export of agricultural commodities, and the establishment of an entirely new federal system of intermediate rural credit.

When prosperity failed to return to the countryside, rural leaders in Congress espoused a new and bolder plan for relief—the proposal made by George N. Peek and Hugh S. Johnson in 1922 to use the federal power to obtain "fair exchange" or "parity" prices for farm products. Embodied in

¹² It derived from the fact that farm prices plummeted in 1920 and 1921, and remained so low that farmers, generally speaking, operated at a net capital loss throughout the balance of the decade.

the McNary-Haugen bill in 1924, this measure was approved by Congress in 1927 and 1928, only to encounter vetoes by President Calvin Coolidge.

In spite of its momentary failure, the McNary-Haugen bill had a momentous significance for the American progressive movement. Its wholesale espousal by the great mass of farm leaders and spokesmen meant that the politically most powerful class in the country had come full scale to the conviction that the taxing power should be used directly and specifically for the purpose of underwriting (some persons called it subsidizing) agriculture. It was a milestone in the development of a comprehensive political doctrine that it was government's duty to protect the economic security of all classes and particularly depressed ones. McNary-Haugenism can be seen in its proper perspective if it is remembered that it would have been considered almost absurd in the Wilson period, that it was regarded as radical by non-farm elements in the 1920's, and that it, or at any rate its fundamental objective, was incorporated almost as a matter of course into basic federal policy in the 1930's.

A second significant manifestation of the survival of progressivism in the 1920's came during the long controversy over public ownership or regulation of the burgeoning electric power industry. In this, as in most of the conflicts that eventually culminated on Capitol Hill, the agrarian element constituted the core of progressive strength. At the same time a sizable and well-organized independent movement developed that emanated from urban centers and was vigorous on the municipal and state levels. Throughout the decade this relatively new progressive group fought with mounting success to expose the propaganda of the private utilities, to strengthen state and federal regulatory agencies, and to win municipal ownership for distributive facilities. Like the advocates of railroad regulation in an earlier period, these proponents of regulation or ownership of a great new natural monopoly failed almost as much as they had succeeded in the 1920's. But their activities and exposures (the Federal Trade Commission's devastating investigation of the electric power industry in the late 1920's and early 1930's was the prime example) laid secure foundations for movements that in the 1930's would reach various culminations.

Even more significant for the future of American progressivism was the emergence in the 1920's of a new objective, that of committing the federal government to plans for large hydroelectric projects in the Tennessee Valley, the Columbia River watershed, the Southwest, and the St. Lawrence Valley for the purpose, some progressives said, of establishing "yardsticks" for rates, or for the further purpose, as other progressives declared, of beginning a

movement for the eventual nationalization of the entire electric power industry. The development of this movement in its emerging stages affords a good case study in the natural history of American progressivism. It began when the Harding and Coolidge administrations attempted to dispose of the government's hydroelectric and nitrate facilities at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, to private interests. In the first stage of the controversy, the progressive objective was merely federal operation of these facilities for the production of cheap fertilizer—a reflection of its exclusive special-interest orientation. Then, as new groups joined the fight to save Muscle Shoals, the objective of public production of cheap electric power came to the fore. Finally, by the end of the 1920's, the objective of a multipurpose regional development in the Tennessee Valley and in other areas as well had taken firm shape.

In addition, by 1928 the agrarians in Congress led by Senator George W. Norris had found enough allies in the two houses and enough support in the country at large to adopt a bill for limited federal development of the Tennessee Valley. Thwarted by President Coolidge's pocket veto, the progressives tried again in 1931, only to meet a second rebuff at the hands of President Herbert Hoover.

All this might be regarded as another milestone in the maturing of American progressivism. It signified a deviation from the older traditions of mere regulation, as President Hoover had said in his veto of the second Muscle Shoals bill, and the triumph of new concepts of direct federal leadership in large-scale development of resources. If progressives had not won their goal by the end of the 1920's, they had at least succeeded in writing what would become perhaps the most important plank in their program for the future.

The maturing of an advanced farm program and the formulation of plans for public power and regional developments may be termed the two most significant progressive achievements on the national level in the 1920's. Others merit only brief consideration. One was the final winning of the old progressive goal of immigration restriction through limited and selective admission. The fact that this movement was motivated in part by racism, nativism, and anti-Semitism (with which, incidentally, a great many if not a majority of progressives were imbued in the 1920's) should not blind us to the fact that it was also progressive. It sought to substitute a so-called scientific and a planned policy for a policy of laissez faire. Its purpose was admittedly to disturb the free operation of the international labor market. Organized labor and social workers had long supported it against the opposition of large employers. And there was prohibition, the most ambitious and revealing

progressive experiment of the twentieth century. Even the contemned anti-evolution crusade of Bryan and the fundamentalists and the surging drives for conformity of thought and action in other fields should be mentioned. All these movements stemmed from the conviction that organized public power could and should be used purposefully to achieve fundamental social and so-called moral change. The fact that they were potentially or actively repressive does not mean that they were not progressive. On the contrary, they superbly illustrated the repressive tendencies that inhered in progressivism precisely because it was grounded so much upon majoritarian principles.

Three other developments on the national level that have often been cited as evidences of the failure of progressivism in the 1920's appear in a somewhat different light at second glance. The first was the reversal of the tariff-for-revenue-only tendencies of the Underwood Act with the enactment of the Emergency Tariff Act of 1921 and the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922. Actually, the adoption of these measures signified, on the whole, not a repudiation but a revival of progressive principles in the realm of federal fiscal policy. A revenue tariff had never been an authentic progressive objective. Indeed, at least by 1913, many progressives, except for some southern agrarians, had concluded that it was retrogressive and had agreed that the tariff laws should be used deliberately to achieve certain national objectives—for example, the crippling of noncompetitive big business by the free admission of articles manufactured by so-called trusts, or benefits to farmers by the free entry of farm implements. Wilson himself had been at least partially converted to these principles by 1916, as his insistence upon the creation of the Federal Tariff Commission and his promise of protection to the domestic chemical industry revealed. As for the tariff legislation of the early 1920's, its only important changes were increased protection for aluminum, chemical products, and agricultural commodities. It left the Underwood rates on the great mass of raw materials and manufactured goods largely undisturbed. It may have been economically shortsighted and a bad example for the rest of the world, but for the most part it was progressive in principle and was the handiwork of the progressive coalition in Congress.

Another development that has often been misunderstood in its relation to the progressive movement was the policies of consistent support that the Harding and Coolidge administrations adopted for business enterprise, particularly the policy of the Federal Trade Commission in encouraging the formation of trade associations and the diminution of certain traditional competitive practices. The significance of all this can easily be overrated.

Such policies as these two administrations executed had substantial justification in progressive theory and in precedents clearly established by the Wilson administration.

A third challenge to usual interpretations concerns implications to be drawn from the election of Harding and Coolidge in 1920 and 1924. These elections seem to indicate the triumph of reaction among the mass of American voters. Yet one could argue that both Harding and Coolidge were political accidents, the beneficiaries of grave defects in the American political and constitutional systems. The rank and file of Republican voters demonstrated during the preconvention campaign that they wanted vigorous leadership and a moderately progressive candidate in 1920. They got Harding instead, not because they wanted him, but because unusual circumstances permitted a small clique to thwart the will of the majority.¹³ They took Coolidge as their candidate in 1924 simply because Harding died in the middle of his term and there seemed to be no alternative to nominating the man who had succeeded him in the White House. Further, an analysis of the election returns in 1920 and 1924 will show that the really decisive factor in the victories of Harding and Coolidge was the fragmentation of the progressive movement and the fact that an opposition strong enough to rally and unite the progressive majority simply did not exist.

There remains, finally, a vast area of progressive activity about which we yet know very little. One could mention the continuation of old reform movements and the development of new ones in the cities and states during the years following the Armistice: For example, the steady spread of the city manager form of government, the beginning of zoning and planning movements, and the efforts of the great cities to keep abreast of the transportation revolution then in full swing. Throughout the country the educational and welfare activities of the cities and states steadily increased. Factory legislation matured, while social insurance had its experimental beginnings. Whether such reform impulses were generally weak or strong, one cannot say; but what we do know about developments in cities like Cincinnati and states like New York, Wisconsin, and Louisiana¹⁴ justifies a challenge to the assumption that municipal and state reform energies were dead after 1918 and, incidentally, a plea to young scholars to plow this unworked field of recent American history.

¹³ Much that is new on the Republican preconvention campaign and convention of 1920 may be found in William T. Hutchinson, *Lowden of Illinois: The Life of Frank O. Lowden* (2 vols., Chicago, 1957).

¹⁴ See, e.g., Allan P. Sindler, *Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics, 1920-1952* (Baltimore, Md., 1956).

Let us, then, suggest a tentative synthesis as an explanation of what happened to the progressive movement after 1918:

First, the national progressive movement, which had found its most effective embodiment in the coalition of forces that reelected Woodrow Wilson in 1916, was shattered by certain policies that the administration pursued from 1917 to 1920, and by some developments over which the administration had no or only slight control. The collapse that occurred in 1920 was not inevitable and cannot be explained by merely saying that "the war killed the progressive movement."

Second, large and aggressive components of a potential new progressive coalition remained after 1920. These elements never succeeded in uniting effectively before the end of the decade, not because they did not exist, but because they were divided by conflicts among themselves. National leadership, which in any event did not emerge in the 1920's, perhaps could not have succeeded in subduing these tensions and in creating a new common front.

Third, as a result of the foregoing, progressivism as an organized national force suffered a serious decline in the 1920's. This decline was heightened by the defection of large elements among the urban middle classes and the intellectuals, a desertion induced by technological, economic, and demographic changes, and by the outcropping of certain repressive tendencies in progressivism after 1917.

Fourth, in spite of reversals and failures, important components of the national progressive movement survived in considerable vigor and succeeded to a varying degree, not merely in keeping the movement alive, but even in broadening its horizons. This was true particularly of the farm groups and of the coalition concerned with public regulation or ownership of electric power resources. These two groups laid the groundwork in the 1920's for significant new programs in the 1930's and beyond.

Fifth, various progressive coalitions controlled Congress for the greater part of the 1920's and were always a serious threat to the conservative administrations that controlled the executive branch. Because this was true, most of the legislation adopted by Congress during this period, including many measures that historians have inaccurately called reactionary, was progressive in character.

Sixth, the progressive movement in the cities and states was far from dead in the 1920's, although we do not have sufficient evidence to justify any generalizations about the degree of its vigor.

If this tentative and imperfect synthesis has any value, perhaps it is high time that we discard the sweeping generalizations, false hypotheses, and

clichés that we have so often used in explaining and characterizing political developments from 1918 to 1929. Perhaps we should try to see these developments for what they were—the normal and ordinary political behavior of groups and classes caught up in a swirl of social and economic change. When we do this we will no longer ask whether the progressive movement was defunct in the 1920's. We will ask only what happened to it and why.

Northwestern University

England's First Attempt to Break the Commercial Monopoly of the Hanseatic League, 1377-1380

HYMAN PALAIS

DURING the second half of the fourteenth century English traders first seriously threatened the Hanseatic League's commercial monopoly in the Baltic. The League, attempting to defend its monopoly, treated the English unjustly, whereupon in 1377 the English Parliament rescinded the charter that granted the League important concessions and privileges in its English trade. Parliament refused to return the charter until English merchants received the same rights to trade in the districts of the Hanse that it enjoyed in England. Finally, in 1380, the Hanse agreed to the English proposal, and the charter was returned to them.

Throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages, nearly all of England's foreign trade was in the hands of merchants from other countries, particularly Italy, the Low Countries, and the Hanse towns. The king, Parliament, and even the English merchants acknowledged the usefulness of foreign merchants to the realm and encouraged them as importers and exporters in order to profit from them politically and financially. In return for their valuable services alien merchants received many important privileges and concessions.¹

German merchants were among the most favored of all the foreigners in England. As early as the ninth century merchants of Cologne were mentioned as living in Dowgate and already complaining against interference with their privileges.² Successive English kings confirmed their privileges and granted many new concessions.³ Germans from the Hanse towns had

¹ Many royal charters and especially the *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 conferred on foreign merchants valuable exemptions from customs tariffs. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols., Glasgow, 1903), I, 316, 319, 333; J. M. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu London* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1851), II, 1-17.

² The London Hanse in the Middle Ages has been the subject of the investigations of Daenell, Kunze, Lappenberg, and other contributors to the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. For an excellent survey and bibliography see also Michael Postan's article in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. H. Clapham and Eileen Power (2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1941-52), II, 223 ff. See also Cornelius Walford, "An Outline History of the Hanseatic League," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1881), IX, 82-136.

³ Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, II, 3 (Henry II); 5 (Richard I); 8 (John). Hakluyt,

the right to engage in wholesale trade in all the markets in England without paying such customary taxes as wharfage, pontage, or pannage. They were also granted many privileges, among them those of denizenship, freedom from arrest, speedy justice and recovery, and standard weights.⁴

In London the Hanse had its own guildhall and "Hanshouse," which protected its goods from weather and thieves.⁵ The buildings, including a dyehouse, wine cellar, and gardens "planted with vines and fruit trees stretching down to the riverside," were located at the corner of Cosin Lane and Windgoose Alley on the Wallbrook in Thames Street. In 1320 the Hanse merchants rented additional houses in the area east of Windgoose Alley in the Steelyard, where the goods of the Hanse merchants were displayed when there was no room in their guildhall. Later they occupied rooms and cellars in the area adjoining the Steelyard, which was next to their old guildhall. All the Hanse towns were represented at this depot, and every member had to abide by the common rules and pay his share of the expenses. Women of loose morals and barbers and goldsmiths' apprentices were forbidden entrance to their yard, and no one was allowed to leave straw, "or mess, or other foulness about," under penalty of a fine. No fighting or ball playing was allowed, and none of their English friends could be brought in, lest they learn some of the Hanse trade secrets.⁶

From the thirteenth century on, after an official of the Hanse became an alderman of London, the Hanse shared municipal authority in the city of London. Its representative had to be a freeman from London and take an oath before the mayor and aldermen of the city that he would maintain justice in the courts and behave himself according to the customs of the city.⁷

From the middle of the fourteenth century the Hanse had two aldermen,

Principal Navigations, I, 319 (John); 321 (Henry III); 333 (Edward I). *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1216-1509 (Rolls Series, London, 1894-1916), 1324-27, p. 269 (Edward II). Hereafter cited as *CPR. Statutes of the Realm*, 1101-1713, ed. T. E. Tomlins, Alexander Luders, John Raithby, et al. (12 vols. plus index, London, 1810-28), I, 270 (Edward III).

⁴ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, I, 333-36.

⁵ The guildhall of the Teutonic or Hanse merchants (Gildhalle Teutonicorum) is sometimes erroneously regarded as also the guildhall of the Cologne merchants (Gildhalle Colonien-sium). The two were probably distinct establishments. Each was a separate organization and owed separate dues to the city of London. The distinction and antagonism between the two groups of merchants apparently diminished in the latter half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, but was still alive or was revived in the late fifteenth century. *Munimenta Gildhalle Londinienses*, *Liber Albus*, *Liber Custumarum*, et *Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 3 vols., London, 1859-62), I, xvi. Hereafter cited as *Liber Albus* or *Liber Custumarum* or *Liber Horn*. The Gildhalle Teutonicorum at the corner of Cosin Lane and Upper Thames Street was also distinct from the original "Stahlhof" or Steelyard, which was on the east of Windgoose Lane. Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, I, 56, 72-73; II, 96, 142. Later, however, the term Steelyard was applied to the entire property.

⁶ Lappenberg, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, I, 24-25, 32-34, 58, 60, 71, 73, 124; II, 117, 120-21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 13, 15; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 485-88.

one German and the other English, because a German who became a citizen lost his membership in the Hanse.⁸ The English alderman, often the Mayor of London, acted as intermediary between the city authorities and the Hanse and looked after its interests.⁹ The German alderman was the actual head of the Hanse. Responsible to both the city and the Hanse, he exercised certain important judicial powers at least as early as 1282.¹⁰ He administered the law in the morispeech (the periodical assembly that the guild held the day after the guild feast), heard cases between members of the Hanse, and also cases between Hansards and Englishmen when the former were defendants. Only when a creditor could not collect his debt in the alderman's court was he free to have recourse to the city or higher courts.¹¹ The Hanse factory enjoyed certain privileges, and while benefiting by English law, was quite independent of it. Everything, therefore, was favorable to Hanseatic commerce, and German merchants were hampered by no such restrictions as weighed, not only upon other foreigners, but upon the English themselves.¹²

German merchants also engaged in many financial activities that resulted in further privileges.¹³ The failure of Edward III's Italian financiers, the Bardi, Frescobaldi, and Peruzzi,¹⁴ and the inability of English merchants immediately to take their place gave these merchants of the Hanse the opportunity to become financiers of the king and of the English merchants in whose names some of the great loans of the period were made.¹⁵ For several

⁸ Karl Engel, "Die Organisation der deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Utrechter Frieden von 1474," pt. I, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 2, 1913), 499.

⁹ *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, A-L*, ca. 1275-temp. Henry VII, ed. R. R. Sharpe (8 vols., London, 1899-1912), H, 158 (hereafter cited as *Letter Book*); *Hansisches Urkundenbuch, 975-1500*, ed. Konstantine Hohlbaum, Karl Kunze, Walther Stein (10 vols., Halle, 1876-1907), IV, no. 709. Hereafter cited as *HUB*.

¹⁰ Engel, "Deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute," pt. I, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 2, 1913), 508; pt. 2, *ibid.*, XX (no. 1, 1914), 176; *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 485-88.

¹¹ *HUB*, II, no. 31, par. 8; Friedrich Schulz, *die Hanse und England von Eduards III. bis auf Heinrichs VIII. Zeit*, Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs und Seegeschichte, ed. Dietrich Schäfer (8 vols., Berlin, 1911), V, 187.

¹² Hubert Hall, *A History of the Custom-Revenue in England* (London, 1885), 24, 26; John Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce* (New York, 1931), 63.

¹³ Joseph Hansen, "Der englische Staatskredit unter König Eduard III. (1327-1377) und die hansischen Kaufleute," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XVI (no. 2, 1910), 323-415.

¹⁴ W. E. Rhodes, "The Italian Bankers in England and Their Loans to Edward I and Edward II," *Historical Essays of Owens College, Manchester*, ed. Thomas F. and John Tout (Manchester, 1907); Charles Johnson, "An Italian Financial House in the XIV Century," *Transactions of St. Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* (n.s., St. Albans, 1903), I; *Frazer's Magazine*, LXXIV (Oct., 1866), 418-19; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, 1343-46* ([London], 1904), 45-46 (hereafter cited as *CCR*); *CPR, 1343-45*, pp. 156-57; *ibid.*, 1345-48, pp. 13-14; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1337-47* ([London], 1911-13), 2-3 (hereafter cited as *CFR*).

¹⁵ Georg Grosch, "Die Geldgeschäfte hansischer Kaufleute mit englischen Königen im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert," pt. I, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, II (no. 2, 1904), 121-71; pt. 2, *ibid.* (no. 3, 1904), 265-95. See also William Cunningham, "The Commercial Policy of Edward III," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (n.s., London, 1889), IV, 197-216.

years one of these German merchants, Tidemann von Limberg, possessed the valuable tin mines in Cornwall.¹⁶

In order to protect their interests when dealing with citizens of foreign ports, the German merchants banded together into independent corporations, *Hansae*, which in the fourteenth century were eventually combined in a somewhat loose and ill-defined organization called the Hanseatic League.¹⁷ The League was formally established after the successful conclusion of its great war against Waldemar Atterdag of Denmark in 1370.¹⁸ The German towns were distributed into four districts. Lübeck, head of the first, had under it Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Wismar, and others; Cologne, head of the second, had twenty-nine towns under it; Brunswick, head of the third, led thirteen towns; Danzig, head of the fourth, led eight neighboring towns as well as various others more remote.¹⁹

After the formation of the Hanseatic League, German merchants continued to aid the needy English kings and thus retained their many rights and privileges.²⁰ The merchants of the various English towns, of course, especially those of London, resented these privileges. They did not seek to prevent alien merchants from coming to England, because there was no one else able to take over the carrying trade by which they exchanged native produce for foreign wares. Foreign merchants, however, with the exception of the Hanse, were restricted to wholesale dealing with enfranchised traders, and were not allowed to trade among themselves or to have retail dealings with the body of English consumers.²¹ The English kings opposed any attempt to curtail the Hanse merchants, and increasing strife developed between the burgesses and aliens. As English trade expanded and English merchants grew more prosperous, ill will and jealousy against the Hanse merchants increased. They were accused of evading even the small import

¹⁶ *Register of Edward the Black Prince, 1346-1365* (4 vols., London, 1930), I, 23. A biography of Tidemann von Limberg is included in Hansen, "Englische Staatskredit," 402 ff. Grosch, "Geldgeschäfte hansischer Kaufleute," 156, 171, 271; *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 228.

¹⁷ The organizations of German merchants in Visby and London were the first to bear the name "Hansae." The evolution of the term "Hanse" is discussed by Renée Dochaerd, "À propos du mot 'hanse,'" *Revue du nord*, XXXIII (no. 129, 1951). See also Karl Koppmann's introduction to Volume I of *Die Recessse und andere Akten der Hansetage, von 1256-1430*, ed. Karl Koppmann (8 vols., Leipzig, 1870-97). Hereafter cited as *HR*.

¹⁸ *HR*, I, 372 ff. War was declared on February 5, 1368. *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis. Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch* (11 vols., Lübeck, 1843-77), III, no. 638, p. 684. Hereafter cited as *LUB*. For a discussion relative to the declaration of war see D. K. Bjork, "Peace of Stralsund, 1370," *Speculum*, VII (Oct., 1932), 457, fn. 1.

¹⁹ There is a list of ninety-six towns in "Nachrichten vom hansischen Geschichtsverein," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, I (1871), xxxi. See also *HR*, I, no. 413; *LUB*, viii, no. 437; Johann A. von Werdenhagen, *De Rebus publicis Hanseaticis Tractatus generalis* (2 vols., 4 pts., Leiden, 1631), II, pt. 4, chap. xxvi, 89.

²⁰ *CPR, 1358-61*, p. 228.

²¹ *Liber Albus*, ed. Riley, I, 493.

duties they had to pay and of obstructing English trade in the Baltic. Hence quarrels and complaints arose.²²

Relations between England and the Hanseatic League deteriorated rapidly in the second half of the fourteenth century when English merchants began to penetrate into areas that Germans had hitherto monopolized. By the end of the century the English formed a numerous and influential foreign colony in Danzig. Here they traded with the natives and foreigners, sold their goods both wholesale and retail, owned the houses in which they lived and the warehouses where they stored their goods, and organized themselves into a communal body.²³ As long as English commercial activity was confined largely to the export of wool, English merchants transacted their business without venturing any great distances, since the cloth-manufacturing centers were mainly in the Low Countries. In the latter half of the fourteenth century, however, English manufacturers, aided by low wages, an export tax on wool, and an influx of skilled Flemish clothworkers, began to produce large quantities of cloth, and English merchants, who acquired a large share of this export trade, began to venture forth in every direction to seek new markets.²⁴ It was not a propitious moment, unfortunately, to expand into Hanseatic territory. Internal and external changes threatened the very foundations of Hanseatic prosperity. Northern Europe's system of trade routes extended from Novgorod in the east to Bruges in the west and from the principal ports of Scandinavia in the north to the agricultural areas of Germany in the south. It was to their position on the trade routes that the German towns owed their prosperity. Several factors threatened the monopoly of the Hanseatic League in this area: the swiftly growing competition in the carrying trade from the Dutch and English in the Baltic, the increasing spirit of nationalism of the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, and the decline of the Flemish cloth industry, which was rapidly being overtaken by the English. Internally, a conflict of interests arose to weaken the harmony and cohesion that had kept the League together. As the towns of the Zuider Zee established direct contact by sea with the Baltic, Lübeck and its neighbors gradually lost their position of importance as carriers and traders and as the geographical link between the eastern and western sections of the great trade route. The Prussians availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the English and Dutch to ship their bulky goods to the west. As the German expansion

²² *Letter Book*, H, 53.

²³ *HR*, II, no. 169, par. 3; no. 236; no. 318, par. 3; nos. 402-406; V, nos. 547, 548, 643; *HUB*, IV, no. 888.

²⁴ H. L. Gray, "The Production and Exportation of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, XXXIX (Jan., 1924), 13-35; Schulz, "Die Hanse und England," 11.

to the east came to a close, the free trade era also ended, and the Wendish and Saxon towns turned their emphasis from international to local trade, with a growing tendency to exclude all outsiders from local markets.²⁵

The appearance of the English in the Baltic region at this inopportune time resulted in a long and bitter struggle with the Hanseatic League, and in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries the English held the advantage. In the English towns only a few merchants engaged in the Baltic trade, but they received the support of the other anti-Hanseatic English merchants who were not only jealous of the special privileges that the Hanse enjoyed, but were anxious to exclude the foreigners and retain the new departments of trade that had developed during the previous century.²⁶ On the other hand, the lack of unity among the Hanse towns weakened German opposition. Cologne and the towns of the western district were very active in the English export trade and were not concerned with the dangers of English competition in Prussia. Danzig and the eastern towns wanted to keep the English out of the local markets, but they also hoped to continue their valuable commercial connections with England. Their indecision very frequently prevented them from taking any drastic action against their English competitors. Even Lübeck from time to time counseled moderation and made numerous concessions to the English. The Hanseatic League, divided within itself, was unable to organize a war or a successful blockade against England.²⁷

The anti-Hanseatic movement in England grew stronger as returning English merchants reported injustices inflicted on them in Prussia, Norway, Sweden, and other areas where the Hanseatic League monopolized trade.²⁸ Such grievances provided fuel for anti-Hanseatic agitation. Petitions were presented to the government urging enactment of measures to protect English merchants traveling abroad, and restriction on privileges of alien merchants in England unless English merchants received similar privileges in foreign ports.²⁹ Londoners demanded regulations to prohibit the Germans from dealing directly with other aliens, prevent them from engaging in retail trade, limit their stay in the country, and deny them the privileges of owning houses of their own.³⁰

²⁵ Walther Stein, "Die Hansestädte," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, XIX (no. 1, 1913), 233-94; XIX (no. 2, 1913), 519-60; XX (no. 1, 1914), 257-89; XXI (no. 1, 1915), 119-78; Fritz Rörig, "Aussenpolitische und innerpolitische Wandlungen in der Hanse nach dem Stralsunder Frieden," *Hansische Beiträge zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Breslau, 1928), 144-46, 149; *id.*, "Die Hanse und die nordischen Länder," *ibid.*, 162-65.

²⁶ *Letter Book*, H, 86.

²⁷ Rörig, "Die Hanse und die nordischen Länder," *Hansische Beiträge*, 162-65.

²⁸ *HR*, III, nos. 317, 318, 319; II, nos. 210, 211, 212; III, nos. 102, 103. *HUB*, IV, no. 600.

²⁹ *HR*, II, no. 212, par. 1.

³⁰ Walter Besant, *Medieval London* (10 vols., London, 1906), I, 80.

The English kings, on the whole, in the belief that the coming of aliens was good for the realm, withheld for many years the pressure of the towns-men to curtail the Hanseatic League's activities. The accession of weak kings in the late fourteenth century, however, permitted the townspeople to gain supremacy. Moreover, the merchants of London, steadily gaining both wealth and power since the middle of the fourteenth century, had improved their status and consolidated their position by acquiring royal charters. In a period when they attained a position to force their wishes upon the crown, the kings were dependent on parliamentary support and indebted to the city of London. The result was a restriction of the Hanseatic League's privileges.⁸¹

With the accession to the throne of the eleven-year-old Richard II in 1377, the antiforeign element gained the upper hand.⁸² Hardly had the London factory received the customary confirmation of its privileges from the new king, when Parliament forced it to return the document.⁸³ There were two reasons for this unprecedented action. The immediate occasion was the city of London's detailed list of complaints against the liberty allowed to foreigners. The Londoners charged that, contrary to the law, foreign merchants were living on premises hired for merchandise storage, were acting as brokers, and were doing retail as well as wholesale business. The specific cause of the complaints against the Hanse, however, was that the League did not allow English merchants to trade in German territory as freely as the Hanse traded in England under the royal charter of privileges.⁸⁴

A kind of anarchical state thus developed. "We don't know on the strength of which privileges you may send goods into this country," the Hanse merchants in London wrote to Lübeck.⁸⁵ Moreover, the new liberties and rights that London won in the Good Parliament of 1376, and from which only the Hanse had been exempted, were now to be applied to them also. In addition, the Hanse had to pay a considerably higher duty on the cloths and other goods that they exported. The government, however, agreed to accept security in lieu of the higher duties for the time being, perhaps an indication that they did not actually intend to abolish the privileges of the Hanse.⁸⁶

The League immediately asked the king and Parliament for the restitu-

⁸¹ *HR*, II, nos. 102, 210, 211, 212; Schulz, *Die Hanse und England*, 33–35; *Hanseakten aus England, 1275 bis 1412*, ed. Karl Kunze (Halle, 1891), doc. no. 327, pars. 1–2.

⁸² William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1800), II, 478.

⁸³ *LUB*, IV, no. 343.

⁸⁴ Petitions in Parliament (*Rotuli Parliamentorum, ut et Petitiones et Placita in Parlemento, 1278–1503* [6 vols. plus index, London, 1767–77]), II (1376–77), 367, item 33. Hereafter cited as *RP*.

⁸⁵ "Unde wy ouch nicht en weten, up wat vryheyt gy ofte de jive gud hir int lant sendin mogin. . ." Apr. 10, 1378, *HR*, III, no. 103.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

tion of their privileges.³⁷ Parliament, however, dominated by the powerful antialien victualling guilds, refused to return their charter unless English merchants were given as much freedom to trade in the districts of the Hanse as the League enjoyed in England.³⁸

This demand for reciprocity eventually became the basis for all negotiations between the Hanse towns and England. It pleased not only the English merchants trading in Prussia and other Hanseatic areas, but also the London retailers, who found it a convenient formula to use when reciting their grievances against the Hanse.³⁹ On May 30, 1378, the General Assembly of the Hanseatic League met at Stralsund to discuss the problem of Hanseatic-English relationship. In letters to King Richard and to London, it asked for the return of former privileges and reimbursement for losses incurred on land and sea through actions of Richard's subjects. The letter ended with the reminder that if no compensation were made, the Hanse merchants would not trade with England.⁴⁰

The Hanse's letter to London was a triumph of diplomatic artfulness. Without stating that the city of London had instigated the trouble, it indicated that it knew very well who the real culprits were. In terms of exaggerated politeness the League then asked the mayor, council, and citizens of the city of London to request Richard to return its privileges.⁴¹ The subtlety, however, was wasted, for the Londoners replied in very formal language that the sagacity of the Hanse merchants should enable them to recognize the glory of the royal hierarchy and its sublime justice, and that they should not demand of his royal highness a return of privileges that had rightly been withdrawn. On the strength of complaints from all over England, Parliament had suspended the privileges of the Hanse merchants because of the frequent outrages done to Englishmen in Skåne and other Hanse regions as well as for the frequent and extreme abuses of their privileges, which impoverished the whole country. The Hanse could by no means deny or justify the charges. The English, moreover, were surprised at the Hanse's complaints, considering the very amiable treatment that had been given them. Nevertheless, they hoped that their old friendship would continue.⁴² Another letter from the Londoners to Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Winrich von Kniprode was almost literally the same, but lacked the glorification of Richard.⁴³

³⁷ N.d., *ibid.*

³⁸ *Letter Book*, H, 101.

³⁹ *HR*, II, no. 212.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, no. 156; General Assembly to King Richard II, May 30, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 159; no. 160.

⁴¹ General Assembly to Londoners, May 30, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 160.

⁴² Letter from London to merchants of German sea towns, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 162.

⁴³ London's answer to Grand Master, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 163.

These letters from London were accompanied by a letter from the German merchants in London reporting the delivery of the Hanse letters to London.⁴⁴

Richard's reply assured the League that the royal council was favorably inclined toward the Hanseatic merchants and would return their privileges to them. The council, however, told the Hanse that only Parliament could return their privileges, and it did not know when Parliament would convene again. It was clear that London was opposed to them as much as ever.⁴⁵

In October, 1378, Lübeck invited the other Hanse towns to meet with her and discuss the English situation. The League feared that the Prussian towns, which had become definitely protectionist and antiforeign, would take drastic action against the English. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who was the protector of the Prussian towns, had already threatened to arrest all the English merchants in his territory, and Lübeck feared that such action would result in severe reprisals against the Hanse merchants in England.⁴⁶

Because of other interests, none of the invited delegates appeared at the meeting scheduled for November 25, 1378. Lübeck again invited them, still more urgently, to a conference on March 13, 1379, or earlier, with the request to restrain the Grand Master from any attacks on the English. The Prussian cities replied that they had succeeded in delaying any action by the Grand Master against the English, but that because of bad roads, their campaign against the Lithuanians, and several other reasons, they preferred not to appear for a meeting until the next regular conference on St. John's Day, June 24. Lübeck then sent them a report from the London factory calling their attention to the great danger to which the lives and the property of the Hanse in England would be subjected if the Grand Master did anything to the Englishmen in his district.⁴⁷

On April 17 the Prussians met at Marienburg and instructed their envoy to the Hanse assembly to break off all negotiations with the English until the Hanse merchants received the restitution of their privileges. Outraged by the news from the Bruges factory that the English were guilty of several additional robberies and piracies, the Prussian towns reiterated that they would not permit any of their privileges in England to be curtailed in any respect.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ German merchants in London to General Assembly of Hanse towns, Aug. 13, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 164.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 170; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Oct. 9, 1378, *ibid.*, III, no. 113; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Nov. 25, 1378, *ibid.*, no. 116.

⁴⁷ N.d., *ibid.*, III, nos. 113, 116; Prussian towns to General Assembly, Jan. 16, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 118; General Assembly at Lübeck to Prussian towns, Feb. 8, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 120.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, no. 174, pars. 6, 7, 15, 16, 17; III, no. 120; German merchants at Bruges to Prussian towns, Mar. 14, 1379, *ibid.*, no. 122.

After many delays, the Hanse towns met at Lübeck on June 24. The Prussian towns urged the League to take strong measures against the English, but the other cities, whose greater interests in the English trade made them more cautious, suggested moderate action. It was apparent that the Prussian towns did not see eye to eye with the rest of the Hanseatic League regarding trade with England. The trade between England and Prussia, a recent development, was largely carried on by the English, so that the Prussian towns were in the same position in relation to the English as London was to its German guests. Finally, Lübeck and the other cities may have felt that a procedure appropriate in dealing with the barbarians in the east and the despots of the north was quite unsuitable to the advanced culture of the west, especially to a country that possessed so highly developed a system for the administration of justice as did England.⁴⁹

The Hanse assembly decided to ask the English king and the royal council again for the return of the old privileges, the abolition of the new duties which had just been placed upon their commodities, and compensation for past damages. At the continued urging of the Prussian towns, the Hanseatic League concluded the letter with the threat that if the complaints were not considered within a year, nothing would be sold to the English in the cities east of the Sound after Shrove Tuesday, February 8, 1380. Also, nothing would be bought from them except what was needed to eat and drink, and after Easter, nothing at all. Only in Flanders could the English buy anything; even there nothing could be sold to them. No merchandise purchased from them could be brought to a Hanse city for the purpose of resale. If the Hanseatic merchants did not get a favorable reply to the letter, moreover, they would leave England and remain away until further notice. Wool might still be bought in Calais, but only with the "loss of honor and ten gold marks fine."⁵⁰ At the same time the governor in Helsingborg was told not to protect any Englishman or anyone not a Hanse member in Skåne against murder, homicide, theft, or robbery. Fortunately such extreme measures, which would have done a great deal of damage to both sides, did not become necessary.⁵¹

In the meantime the Steelyard was not idle. Because of the disturbances

⁴⁹ From General Assembly's archives at Lübeck, June 24, 1379, *ibid.*, II, no. 190. See also Theodor Hirsch, *Dansigs Handels- und Gewerbgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens* (Leipzig, 1858), 99.

⁵⁰ League to Richard II, June 24, 1379, *HR* II, no. 190, par. 7. The staple for English wool was located in Calais. The entire wool trade, including the collection and administration of the custom and subsidy on wool, was regulated at this emporium. Georg Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters . . .* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1881), I, 351.

⁵¹ *HR*, II, no. 190; report of Hanseatic envoys, *ibid.*, II, no. 210, pars. I, II.

in London, the Parliament met at Gloucester in the fall of 1378, remote from London's influence. Here the Hanse merchants, referred to this session of Parliament by the royal council, asked for the return of their charter of privileges, or at least for an answer concerning their request.⁵² This Parliament decided that the foreigners were too useful to the kingdom to be deprived of all their liberties. As a result, almost all the previous restrictions were removed, and the Hanse merchants given permission to move about anywhere in the country for an unlimited period. Foreign merchants were also granted privileges of wholesale trade in wine, linen, cloth, and canvas; retail trade in these goods was to be reserved for local merchants. The Hanse merchants, however, were permitted to do retail as well as wholesale business in the buying and selling of grain, meat, fish, fruit, furs, and dry goods. London was explicitly warned not to interfere with or hinder the activities of the merchants on pain of severe punishment by municipal authorities. Under these new regulations, however, the Hanse did not regain all of its former privileges and monopolies. Their old charter of privileges would be returned to the German merchants, Parliament said, only if English merchants were permitted to visit all the Hanse markets and allowed to come, go, act, and stay as they pleased, without disturbance or hindrance of any kind, and that the Hanse should assist them in every way possible and see that no harm came to them in Prussia, Denmark, Norway, or any other area in which the Hanse traded.⁵³

From these records we learn that the English government was not willing to sacrifice the general economic welfare of the country to the special interests of a few large cities such as London, and that the greatest advantage for the country lay in as unlimited a trade as possible, and in the favorable treatment of the foreigners. On the other hand the English government stressed a point important to the Londoners: that the foreigners were to be kept strictly to the letter of their privileges and that the English must be given as much freedom to trade in Hanse districts as the League enjoyed in England. This was the policy of reciprocity that continued to dominate the relations between the Hanse cities and England. For the first time in the history of trade between England and the Hanse, the commercial monopoly at home and the English penetration abroad were accepted as complementary parts of the same program. The members of the London Steelyard reported to Lübeck February 8, 1379, that Parliament had put the new regulations into effect. They also transmitted a list of four requests from the English merchants for consideration by the Hanse: to allow the English to trade in Hanse regions

⁵² RP, III, 32, 33, 35, 52, par. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 47, par. 74; 52, par. 6; *Statutes of the Realm*, II, 6; III, 52, par. 6.

as freely as the Hanse traded in England under the royal charter of privileges, to give the English similar rights in Skåne, to relieve the English of collective responsibility, and to specify the names of the towns composing the Hanse confederacy. The Hanse refused to accede to these demands, and the old charter of privileges remained suspended.⁵⁴

Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, who was to become chancellor in 1380, assured the Hanse in a friendly letter that if the German merchants would allow the English merchants to enjoy their old privileges in the German provinces, he would recommend to the English king that the Hanse merchants should have their old privileges restored in England.⁵⁵ The matter came up for consideration by the League in November, 1379. At the request of the London Steelyard, the League sent two envoys to London from Flanders, demanding the restoration of the ancient rights. The two men, Councilor Jakob Pleskow of Lübeck and Councilor Johann Cordelitz of Thorn, left Bruges on November 11 and arrived at Calais three days later. Here the governor, the Earl of Salisbury, received them cordially. Because of a heavy wind, they could not sail from Calais until November 18, and only arrived in London on November 21. They went to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on November 25 presented their requests. The next day they talked with the mayor and aldermen. As might have been expected, these men only made excuses when asked to help the envoys to obtain a restoration of the old charter.⁵⁶ They said that they had many complaints against the Hanse about which they must consult others. The messengers suggested that this could be done privately without involving the government, but as the English contended that they could not finish presenting their complaints within the previously set time limit of eight days, the envoys turned to the most influential men of the council, the Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Northumberland, Stafford, and Suffolk, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Exeter, and the Chancellor, Sir Richard Le Scrope.⁵⁷ The ensuing negotiations occupied many days. Part of the discussion was carried on with the royal council, and part, as the royal council was very busy, with a committee of four men taken from the council. The committee from the council received advice from the London merchants, while the Hanse envoys consulted with the merchants of the Steelyard. The envoys answered the specific complaints of the English as best they could, and again asked for the return of their privileges. If the English had been

⁵⁴ Demands of the English merchants, *HR*, II, no. 212. For reasons, see no. 174, par. 6, Apr. 17, 1379.

⁵⁵ Oct. 9, 1379, *ibid.*, II, nos. 210, 211.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 210, pars. 2, 3, 4.

⁵⁷ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 458.

ill treated, the Hanse envoys said, they would bring the matter before the next Hanse assembly and would assist the English in getting back their rights and privileges. The complaints of the Hanse merchants in England should be handled in the same manner. The Hanse towns wished only to renew the peace and friendship that had existed between them in previous times. The common advantages from the trade ought to be evaluated by everyone concerned, and common talk by those who would like to have the Hanse merchants permanently expelled from England ought to be discouraged. If, however, the English did not consider the trade with the Hanse advantageous to them, or if the German merchants were no longer welcome in England, despite the fact that the Hanse cities had always given friendly treatment to the English, then English merchants would not be welcome in the Hanse provinces. They ought to consider whether this was to their advantage or not.⁵⁸

This ultimatum seemed to make a definite impression. The royal council assured the envoys of its sympathy, but asked them to wait until the next Parliament, three weeks after Christmas, at which time they would receive a definite answer. As the envoys said they could not wait, the council suggested that they add a supplementary article to their charter, according to which the English would be treated in a friendly manner in the Hanse regions, particularly in Skåne and Norway, and would be allowed to trade with the Hanse towns without hindrance, according to the ancient customs of both countries. The charter would not be valid unless the Hanse approved the supplementary article. The messengers, of course, had no authorization to grant such important concessions, but they assured the English that they would bring the matter before the next Hanse assembly, which would probably meet on June 24. Besides, they said, the English were already more free in the Hanse towns without privileges than the League merchants were in England with all their privileges, for which they paid about fourteen hundred pounds per annum, as the copies of their letters could prove. If the English wanted to travel to the German provinces as much as the Germans did to England, then the Hanse would probably grant them the same rights for a corresponding amount of money.⁵⁹

The English, however, did not consider this satisfactory, because they had not asked for anything more than they had previously possessed, according to the old custom. Besides, they criticized the Hanse towns only for their actions in Norway and Skåne.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *HR*, II, no. 210, especially pars. 5, 10, 11; report of Hanseatic envoys, n.d., *ibid.*, no. 192; *ibid.*, no. 210.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 210, pars. 11, 12, 13, 14.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 14.

The parties separated after the English promised to intercede for the Hanse in Parliament for ratification of Hanse privileges and compensation for damages, a list of which the envoys registered. On their part, the English asked the Hanse towns for the same service regarding the supplementary article that they had requested, and, on December 23, the two envoys returned to Bruges.⁶¹ On September 23, 1380, Archbishop Simon Sudbury of Canterbury, who had succeeded Sir Richard Le Scrope as chancellor in January, 1380, returned the former charter to the Hanse merchants in the presence of the treasurer Bishop Thomas Brantingham of Exeter and other influential men,⁶² but only on the condition that the English merchants would be treated as fairly in the districts of the Hanse as the Germans were treated in England. Otherwise, the privileges would be forfeited forever.⁶³

Half a year had elapsed between the close of Parliament, March 3, 1380, and the return of the charter of privileges to the German merchants.⁶⁴ Neither the cause of the delay nor the immediate occasion for the final return of the privileges is known. The two envoys from Lübeck and Thorn had presented their case in a dignified and persuasive manner that overcame all the major obstacles to a settlement. The gentlemen with whom they had to negotiate were sympathetic to the Hanse, but they desired on one hand to secure for their countrymen all the advantages possible, and on the other, and above all, to settle the quarrel with the Hanse in order to promote the true welfare of both parties. The envoys of the Hanseatic League acted as representatives of a power with equal rights; and the English admired their calm and firm conduct.

Thus King Richard II's government confirmed the Hanse's charter of privileges, but only after the Hanse had formally recognized the rights of Englishmen to trade in its territories. By this act English merchants, supported by the English government, succeeded in penetrating into areas hitherto monopolized by the Hanseatic League. The monopoly of the Hanse had been broken by restricting Hanseatic rights in England, and a program of reciprocity had been instituted between the Hanseatic League and English merchants. Thus, once again, comparative peace reigned between the Hanse towns and England.

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⁶¹ *Ibid.*, par. 15; no. 192, par. 9.

⁶² Archbishop Simon Sudbury was killed by rioters on June 14, 1381. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 498.

⁶³ Parliament to German merchants concerning the return of privileges confirmed Nov. 6, 1377, and terms connected with it, Sept. 23, 1381, *HR*, II, no. 225.

⁶⁴ Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 487. Parliament met from January 16 to March 3, 1380.

Canada and the Siberian Intervention, 1918-1919*

GADDIS SMITH

RECENT scholarship has not yet mentioned a major factor in the tangled history of the intervention in Siberia at the end of World War I:¹ the participation of Canada as an intervening nation.

Canadian intervention, involving four thousand troops and a special economic mission, represents the initial episode in Canada's struggle for complete control of her foreign policy after World War I. As such it illustrates the changing relationships within the British Empire more realistically than the scores of constitutional documents that the Commonwealth statesmen self-consciously drafted between 1917 and 1931. The story also deserves to be told as a subsidiary but essential part of intervention as a whole, and as an example of the interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain—the famous "North Atlantic Triangle"—at work in an unaccustomed quarter of the globe.

Canada's part in the Siberian intervention began in June, 1918, at a moment when the British government was exasperated by months of unavailing efforts to get the United States to approve a scheme of intervention as a means of bringing military pressure against Germany. To every entreaty President Woodrow Wilson had returned a rigid negative, basing his refusals on distrust of Japan, the only power with troops available for intervention in force. Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden of Canada knew about the thickening stalemate over intervention when he arrived in London, June 8, 1918, to attend the Imperial War Cabinet. What he did not know was that the British War Office, impatient over President Wilson's unshakeable attitude, was looking everywhere for enough troops to begin independent British in-

* A fellowship from the Samuel S. Fels Fund of Philadelphia made the research on this subject possible.

¹ Four recent works have treated different aspects of the intervention. John Albert White, *The Siberian Intervention* (Princeton, N. J., 1950) is an ambitious survey of the whole subject. Betty Miller Unterberger, *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920: A Study of National Policy* (Durham, N. C., 1956) examines with precision the sinuosities of American policy. James William Morley, *The Japanese Thrust into Siberia, 1918* (New York, 1957) makes excellent use of recently available Japanese sources. George F. Kennan, *The Decision to Intervene* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), the second volume in his admirable study of *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*, deals with events up to the arrival of troops in Siberia.

tervention. Not a man could be spared from the western front; in the Far East only a single regiment at Hong Kong was immediately available. Perhaps, reasoned the War Office, Canada might be willing to send troops directly from British Columbia across the Pacific to Siberia.

The idea had possibilities. The first step was to convince Sir Robert Borden of the necessity for intervention. Accordingly, on June 11 Leopold S. Amery, Borden's close friend and a member of the Secretary of War's personal staff, sent the Prime Minister a long memorandum by General Alfred Knox, former British military attaché in Petrograd, who was highly regarded as the British government's foremost Russian authority. Without immediate intervention, said Knox, the war would be lost:

Intervention from the Far East is our only chance of closing to the Central Powers in 1919 the material resources of Asia, and of bringing to bear against them a part of the enormous allied man power of that continent. It is our only chance of winning this war and of preventing another disastrous war in the near future.²

The same day on which Borden received the memorandum from General Knox he attended a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet and heard British Prime Minister Lloyd George survey the war situation in terms of black despair. The possibility of complete defeat in France had to be considered, the latter stated, with the British Empire and the United States left standing alone, as England had been left in the days of Napoleon. Full attention, therefore, must be turned to beginning intervention in Russia as the one means, should disaster strike, of carrying on the war. But the attitude of the United States was still blocking action.³

In the days that followed, the members of the Imperial War Cabinet sat with worried brows while the diplomatic efforts to get President Wilson to change his mind continued and the inclination of the War Office to act independently was restrained. During the same month Sir Robert Borden was actively and bitterly criticizing British military leadership on the western-front and blaming the blunders of British generals for the success of the German March offensive and for needless sacrifice of life, including the lives of thousands of Canadians. Borden's outspoken criticism provided Lloyd George with the opening he wanted for his own long-standing feud with the army "brass": the opportunity to set up the special Prime Ministers' Committee on War Policy, consisting of himself and all the Dominion premiers.⁴

² Memorandum by Knox, June 7, 1918, enclosed in Amery to Borden, June 11, 1918, Sir Robert Borden Papers, OC 515, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

³ Transcript of June 11, 1918, meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet, box 333, *ibid.*

⁴ *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs*, ed. Henry Borden (2 vols., Toronto, 1938), II, 809-15.

This Committee met in almost daily session and reached conclusions that vividly underline the pessimistic assumptions on which the plans for Siberian intervention were based. Disagreeing with the British General Staff, the Committee wrote into its report:

Rather than run the risk of failure to reach a decision on the Western front in 1919, with its disastrous results on the *moral [sic]* of the British and French, and perhaps even of the American Armies, the Committee would prefer to postpone an attempt until 1920.⁵

By the end of June, 1918, there was still no encouraging word from President Wilson. With Winston Churchill insisting that the time had arrived to act without the Americans, the Imperial War Cabinet decided to make one final appeal. A statement setting forth in full the reasons for intervention was prepared. Lloyd George brought the Cabinet's statement to the Supreme War Council on July 2 and the Council reworked it in the form of a long plea for Wilson's approval "before it was too late."⁶

Simultaneously it appeared that a crisis was building in Siberia. On June 29 Vladivostok had been seized by a portion of the Czechoslovak Legion then skirmishing across Russia against the Bolsheviks but reportedly in imminent danger of being annihilated by hordes of German and Austrian former prisoners of war. Here was the final and decisive excuse for beginning intervention without American cooperation: the Czechs needed help. During the first week in July the War Office acted. The regiment in Hong Kong was ordered aboard ship for Vladivostok and the Canadian government was formally asked to supply a contingent. On the heels of these British preparations came the startling and unexpected news that the imagined plight of the Czechs had also moved President Wilson and Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and that on July 6 they had decided on a joint United States-Japanese intervention. Great Britain had not been consulted and had no place in American plans. This was irritating in the extreme, but there was nothing to do but proceed with the plans for getting the Canadian troops to Siberia as quickly as possible.⁷

⁵ Report of the Committee of Prime Ministers on War Policy, August 15, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 628. Although this final report was not prepared until August, the Committee's important work was done in June.

⁶ Minutes of June, 1918, meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet, *passim*, Borden Papers, box 333; David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs* (6 vols., Boston, 1933-37), VI, 178.

⁷ George Kennan believes that the American decision for intervention prompted the British to act. "Thus the effect of Washington's unilateral action," he writes, "was not to keep the British out of Siberia but to propel them at once into that complicated situation. . ." *The Decision to Intervene*, 408. Considerable evidence suggests that this interpretation is incorrect. The British government did not learn of the American decision until July 10, when a cable dispatched by Ambassador Lord Reading late on July 9 was received in London. In reply to Reading, Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour cabled: "We ourselves were so sensible to the immediate necessity of aiding the Czechs that before receiving your message, we had . . . given orders

If the War Office hoped that the dispatch of Canadian troops would be a simple matter of request made, approved, carried out, the War Office was to be disappointed. Immediately the Canadian government refused to play a subordinate part and began to ask questions. This proved to be a long process, for nearly half the Canadian cabinet at the moment was in London, the rest in Ottawa.⁸

Sir Robert Borden personally approved the idea of a Canadian expedition, but felt obliged to consult his cabinet colleagues before giving an answer. First to be consulted was General S. C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia and Defence, who brought up several questions that needed answering: Exactly what duties would the Canadians be expected to perform? Under whose control would the force finally come? How would the troops be recruited? The last question was especially pertinent, considering the explosive nature of the conscription issue in Canada at the time.⁹ While Borden discussed these problems the War Office grew impatient. Maladroitly it attempted to go over Borden's head with a direct cable to the Governor-General in Canada in order to get the expedition under way. Borden was furious. "No reply shall be sent to the British Government's message except through me," he cabled in anger.¹⁰

At this point a greater problem appeared: the United States and Great Britain were pursuing different, even contradictory, Siberian policies. While the British urged Canada to participate in a vast strategic scheme to re-establish the eastern front and spoke of the need to defend India,¹¹ the United States condemned military intervention with uncompromising Wil-

for relieving the Czechs [*sic*] garrison at Vladivostok with such British as were available." Balfour to Reading, July 10, 1918, Sir William Wiseman Papers, folder 91, Yale University Library. Further evidence is found in the fact that General Tom Bridges, head of the British Military Mission to the United States, traveled to Ottawa during the first week in July in order to make arrangements for the Canadian contribution to the intervention. General P. deB. Radcliffe to Newton W. Rowell, July 9, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁸ The situation was complicated by another War Office request, issued July 12—this one for a full infantry battalion to be used in northern Russia. The Canadian government flatly refused this request on the grounds that no infantry could be spared from the Canadian corps in France. (Letters and memoranda on this decision are in the Borden Papers, OC 518.) Canada did, however, approve War Office requests to send small groups of volunteer officers and noncommissioned officers to northern Russia as instructors, and in August sent an artillery brigade of 497 men to that theater. Leonid I. Strakhovsky, "The Canadian Artillery Brigade in North Russia, 1918-1919," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXIX (June, 1958), 125-46. The present article deals only with the Siberian intervention because it alone commanded the full and anxious attention of the Canadian government. The operations in northern Russia went comparatively unnoticed by the Canadian government and press.

⁹ Mewburn to Borden, July 12; Mewburn to General W. G. Gwatkin, July 12, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

¹⁰ Borden to Acting Prime Minister Sir Thomas White, July 25, 1918, *ibid.*

¹¹ The best of many expositions of British motives is the General Staff memorandum dated June 19, 1918, entitled "Allied Intervention in Russia," Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17, S 2. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

sonian prose. Said the famous *aide-mémoire* addressed to the Allied ambassadors in Washington on July 17, 1918:

It is the clear and fixed judgment of the Government of the United States . . . that military intervention . . . would add to the present sad confusion in Russia rather than cure it . . . and that it would be of no advantage in the prosecution of our main design, to win the war against Germany. It can not, therefore, take part in such intervention or sanction it in principle.¹²

The United States was acting solely to safeguard the Czechs. By implication all other motives were nefarious.

By early August, 1918, the lack of understanding between the United States and Great Britain had become for several key members of the Canadian cabinet the dominant factor in the Siberian situation. There were almost no limits to the possible difficulties. Different policies could lead to friction; where would that leave Canada? Conceivably Canada might be forced to violate the basic principle of her external policy: friendship and co-operation with the United States as well as with Great Britain. Furthermore, what of Japan? Conflict between the Japanese and Americans in Siberia was not unlikely. Canadian public opinion would surely demand that the Canadian expeditionary force align itself with the Americans. But Great Britain, bound by the Anglo-Japanese alliance and traditionally more friendly than either the United States or Canada toward Japan, might demand Canadian neutrality. Was not the best course for Canada to stay out of Siberia altogether? Newton W. Rowell, president of the Privy Council, distilled all these uncertainties into a cable to Borden in London. The exact relationship of the Canadian expedition to the American and Japanese forces, said Rowell, must be defined and made public.¹³ No definition was ever offered from London, but it is worth noting that in the months that followed the cabinet in Ottawa acted in agreement with American declared policy and not with the views of the British War and Foreign Offices.

Borden had no answer to these objections. Undeniably potential difficulties existed, but a peculiarly Canadian factor in itself justified sending a force to Siberia—economic interest. As Borden expressed it:

Intimate relations with that rapidly developing country will be of great advantage to Canada in the future. Other nations will make very vigorous and determined efforts to obtain a foothold and our interposition with a small military force would tend to bring Canada into favourable notice by the strongest elements in that great community.¹⁴

¹² United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia* (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1931–32), II, 287–90.

¹³ Rowell to Borden, Aug. 9, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

¹⁴ Borden to Mewburn, Aug. 13, 1918, *ibid.*

By thus invoking the vision of future Siberian trade Borden was playing a theme popular in Canadian industrial circles since the beginning of the war.¹⁵ Since 1914 the government, too, had discussed from time to time various ways of acquiring advantages in Siberia for Canadian exporters, and in 1915 had sent two trade commissioners to Russia.

During the summer of 1918, while the cabinet hesitated, it was the chief Canadian trade commissioner, Condradin F. Just—recently returned from Russia—who expounded most vividly the great Siberian dream. In a note to Sir George Foster, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Just wrote:

The Americans we may suppose will make the most of this opportunity, and one would think that we might find a way to have at least a small share of such advantages. . . . I think I see here a possible opportunity for the participation of the Government in association with leading financial institutions on behalf of Canadian trade interests.¹⁶

Soon Just had worked out a full program for Canadian economic penetration of Siberia. In a detailed report he observed that geographically Canada and Siberia were similar, a popular cliché in Canada at the time. What an opportunity, therefore, for the application of Canadian skills and experience in transportation, large-scale agriculture, fishing, mining, forestry! What enormous potential markets for Canadian railroad equipment, river and coastal steamers, canning machinery, tractors, combines, flour mills, grain elevators, dairy equipment! What a chance to undertake “the exploitation of Siberian forests under Canadian direction and with Canadian appliances and machinery”!¹⁷ Just advocated the dispatch of a special Canadian economic mission—which was soon done—and in addition described how every officer and NCO in the Canadian expeditionary force could be given special instructions on how to search out and report “new markets for Canadian manufacturers.”¹⁸

Time proved that the dreams of Prime Minister Borden and the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce were fantastic, but in the summer of 1918 the belief that an economic rainbow arched across the Pacific to Siberia was strong enough to overcome or override all political and military objections to a Canadian expedition. The definite decision to go ahead was made in mid-August, and Brigadier General J. H. Elmsley was named commander.

¹⁵ The great Canadian opportunity in Siberia was a favorite subject for articles and editorials in *Industrial Canada*, the monthly journal of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. In the year 1915, for example, the subject was discussed in the January, April, August, September, and December issues.

¹⁶ Just to Foster, no date; probably early Aug., 1918, Sir George Foster Papers, subject file 73, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹⁷ Economic Mission to Siberia, memorandum by Just, Aug. 29, 1918, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Siberian Trade, memorandum by Just, Oct. 9, 1918, *ibid.*

There followed a sharp controversy with the War Office over who was to be in ultimate control of the Canadian troops: the Canadian government or the War Office. When the Canadian government said in effect, "No control, no troops," the War Office capitulated. Ottawa had control and the War Office salvaged the right to issue "orders" which did not have to be obeyed.¹⁹

At last General Elmsley and the first Canadian troops sailed for Vladivostok, where they arrived October 27, 1918. Now for the first time the Canadian government had its own independent, direct source of political and military information from Siberia. Two weeks later the signing of the Armistice in Europe completely destroyed the original military justification for intervention. Coming together, these two events brought consternation to the Ottawa cabinet.

General Elmsley's reports were consistently disconcerting. Siberia was a chaotic mass of intrigue and suspicion. The Americans and Japanese were particularly hostile toward each other. "And the Russians as a whole appear to be indifferent to their country's needs, so long as they can keep their women, have their vodka, and play cards all night until daylight."²⁰ But Elmsley's greatest troubles were with General Knox, who had arrived before him from London as head of the British Military Mission. Knox, zealous for a major campaign against the Bolsheviks, despised the Americans and said that the sooner they were excluded from all consideration the better; he placed little emphasis on the need for protecting the Czechs and proclaimed instead that "every British soldier is as much a factor of trade and Empire as Clive's men were."²¹ Such views—bellicose, imperialistic, militantly anti-Bolshevik, anti-American—were not designed to convince the doubtful within the Canadian cabinet that the dispatch of the expedition had been a wise move, economic arguments or not.

A running cablegram argument ensued between Borden, now back in London for the British preliminaries to the Paris Peace Conference, and the cabinet in Ottawa. Sir Thomas White, the acting prime minister, opened by cabling that the cabinet wanted the troops to be brought back. Borden said this could not be done; he appealed once more to "the economic considerations," which, he stated, were "manifest." If the troops were withdrawn, the special five-man economic commission under the exuberant C. F. Just would

¹⁹ The purport of the voluminous correspondence on this issue of control is summed up in a cable from Mewburn to the War Office, with amendments by Borden, Sept. 11, 1918. Borden Papers, OC 518.

²⁰ Elmsley to Mewburn, Nov. 2, 1918, Newton W. Rowell Papers, folder 71, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

²¹ Knox to War Office, Nov. 4, 1918; Knox to British consul at Irkutsk, Nov. 5, 1918, copies in "Elmsley Secret File," Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17:2.

be left dangling in Siberia or "would have to be recalled to our possible detriment in the future."²² To this White and the cabinet cabled back: "Canada has no such economic or business interest as will justify the employment of a Canadian force composed of young men whose parents and friends desire should return at once to their ordinary occupations."²³ Borden also suggested that Canada's honor was at stake. Great Britain was counting on Canada. To back out now would be a breach of faith and a serious blow "to Canada's present position and prestige." This argument was received with skepticism.²⁴

If Borden would not change his mind the cabinet in Ottawa could at least place restraints on the use of the Canadian troops in Siberia. This was done by cabling the War Office that the Canadian force would not be allowed to engage in military operations and could not leave Vladivostok for "up country" without the express consent of Ottawa.²⁵ Under these orders the Canadian troops did no fighting and never budged from their base while in Siberia.

The Canadian government also asked for a clear statement of policy from the British government. "It has been constantly asserted by His Majesty's Government," came the reply, "that it is for the Russians to choose their own form of Government and that His Majesty's Government have no desire to intervene in the domestic affairs of Russia."²⁶ This at least was encouraging news, and Rowell quickly drafted an official declaration designed to calm public uneasiness and to counter the strong impression that intervention had an anti-Bolshevik purpose. As a matter of courtesy the British government was asked if it could be quoted. "No," came the answer. "The Russian Soviet Government would be considerably encouraged thereby."²⁷ Now was confusion twice compounded. It was impossible to suppress the strong suspicion that the British were after all bent on using intervention against the Bolsheviks. Rowell's draft for a public declaration was tucked away in the files and never issued. The cabinet returned to its demands that the troops be withdrawn.

In Siberia, meanwhile, General Elmsley was having more trouble with General Knox of the British Military Mission. Elmsley, agreeing fully with

²² White to Borden and Borden to White, Nov. 20, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518; also Borden to White, Nov. 20, 1918, *Borden Memoirs*, II, 869.

²³ White to Borden, Nov. 25, 1918, Borden Papers, OC 518.

²⁴ Borden to White, Nov. 24, 1918; White to Thomas A. Crerar (Minister of Agriculture) and Crerar to White, Nov. 28, 1918, *ibid.*

²⁵ Canadian General Staff to War Office, Dec. 22, 1918, *ibid.*

²⁶ Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General, conveying statement of Foreign Secretary Balfour, Dec. 12, 1918, Rowell Papers, folder 71.

²⁷ Colonial Secretary to the Governor-General, Jan. 13, 1919, *ibid.*

the American commander General William S. Graves, considered it folly to fight Bolshevism with force of arms.²⁸ But Knox preached war and lamented that the Canadian and British troops had not begun to fight their way to Moscow.²⁹ Where Elmsley insisted on the importance of working with the United States, Knox called Americans "eye-sores."³⁰ Worst of all, Knox was openly contemptuous of Ottawa and the views of the Canadian government and had a disquieting habit of acting behind Elmsley's back. So strongly did General Elmsley feel that he cabled his views directly to the War Office in London. "The past has shown," he wrote, "that neither you nor the French can take an unduly prominent part in Russia's affairs without danger of having the brand Imperialism placed upon your actions, and thereby giving our home Bolsheviks material for . . . initiating industrial unrest. . . . Adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards America, Japan, and Canada. Modern nations can be led but not driven."³¹ Later, when there was a threat of serious conflict between the Americans and the Japanese, Elmsley informed the War Office that his officers and men were in sympathy with the Americans and probably would not stay neutral in any clash between the Americans and the Japanese.³² For this the War Office rebuked Elmsley, told him that the Americans were the only discordant element, and warned him to move his troops away from the scene of any possible friction and thus avoid trouble.³³

It was against such a background of uneasy tension in Siberia that Sir Robert Borden broke the long impasse which had existed between himself and the cabinet in Ottawa. His earlier dreams of economic glory in Siberia had not survived the nightmare of Siberia as it actually was. Thus the decisive motive for the Canadian expedition no longer existed. As the opening of the Paris Peace Conference approached, moreover, Borden had been thinking carefully about Canadian external policy, particularly about Canada's relationship to the United States as a coparticipant in a new era of world affairs, and had reached an important conclusion that he announced to the Imperial War Cabinet on December 30, 1918: If the future policy of the British Empire meant working with some other nation against the United States, that policy would not have the approval of Canada. This declaration was directly linked with the Siberian situation. Continuing, Borden made a specific recommendation for a new departure in Russian policy. It was sense-

²⁸ This rapport is described from the American point of view by William S. Graves, *America's Siberian Adventure, 1918-1920* (New York, 1931), 82-84.

²⁹ Knox to Elmsley, Nov. 27, 1918, CEF, Siberia, Records, folder 17:2.

³⁰ Knox to War Office, Nov. 24, 1918, *ibid.*

³¹ Elmsley to Radcliffe, Jan. 19, 1919, Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, folder 17:1.

³² Elmsley to War Office, Mar. 18, 1919, *ibid.*

³³ War Office to Elmsley, Mar. 27, 1919, *ibid.*

less, he said, to keep troops in Russia. The thing to do "was to induce the Governments of the various States in Russia to send representatives to Paris for a conference with the Allied and associate nations. These could then bring pressure, if necessary, upon them to restrain them and control aggression, and to bring about conditions of stable government."³⁴

Borden's unrealistic suggestion was based on an imperfect knowledge of conditions in Russia, but it seemed a good way out of an uncomfortable spot not only for Canada but for the greater powers. Lloyd George welcomed it eagerly and on January 3, 1919, made it the basis of a formal proposal to the United States, France, Italy, and Japan.³⁵ At the Paris Peace Conference the proposal was modified and emerged as the famous abortive scheme for a conference with all Russian factions to be held February 15, 1919, on Prinkipo Island in the Sea of Marmora.³⁶ Lloyd George called on Borden to be the chief British delegate at Prinkipo,³⁷ but the conference, of course, was never held. Borden, however, acted in the spirit of his proposal by informing Lloyd George that the Canadian troops would be withdrawn as soon as possible.³⁸ Lloyd George, who by this time was strongly opposed to continued intervention, approved of Borden's decision and said it would have considerable effect on British policy in regard to Russia.³⁹

Winston Churchill, then Secretary of War, tried vigorously to argue Borden into keeping the Canadian troops in Siberia, but Borden would not reconsider.⁴⁰ As soon as the grip of winter departed from Vladivostok harbor the first of the four thousand Canadian troops embarked for the trip back to Canada; by June 5, 1919, the last had departed.⁴¹ By the autumn of 1919 the British contingent of approximately two thousand, having lost the possibility of Canadian support and without hope of reinforcements, was also withdrawn.⁴² The last of the American forces left on April 1, 1920.⁴³ Siberia was left to the Russians and to Japan, whose troops lingered on until 1925, when

³⁴ Minutes of Imperial War Cabinet, Dec. 30, 1918, Borden Papers, box 333.

³⁵ United States Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919, Russia* (Washington, D. C., 1937), 2-3.

³⁶ United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations, 1919, The Paris Peace Conference* (13 vols., Washington, D. C., 1942-47), III, 676-77.

³⁷ *Borden Memoirs*, II, 904.

³⁸ Statement by Lloyd George at meeting of the Council of Ten, Jan. 21, 1919, *The Paris Peace Conference*, III, 666.

³⁹ Philip Kerr (Lloyd George's private secretary) to Borden, Feb. 16, 1919, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the Eighth Meeting of the British Empire Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, Feb. 17, 1919, Foster Papers, folder 143; Churchill to Borden, Mar. 17, 1919, Borden Papers, OC 518.

⁴¹ Canadian Expeditionary Force, Siberia, Records, HQ War Diary, drawer D-89.

⁴² Winston S. Churchill, *The Aftermath* (New York, 1929), 256.

⁴³ Unterberger, *America's Siberian Expedition*, 183.

the last Japanese soldier left the northern half of Sakhalin Island.⁴⁴ Thus ended intervention.

At first glance the story of Canada's part in the Siberian intervention seems annoyingly inconclusive. Like the larger history of intervention, it reads like a chronicle of indecision and human folly. But from the confusion certain conclusions may be drawn.

The policy of the Canadian government restrained British action in Siberia. If the Canadian troops had not been restricted to Vladivostok and instead had been subject without qualification to the British War Office and amenable to the wishes of General Knox, intervention in Siberia might well have taken a different turn. The Canadians might have become involved in serious fighting against the Bolsheviks. In that event it is worth considering what the American contingent would have done, how the Japanese would have acted, and what repercussions would have developed in Canada.

If General Elmsley had shared Knox's and the War Office's distrust of Americans, friction between the United States and Great Britain would have been more acute than it was—possibly with serious injury to British-American relations. To say that Canada in Siberia was acting the lynchpin or interpreter between the United States and Great Britain is to overstate the case, for the American government was blind to the fact that Canada was following a separate policy. Great Britain had no desire to display the disconcerting independence of the senior Dominion member; and the Canadian government, lacking separate diplomatic representation in Washington, had no easy means of making Canada's position clear. The subsurface interplay of the three "North Atlantic Triangle" nations, nevertheless, was a factor in the Siberian intervention. By responding to her own interests Canada acted as a buffer between the United States and Great Britain. In so doing, she presented an unmistakable North American point of view to the British government and restrained the impetuosity of the War Office.

For its own sake Canada's experience in Siberia is an excellent illustration of the process by which events compelled Canada to assume control of her own foreign relations. While the Canadian government grappled with the problem of Siberia it was not distracted by the theoretical debate over Canada's legal and constitutional right to have a foreign policy. There was no time to decide whether or not Canada possessed separate international status or to wring hands over the difficulty of conducting foreign affairs without a foreign service. Nor did the Canadian government pause to note how its actions contradicted the fashionable platitude of the time about the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 203.

nations of the British Empire speaking with one voice on foreign policy. An immediate problem called for solution. Purely Canadian decisions had to be weighed in the making of policy: Canada's relations with the United States, the uneasy attitude of both Canada and the United States toward Japan, the necessity of keeping Canadian control over Canadian troops, and—not to be forgotten—the mirage of economic opportunity that beckoned and then vanished. In such circumstances policy could not be left in the hands of the British Foreign and War Offices.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Pragmatism as a Theory of Historical
Knowledge: John Dewey on the
Nature of Historical Inquiry

BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS

WITHIN American academic circles pragmatism is passé. Lecture halls that once reverberated with words such as "experimentalism" and "experience" are now filled with "essence" and "existence." Perhaps we are all the wiser for it, because no one would want to hear the same words forever, not even "essence" and "existence." Historians, however, have a duty to treat the past with an understanding that tries to be more profound than fashionable, and when American historians speak of pragmatism they should not overlook the fact that they are at once referring to the *only* major American contribution to Western thought and to a philosophy that has informed the spirit and presuppositions of modern American historiography. The late R. G. Collingwood melodramatically accused empiricists of participating in a "conspiracy of silence" where the problem of historical knowledge is concerned; no such accusation could be made against the pragmatists. Also, both George Herbert Mead and John Dewey were historians of a sort and even the highly abstract Charles S. Peirce was concerned with the historical or social fixation of belief and habit.

It may be argued, as does the author of this essay in a forthcoming study of Carl Becker, that pragmatism is indeed the philosophy of some of the key American historians in the first half of the twentieth century. If this be so, the reflections on historical method of John Dewey, the cardinal pragmatist of our century, clearly assume a wider significance than their intrinsic quality might suggest. We sorely need, at this moment in the history of pragmatism, a study of how Dewey actually wrote about the history of philosophy, as

well as of how Dewey's "sense of history" affected his philosophizing¹ and how he influenced thinkers in other disciplines, especially in history. Historians in particular need, I venture, a study that proceeds as if Dewey were, until quite recently, American historiography in microcosm and that discusses critically yet sympathetically Dewey's treatment of historical inquiry in his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*, especially the chapter, "Judgment as Spatial-Temporal Determination: Narration-Description."² This is the object of the present essay.

The author of this essay has learned most about the limitations of pragmatism as a theory of knowledge from the writings of G. E. Moore and Bertrand Russell, but most professional philosophers and historians seem to be convinced that pragmatism has fallen between the opposing schools of idealism and empiricism without satisfying the objections of either where epistemology is concerned. In escaping from the orderly universe of Hegel into William James's dissonant multiverse, Dewey had lost his reliance upon the "absolute" or the "idea" without ever losing his Hegelian-inspired distrust of "brute fact." He was constantly torn between the two opposing tendencies of idealism and empiricism,³ torn but not destroyed because in his "pragmatism," "experimentalism," "cultural naturalism," and "instrumentalism" he made a valiant effort to overcome the dualism between mind and nature, the observer and the observed, subjectivity and objectivity—in short, to present us with "unified wholes." Had he succeeded he would have been the American Aristotle or Aquinas.

One thing Dewey believed in was the unity of science, and behind this there lay a unity of logic. Therefore much of what he had to say in his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* about the historian's tasks was taken, *mutatis mutandis*, from his over-all picture of man thinking. Dewey thought of historical inquiry, like all logical inquiry, in terms of its use-value, of the fruitful consequences that might come from it. "Intelligent understanding of past history," he wrote, "is to some extent a lever for moving the present into a certain kind of future." He was, therefore, concerned with the social sources and consequences of historical study, and we know that he shared this concern with the key figures in American historiography in the twentieth century: Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, Charles A.

¹ George Boas found only twenty items in the imposing bibliography of Dewey's writings that might be called historical; but, according to Boas, Dewey's "Whole orientation is in a sense historical." George Boas, "Instrumentalism and the Philosophy of History," *John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom*, ed. Sidney Hook (New York, 1950), 87.

² John Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* (New York, 1938).

³ See Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, "James, Dewey, and Hegelian Idealism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII (June, 1956), 332-46.

Beard, and Carl Becker. But whereas several of these "pragmatic" historians were deeply interested in the question of whether historical inquiry is a science, Dewey refused to allow himself to become engrossed in this problem. "The question," he believed, "is not so much whether or not history in the large is a science, or even whether or not it is capable of becoming a science. It is whether the procedures employed by historians are precluded from having scientific quality."⁴ While Dewey shared with the "historical relativists" Beard and Becker a concern with the cultural conditions that influence the historian's judgments, we must remember that he believed all scientific inquiries to be influenced by the culture in which they occur. Unlike Beard and Becker, Dewey did not believe that such cultural influences detract from the scientific status of historical study, and he continued to repeat the charge that historical study lags behind study in the physical sciences, a charge that would have no meaning if he regarded these disciplines as significantly dissimilar.

Although Dewey differed from Beard and Becker on the question of the relationship between history and natural science, his basic definition of historical study could have been written by either of these historians. "Historical inquiry," Dewey maintained, "is an affair (1) of selection and arrangement and (2) is controlled by the dominant problems and conceptions of the period in which it is written." The first part of this definition is concerned with the procedures of the historian; the second asserts that these procedures are in the last analysis "controlled" by factors which, as we shall see, need have no logical status at all. Proof that the historian in his studies of past ages is controlled by the culture in which he lives is to be found, according to Dewey, in the nature of the selecting processes he employs: "If the fact of selection is acknowledged to be primary and basic, we are committed to the conclusion that all history is necessarily written from the standpoint of the present, and is, in an inescapable sense, the history not only of the present but of that which is contemporaneously judged to be important in the present."⁵

If this be true, Dewey has closed the door to any effective distinction between the findings of the historian and the reasons that lie behind his interest in any historical problem. That this is so became clear as he developed the implications of his variety of "presentism." Historical inquiry, as described by Dewey, commences when the historian begins his search for "relevant" facts. Criteria for selecting and arranging these facts must be

⁴ Dewey, *Logic*, 239, 438.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 230, 236.

formed, lest the historian become bogged down in a morass of irrelevant data. Once assembled, these facts serve as material for "inferential" constructions about the past; hypotheses are essential for such constructions. "Ideas, meanings, as hypotheses are as necessary to the construction of historical determinations as they are in any physical inquiry that leads to a definite conclusion," according to Dewey. Historical facts clearly do not speak for themselves; and furthermore, Dewey believed, "The notion that historical inquiry simply reinstates the events as they 'actually happened' is incredibly naïve."⁶ Such a notion, Dewey conceded, is still a valuable warning against bias and subjectivity; and later we shall explore the possibility that as such it is also a valuable warning against Dewey's own reasoning about historical inquiry.

History, according to Dewey, could never be restricted to events that happened in the past; rather the principle of continuity links it to the present and the future. Also, "Where the past has left no trace or vestige of any sort that endures into the present its history is irrecoverable."⁷ In his emphasis upon the role of the present in historical inquiry, Dewey would have no difficulty in convincing us of the truism that our historical knowledge depends upon evidence that has survived from the past into the present. Nor would he have any trouble in proving that as man moves through time he looks at the past from many different points of view, or that he employs first one hypothesis and then another in his interpretation of what has gone on before. But it is clear that Dewey's "present" means much more than that in our studies of the past; it is, as Becker used to say, not only that the present is the product of all the past but that the past is the product of all of the present.⁸

The past is the product of all the present because, according to Dewey, "There is no material available for leading principles [or hypotheses] save that of the historic present. . . . At a given time, certain conceptions are so uppermost in the culture of a particular period that their application in constructing the events of the past seems to be justified by facts found in a ready-made past. This view puts the cart before the horse."⁹ This passage

⁶ *Ibid.*, 233, 236.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁸ In his discussion of judgments of recollection, Dewey briefly noted, "Some present state of affairs is always the occasion of the reconstruction of the past event. But as a mere occasion, it has no logical standing." *Ibid.*, 224. This, if it means anything, suggests a distinction between the reasons why we undertake to study the past and the nature of these studies. Unfortunately, Dewey did not develop this line of reasoning, and this modest estimate of the importance of the present lies buried under a welter of argument designed to prove both the logical and existential necessity involved in "present occasions" for historical inquiries.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

from Dewey is a nearly perfect expression of historical relativism—as the culture goes, so goes the historian. I submit that the total effect of this quotation is most depressing. There is a disturbing resemblance between Dewey's reasoning and that theory of knowledge which holds that when I make a statement about *x*, I am not really talking about *x*, only of my reactions to *x*—when I talk about the past, I am in fact talking only about present-day impressions that need not correspond to past reality.

If it be protested that this is not the theory of knowledge held by Dewey, I quite agree; but I insist that it is the position to which Dewey's argument reduces itself in this instance. If it be claimed that there was a note of dissatisfaction in Dewey's voice when he spoke of a "ready-made past," I also agree, but I do believe that the above quotation from Dewey is both descriptive and normative. It is descriptive in that Dewey did see the decidedly temporary nature of histories written around currently popular hypotheses, but it is also normative because these histories satisfy Dewey's conviction that present hypotheses are the ideational horses that should lead the factual carts. If Dewey appears to have sensed the circular nature of his relativism, so much the better; but that does not excuse its being circular.

Dewey has ignored the distinction between academic and romantic history, or, to put it differently, he has ignored the progress of historical scholarship and the increasing accuracy of historical judgments. Such judgments or hypotheses, if they are correct, can remain intact in the midst of contemporary passions and can be transferred from one culture to another without significant alteration. Romantic histories—for example, histories written with a national or class bias—may fit into Dewey's picture of historical study; but he has overlooked the steady growth of academic history which, although influenced and even stimulated by contemporary nonacademic pressures, managed, for example, to see through the Enlightenment's contempt for the Dark Ages, and which is today resisting T. S. Eliot's overly unitary conception of the Middle Ages. It may be that behind every judgment of fact there lies a judgment of value. But is not the disinterested love of truth a value as well, perhaps an eternal one that survives from culture to culture?

Although Dewey recognized that history is a word with two meanings—that which happened in the past, and our intellectual reconstruction of past happenings—this had no more effect upon his reasoning than his admission of a distinction between "facts" and our "ideational" handling of them. Actually what happened is identical in both cases—facts are subsumed under ideas—the past is buried under a welter of fashionable contemporary

interpretations of it. Small wonder then that academic history is a lost cause in Dewey's thought.

It could in fact be argued that all history is a lost cause by Dewey's logic, that his emphasis upon the utility of historical knowledge is betrayed by a line of reasoning that makes history useless. In Dewey's hands the principle of continuity tends to rule out any effective distinction between past, present, and future. It is, of course, a truism that time plays tricks upon us, that today becomes yesterday while tomorrow becomes today in such a bewildering succession that the almighty present depicted by Dewey becomes a "specious present" in both the practical and philosophical sense. Historical analysis, however, is futile unless we make abstractions from the total picture and pinpoint certain problems or periods for scrutiny, and Dewey in his emphasis upon selection and arrangement knew this well.

He failed, however, to provide us with criteria for legitimate acts of selection or abstraction, although all science depends ultimately upon such acts. In keeping with this deficiency, he also failed to distinguish adequately between indeterminate historical questions that we hope to transform into determinate historical answers and a determinate series of past events which remain fixed and determinate however historians interpret them. Here he betrayed a weakness common to all pragmatists, who are seldom disturbed by the question of whether inquiry is discovery or transformation. Dewey, however, had it both ways in his discussion of selection. Selection, he thought, is necessary if we wish to discover what actually happened; but it is also arbitrary, since Dewey's old Hegelian, holistic picture of life always made him doubt the legitimacy of any act of selection.¹⁰ Once you have selected something for study, you have torn the fabric of life. And whether you like it or not you have, according to Dewey, already transformed whatever it is that you are examining.

Dewey writes, "There is no event which ever happened that was merely dynastic, merely scientific or merely technological. As soon as the event takes its place as an incident in a particular history, an act of judgment has loosened it from the total complex of which it was a part, and has given it a place in a new context, the context and the place both being determinations made in inquiry, not native properties of original existence." From this Dewey concluded: "Nowhere is it easier to find a more striking instance of the principle that new forms accrue to existential material when and because it is subjected to inquiry."¹¹

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, 241.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 236.

Since no written history has yet approached the apparently formless state of Dorothy Richardson's novel *Pilgrimage*¹² with its almost painful fidelity to the world of actual experience, there is much truth in Dewey's judgment that the form we give to events in our written histories does not express their original position in the historical flux. We wonder, however, whether any historian has literally desired to re-create past events exactly in their original position. To tell what actually happened does not mean to tell all that happened; "the whole truth" is a dull, gray ghost that has haunted historians too long. Historical inquiry is discovery, and it is also intelligent commentary. Sometimes the historian is a detective, as R. G. Collingwood believed; sometimes he is a hanging judge, as Lord Acton hoped; sometimes he is a confessor who listens with sympathy; sometimes he gives absolution for terrible deeds; sometimes he is a scientist who arranges deeds, good, bad, or indifferent, into patterns of development. But surely he never does what Dewey thought. If "the context and the place" of the events we include in our narratives were only, as Dewey indicated, "determinations made in inquiry, not properties of original existence," then I fail to see that history can fulfill any function, except for those who delight in playing tricks upon the dead.

Dewey has argued that written history depends upon selection, upon some form of abstraction, and has then suggested that such abstraction must be false to our experience continuum. Probably Dewey in his desire to see history as useful felt impatient with the procedures and conclusions of highly selective monographic history; universal history in the grand manner of Hegel would perhaps have been more in accord with his taste. Friends of Dewey have argued that he wished only to make historians more conscious of their presuppositions, more aware of what selection involves and therefore less prone to error. Yet it is difficult to see how Dewey's achievement accords with the positive aspects of this intention; it is as if he had achieved too much, if what he says about selection be true. Dewey did accuse Marxists of writing bad history by virtue of prejudging the past in terms of class conflict. In fact, however, if his reasoning were correct, he has shown that all historians necessarily prejudge the past in one way or another. Dewey's emphasis upon the social conditioning that determines how the historian will interpret the past, his belief in the all-important role of hypothesis in historical construction, his stress upon the arbitrary nature of selection, his failure to explain how it is possible even to speak of error in historical study

¹² London, 1916.

—what are these in effect but alibis for the historian who wishes to prejudge, or misjudge, the past?

Dewey asked but did not answer the question: "Upon what grounds are some judgments more entitled to be accepted than are certain other judgments?"¹³ The question was left, apparently, for those who are interested in the sociology of knowledge; and the historian was left in effect with the tedious business of endless, circular explorations of currently popular hypotheses. At this point questions of science give way to questions of myth. If what Dewey called "intelligent understanding of the past," as distinct from dreams, illusions, or hallucinations about the past, is to be a useful lever for moving the present into "a certain kind of future," then we must know why some histories are true, or truer than others. If we cannot say what is true or false in our judgments about the past, then we are at the mercy of myth-makers. If we believe in liberal democracy, then the "myths" endorsed by Dewey, Beard, and Becker can cause us little harm and some comfort. But not all mythology is so gentle, and where do we draw the line? Pragmatism does not tell us, nor does it tell us how to escape from being the victims of our own myths. For example, what if we believe, metaphorically, that we are riding a wave of history when the tide is actually running against us?

At the minimum, therefore, Dewey's reflections on historical inquiry call to mind, ominously, Charles S. Peirce's well-known suggestion, made some six decades earlier, that for the ideas of truth and falsity we substitute belief and doubt.¹⁴ Psychology would take the place of logic and the sociology of knowledge would supplant history, if Dewey's thought were developed to its logical consequences. Nor does it require much imagination to see that psychology and sociology would soon encounter the same pitfalls as history, that they too would become the slave of present-day prejudice. Surely it is a great paradox that Dewey, the ardent champion of social science, provided us with a logic that makes the verification of historical or social science concepts so suspect in our eyes. A great paradox could become something of a tragedy, especially for those of us who sympathize with Dewey's basic assumptions. These basic assumptions, the author believes, are that history should be useful, that it should be regarded as an ally rather than a foe of social science, and that, most important of all, its findings should admit of logical, objective verification or rejection. The remainder of this paper will suggest how these assumptions might be reenforced by a logic different from Dewey's.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 230.

¹⁴ Charles S. Peirce, "Pragmatism," *Collected Papers*, ed. Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), V, par. 414-16.

Dewey's assumption that historical knowledge ought to be useful need not arouse any undue aesthetic indignation. A moment's reflection will show further that historical knowledge is already useful. Consider our understanding of the anatomy of revolution or of the movement of the business cycle, for example: what is this but useful historical knowledge—even if we do not always use it? In point of fact, history is generally regarded as a discipline of varying degrees of utility, even by those who do not go beyond Benedetto Croce's essay of 1893, "History Subsumed under the Concept of Art."¹⁵ The postulated utility of historical inquiry ranges from the Croce-Collingwood idea of history as self-knowledge to the more activist conceptions of Marx and to a lesser extent of Dewey. This diversity of opinion as to the use-value of history may, or course, stem from an even wider diversity of circumstances, but it is most clearly revealed by what we mean when we say that history is a science. Whenever someone like Collingwood speaks of history as a science, he is using the word "science" in the pre-Baconian sense. Science is little more than a synonym for knowledge; and in such a view, history is restricted to what has gone on before. On the other hand, we find philosophers who think of science mainly in terms of its predictive possibilities, as being knowledge of the future on the basis of past experience or experiment. Such philosophers have considerable reverence for the natural scientist because of his success in this regard, and they constantly urge the historian to pay closer attention to the findings and procedures of the natural scientist.

Dewey clearly belonged to the latter school of thought, and it was for this reason, I believe, that he failed to realize the many points of similarity between his *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry* and Croce's earlier *Logic* of 1909.¹⁶ With Croce, Dewey believed that facts do not speak for themselves, that the general must somehow be revealed in the particular, that history is either part of the present or that it cannot exist. But Dewey did not share Croce's contempt for "practical" history, and he was too much attracted by positivism to give up altogether the kind of dreams entertained by Comte and Henry Adams. Whereas Croce had resolved the fact-idea duality for the historian by showing, with considerable success, that historical facts are really ideas that, because of their rational form, can be rethought by successive generations of imaginative, rational beings, Dewey tried to resolve the duality by recourse to the presumably universal methods of natural science. For him

¹⁵ Benedetto Croce, *La Storia riddotta sotto il concetto generale dell'Arte*. Reprinted in *Primi Saggi* (Bari, 1919), I, vii-72.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *Logic as the Science of the Pure Concept* (London, 1917).

historical facts had no "inside"; he seemed to think that they could be selected or arranged as blandly as the biologist selects or arranges his fauna. If historical facts were to be understood at all, Croce and Dewey agreed, it would be because of something the historian brought with him to his studies. With Croce this something was imagination or sympathy, but with Dewey it was scientific logic or the ability to arrange particulars as instances of generalities or hypotheses.

Dewey had learned, possibly from Peirce, the importance of the observer's position in scientific measurement. The historian's position as he studied the history of society was, clearly, a social position. Since the historian can live only in the present, no matter where he may spend his working hours, his social position is controlled by the society in which he lives; here he finds his tools, his hypotheses and principles of selection—*ergo*, "cultural naturalism." But, if this be so, how do we know which of two conflicting positions, two different sets of tools, both existing contemporaneously in the same society, to rely upon? Dewey cannot tell us, for in his hands historical inquiry has lost its integrity, despite his intentions to the contrary.

To save both historians and their "facts" from being explained away by arguments drawn from Dewey's *Logic*, it would seem that two steps are necessary. First, it must be admitted that idealists of the Croce-Collingwood school have a better understanding of the historian's mind and of his data than have those who rely overmuch upon analogies from natural science, although the understanding of material must not be confused with the mastery of the epistemological problems arising from it. Second, this understanding must somehow be reconciled with the empiricist tradition in order to furnish us with that "objectivity" Dewey so earnestly desired. This means that historical facts must be recognized as ideas that have survived from the past, and that as such they are different in structure from the facts of the natural scientist. When enough of these ideas fall into a pattern, however, we can then extend the Croce-Collingwood position to the point where it will allow us to formulate generalizations or even "laws" about patterns of development of the kind employed successfully every day in social science—provided we bear in mind that these are laws of thought, not laws of nature, and that thinkers can alter their future course consciously in a way that the laws of nature cannot be altered.

By laws of thought, we have in mind in this connection not the laws of logic or mathematics but the kind of "necessity" that we sometimes find in a succession of synthetic, empirical propositions. This necessity is hard to formalize, but statements about man's experiences often reveal a logic of im-

plication, not the strict implication to be found in analytic or tautological statements, but the kind of implication that enables us to guess intelligently as to what ideas or events are most likely to come next. Sometimes ideas or events seize upon us and our imagination with such force that we feel compelled to follow them wherever they may lead; and this is what phrases such as "ultimate consequences," "*reductio ad absurdum*," and "following that line of reasoning" sometimes mean. After we have followed for a time, we may, of course, choose to dig in our heels and to countervail against the initial attraction. Were Dewey alive, he might at this point say that his critic, too, had been influenced by Hegel. His critic could reply that the dialectic is one of the most important ways of thinking about the history of thought. The laws of thought, however, may be dialectical, they may proceed in a more straightforward, orderly progression, or they may halt abruptly before a total negation; but, as Hegel understood, to say that there is law in human affairs does not necessarily negate the ideas of freedom or choice. In fact, law may be their very fulfillment.

Once it is realized that historical facts have an "inside" as well as an "outside," it might be that to avoid Dewey's overemphasis upon hypotheses and principles of selection, we should give recognition to Collingwood's simple question and answer procedure, his Socratic attempt to know the unknown.¹⁷ Even so, we have no guarantee that we have rethought the ideas of past generations in their original relations—we can, of course, have no such guarantee until after the attempt has been made—but we should be assured beforehand that self-deception need not necessarily be the fruit of our labors. By stressing the deficiencies of the notion that facts speak for themselves, idealists and pragmatists have done much to show the importance of the ways in which the historian makes facts "speak" and of the historian's presuppositions. Therefore, let us make a presupposition of our own, by assuming, until there is adequate evidence to the contrary, that we have no presupposition so strong as to blind us to the hopes and fears of the past. Let us also begin by assuming—and keeping—a distinction between those ideas of the past that we can recover from our present evidence, and the context and the relationships in which these ideas were initially thought. While William James may have been correct in saying that the relationships among the items of experience are as real as the items in themselves, the relationships remain infinitely harder to recover; and it is this task that should tantalize the historian, even to such an extent that his imagination and sympathy

¹⁷ R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1939), 28–43; *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), 269–74, 278–82.

might cautiously take up where the documents leave off. We hasten to add, however, that imagination and sympathy do not give us license to build prefabricated houses upon any historical lot we may choose.

While we have accepted the fact that the historian's facts are ideas, which accounts for their being sometimes intelligible to intelligent men, it is clear that, by Dewey's revelation, we are sinners. We are dualists; and as such, we are fond of distinctions between the past and the present, as well as between the reasons behind a historian's studies and the results of these studies. We are at this point in our argument especially fond of the distinctions between judgments of fact and judgments of value, and between *esse* and *esse percipi*.¹⁸ Briefly, our distinction between fact and value requires us to distinguish between the "is" and the "ought" of every story. Although we do judge the value of an idea recovered from the past in terms of its relevance to a question we have asked, this is quite different from saying that the idea is therefore true or good in some metahistorical sense. Indeed, many of the ideas handled by historians relate mainly to what were matters of immediate expediency for past generations; the question of their ultimate value is irrelevant for both past and present. Our distinction between *esse* and *esse percipi* requires us to distinguish between ideas as they once were and as we think them, between the ideas in their original integrity and as we understand them. Too much foolishness has been committed in the name of the "present" and of the past's dependence upon it, and this foolishness is bound to cause mischief if ever it be taken literally. The correspondence theory of truth with its distinction between the observed and the observer remains a sound theory of truth, provided we acknowledge that the nature of the observed and of the observer is different in history from what it is in the natural sciences.

By preserving all of the perhaps tedious and certainly old-fashioned distinctions we have defended, we can make sound, empirical provisions for the detection of error which some idealists have dismissed too easily as an inadequate comprehension of the "whole." We can leave room for imagination, too, as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself, and for pragmatic history, which works because it is true and for no other reason. Also, we can avoid the collective solipsism of Dewey's "present" and in our minds we can sometimes take refuge in the past. A step backward is often necessary if we hope eventually to continue forward, as mice in mazes, and men, too, have learned. Progressives and the heirs of pragmatism in general must some-

¹⁸ For the classic defense of the second of these distinctions see G. E. Moore, "The Refutation of Idealism," *Philosophical Studies* (London, 1922), 1-30.

day know the profound truth of Lord Acton's statement: "For history must be our deliverer not only from the undue influence of other times, but from the undue influence of our own, from the tyranny of environment and the pressure of the air we breathe."¹⁹

Finally, in order to find some solace or comfort for those who weary of a seemingly endless succession of questions about "what is history" let us apply to history what J. S. Mill once wrote concerning the nature of moral science: "It is true that similar confusion and uncertainty, and in some cases similar discordance, exist respecting the first principles of all the sciences, not excepting that which is deemed the most certain of them, mathematics, without much impairing, generally indeed without impairing at all, the trustworthiness of those sciences."²⁰

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¹⁹ John Dalberg Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History* (London, 1952), 33.

²⁰ John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*, in John Plamenatz, *The English Utilitarians* (Oxford, 1949), 163.

The United States and the Geneva Protocol of 1924: "A New Holy Alliance"?

DAVID D. BURKS

DURING the decade following 1920 the relations of Latin America with the League of Nations were a source of worry and concern to the American government. In particular, the Department of State feared Latin American efforts to use the League as a countervailing force against United States policy in the Western Hemisphere. The Department was immoderately hostile, consequently, to any League participation in hemisphere affairs; it even forced the exclusion of League observers from the Pan-American Conferences of 1923 and 1928. The American posture was, in fact, only one facet of a general policy: to have nothing to do with the League in political matters. For its part, the League generally reacted to United States policy with restraint and caution and only became active in Latin America during the 1930's, when Washington eventually welcomed League efforts to settle the Leticia and Chaco disputes.¹

In the 1920's, however, the League's interest in disarmament led it inadvertently to take a step that American officials regarded as a serious threat to the isolation of the Western Hemisphere from the League, and thus in turn a threat to the unique position of the United States in the area. This step was the drafting of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, a treaty viewed by official circles in Washington as an unfriendly European concert. Indeed, Secretaries of State Charles Evans Hughes and Frank B. Kellogg both regarded the Protocol as a potential "new Holy Alliance." Hoping to strengthen those elements in Europe that opposed it, therefore, the secretaries manifested their opposition to the treaty. The American position had considerable influence on the failure of the Protocol; some commentators have argued that the United States was mainly responsible for its demise. The European powers directly concerned sought to fill the resulting vacuum with the Locarno agreements. The United

¹ Warren H. Kelchner, *Latin American Relations with the League of Nations* (Boston, 1930), 11-15. Allen W. Dulles, *Analysis of Certain Activities of the League of Nations*, Nov. 7, 1925, Record Group 59, State Decimal Files, 1910-29, 500C/388½, National Archives. Hereafter cited as NADF with file and document numbers. By 1924 all the Latin American states except Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico had joined the League, but not all were active. For the American policy on the relations between the League and the Pan-American conferences see Francis White to Charles Evans Hughes, July 28, 1925, *ibid.*, 710.11/878.

States saw in these not a threat but a positive gain for European peace and so supported them, although in an indecisive and indirect manner.

The Geneva Protocol was the most important of the many attempts to strengthen the constitutional structure of the League in order to establish an international security as a basis for disarmament. Advocates of the Protocol believed that Articles XII and XV of the Covenant seriously limited the League's power to prevent war. Article XII permitted war three months after the Council had failed to reach a unanimous decision in a dispute, while Article XV exempted domestic questions from League jurisdiction. The Protocol filled these two "gaps" in the Covenant. It provided for compulsory arbitration of disputes that the League Council could not settle and it extended the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court by requiring the submission to that body of alleged domestic disputes. If, however, the Court adjudged the dispute to be domestic in nature, the League lost jurisdiction, although the good offices of the Council or the Assembly were not foreclosed. This provision, known as the "Japanese amendment" because that country sponsored it at Geneva, freed the way for League conciliation of domestic issues. A nation that had signed the Protocol but refused in a dispute to abide by these provisions of the Protocol was, *ipso facto*, judged the aggressor. And this nation was then automatically subject to the League's sanctions. The Protocol undertook to solve in this manner the thorny task of defining aggression.²

The Protocol first attracted the attention of Secretary Hughes because of a provision that after its ratification a disarmament conference would be held. Any conference of this type had potent political appeal in the United States. Speaking in Cincinnati during the 1924 presidential campaign, Hughes referred in passing to American willingness to cooperate in disarmament.³ When the League Secretariat, encouraged by this remark, informally inquired if the United States would accept an invitation to the Protocol disarmament conference, Hughes answered that his position would depend entirely upon the relationship between the Protocol and the conference. At the same time, he confidentially informed Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew and the consul in Bern, Hugh Gibson, that the Protocol's inclusion of "domestic questions" was the great obstacle to American participation in such a conference. Although not defining what he meant by "domestic questions,"

² The Protocol (full title, *Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes*) is contained in Walter C. Langsam, *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1919* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1951), 205-15. The basic studies of the Protocol are Philip J. Noel-Baker, *The Geneva Protocol* (London, 1925) and David H. Miller, *The Geneva Protocol* (New York, 1925).

³ New York Times, Oct. 4, 1924.

Hughes undoubtedly had Japanese exclusion in mind. The Immigration Act of 1924 abrogated the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, and according to press reports it was against this law that the Japanese amendments to the Protocol were directed.⁴ Hughes also believed that only if the conference did not discuss the Protocol and only if the resulting agreement was not entrusted to the League for enforcement could the United States consider attending. In other words, disarmament under League auspices was unacceptable.⁵ The problem of "domestic questions" faded into relative insignificance and the appeal of a disarmament conference evaporated altogether when Hughes began to believe that the arbitration provisions of the Protocol were dangerous to the United States. This belief resulted in large part from soundings of certain European statesmen.

Of crucial importance in this regard were the views of Foreign Minister Eduard Beneš of Czechoslovakia, one of the chief architects of the Protocol. In response to the questions of Frederick F. A. Pearson, American chargé d'affaires ad interim in Prague, Beneš explained in November, 1924, that the Protocol would preclude the United States from acting against a Latin American country under the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. Drawing upon his philosophy of collective security, Beneš thought that the Corollary might be protected through Council intervention in defense of American interests. This concept of the League acting as a fiduciary the American representative believed unacceptable; in the last analysis, the Corollary, no less than the Doctrine itself, was a unilateral policy.⁶ To the question of what impact the Protocol, if it had been in force at the time, would have had on President Woodrow Wilson's military intervention in Mexican affairs, Beneš had a striking answer. If the United States had not first appealed to the Council, Mexico could have obtained the support of League sanctions. Beneš offered other solutions for American objections to the Protocol. He suggested that the League be federalized by the creation of regional organizations for the Western Hemisphere, for Asia, and for Europe. He also pointed out that the approaching election in Great Britain might result in amend-

⁴ Hugh Gibson to Hughes, Oct. 10; memorandum of the Secretary of State, Oct. 11; Gibson to Hughes, Oct. 16, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/222; Philip C. Jessup, *International Security, the American Role in Collective Action for Peace* (New York, 1935), 33-34. In a speech made at Indianapolis on October 14, Hughes strongly attacked the Protocol because of its provisions for "domestic questions."

⁵ Hughes to Gibson, Nov. 8, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/228. Consistent with Hughes's attitude on disarmament was his policy on the related question of arms traffic control. Although in 1924 the United States participated in the work of the Temporary Mixed Commission on the problem, Hughes dropped the matter when it became involved with the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Merlo J. Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes* (2 vols., New York, 1951), II, 436-37.

⁶ Pearson referred to American policy as the Monroe Doctrine, but it is clear from the context that he actually meant the Corollary.

ments to the Protocol. Pearson wrote to Hughes that one of the amendments "ought to pertain to naval action in contravention of the Monroe Doctrine." The Protocol as it then stood, he meant, would permit the League to employ the British navy in Latin American waters.⁷

Shortly after receiving Pearson's report, Hughes sought advice on the legal aspects of the Protocol. Since obviously the United States would not ratify, the problem was how the country would be affected as a nonmember. The ruling section of the Protocol was Article XVI. This provided that a nonsignatory state should be invited to accept the conditions of the Protocol in case of conflict with a signatory. But if the state so invited refused to accept the Protocol conditions and resorted to war against a signatory state, the League could apply sanctions against it. In substance, the Protocol did not claim more extensive jurisdiction over nonmembers than did the Covenant. Once, however, the nonsignatory had submitted to the Protocol, it found itself faced with a more absolute determination of the dispute. For what the Protocol did provide in place of the combination of conciliation and arbitration contained in the Covenant was arbitration alone except in those cases involving domestic questions.⁸

From the legal point of view, the compulsory arbitration of the Protocol coupled with the inclusion of nonsignatories could be seen as dangerous to the United States. And, in fact, this was the opinion of Charles C. Hyde, the solicitor of the Department of State. He believed that, consequently, the Protocol would threaten the Caribbean protectorates and the rights of the United States as a neutral. The United States should therefore kill the treaty and propose another arbitration plan that would protect the Monroe Doctrine.⁹

⁷ Pearson to Hughes, Nov. 1; Hughes to Pearson, Dec. 3, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/242. Pearson's remarks were supposedly unofficial, but Hughes commended him for them. Beneš vigorously disagreed with the thesis that the Japanese amendments were directed against the United States. He took the view that the Protocol was an improvement over the terms of the Covenant since it assured the United States of League support in a conflict with Japan, for obviously the League Council would declare Japanese exclusion a domestic question. In December Beneš admitted to the American ambassador, Lewis Einstein, that "the thinly spread application of the Protocol principles throughout the world is of very slight concern . . . and . . . he felt but little interest in the hypothesis of a Chilean aggression against Bolivia or confidence in assistance coming to Czechoslovakia if attacked, from remote quarters of the world." He also said that the Protocol's objective was to protect the "lesser" European states as a basis for European confederation. Since this purpose was not inconsistent with England's foreign policy, she would sign after acceptance of amendments protecting her fleet. This emphasis upon the European nature of the Protocol contradicted the statements made by Beneš to Pearson in November. Einstein to Hughes, Dec. 31, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/268.

⁸ Manley O. Hudson, *What the Protocol Does*, VII, no. 7, pt. 1 of *World Peace Foundation Pamphlets* (Boston, 1924), 439.

⁹ Nov. 20, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/246½. Hyde did examine at some length the implications for the United States if it ratified the Protocol, but the evidence indicates that ratification was never seriously considered.

Henry P. Fletcher, a lawyer and then ambassador to Italy, generally concurred in this judgment.¹⁰

Although the Protocol was drafted by the Assembly of the League, the Council was assigned the responsibility of calling a disarmament conference after a sufficient number of powers had approved the Protocol.¹¹ On November 19, 1924, a confidential Foreign Office source revealed to the American government that the British would request a delay in Council action in order to study the Protocol and to consult the Dominions.¹² Ambassador Fletcher, home from Italy for the presidential election, expressed the feelings of Hughes when he wrote to Ambassador Kellogg in London that news of the British move "was a matter of great relief and pleasure."¹³ After returning to his post, Fletcher met with British Foreign Minister Sir Austen Chamberlain in Rome for the Council meeting on December 10, even though the postponement of action had ended the pressure for American initiative. To Fletcher's remark that the United States would gladly reveal its opinion of the Protocol, Chamberlain responded that he would be "intensely interested in knowing the American position before coming to any conclusion."¹⁴

Ambassador Fletcher also talked to Aristide Briand, visiting Rome as French representative on the Council. Briand asked if the United States would join the League. Perhaps, as Fletcher believed, Briand had been confused by the Democratic campaign of 1924 during which John W. Davis made an issue of American membership in the League. Fletcher's answer was the blunt and unfriendly statement that the United States would not join but that "as long as the League refrained from interference in her affairs" his country would cooperate on suitable occasions. Briand then attempted to discover the precise nature of American objections to the Protocol and the textual changes necessary to satisfy them. He intimated that the authors of the treaty would compromise to gain approval of the great powers, and he

¹⁰ Report of Hyde, Nov. 24, 1924, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/246 1/4. Fletcher suggested that the United States let the treaty wreck itself.

¹¹ The conference was to begin on June 15, 1925, if by the previous May 1 three of the four great powers on the Council (Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) and ten other members of the League had ratified the Protocol.

¹² Kellogg to Hughes, Nov. 19, 1924, NADF, 741.51/45. The actual delay was in the preparation of the agenda for the disarmament conference. Kellogg also reported a predisposition on Britain's part to oppose the Protocol.

¹³ This feeling of relief probably came in part from a disinclination to face an invitation to the Protocol disarmament conference. Fletcher to Kellogg, Nov. 20, 1924, Frank B. Kellogg Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. Fletcher first intended to visit Chamberlain in London and also, of course, talk to Kellogg, but he changed his plans because Kellogg suggested that no additional information would be gained in this way. See Kellogg to Fletcher, Dec. 1, 2, 3, 1924, *ibid.* Fletcher wrote to Kellogg that Hughes would acquaint him with Department policy if the Protocol question became acute. Fletcher to Kellogg, Dec. 8, 1924, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 9, 1924, Charles Evans Hughes Papers, Library of Congress; also NADF, 500.A14/14. Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 10, 1924, Hughes Papers.

asked whether in that case the United States would ratify. Fletcher replied that his government would not approve the Protocol as it stood; in fact, inclusion of the United States as a nonsignatory within the scope of its penalties was a most serious mistake, one capable of causing "resentment at home or even serious friction between Europe and the United States." Fletcher asserted that the United States would certainly not suffer a "European council" to apply a decision against it that it was an aggressor where it was "perfectly proper" in defending its rights. Briand misunderstood, thinking Fletcher was referring to the Japanese amendment, and he hastened to assure the American diplomat that when the Council considered a purely domestic question, no state would be labeled the aggressor. The confusion was ended by Fletcher's retort that the Protocol seemed to be an attempt to restrict American action in such a way "that it might easily be made to appear a new Holy Alliance." Fletcher suggested that there was a way to calm American fears. Was not the Protocol designed for two purely European problems: the Russian and German threats? Briand agreed. The scope of the treaty might then be limited to Europe, for then the objections to it as a Holy Alliance "would automatically disappear." Briand admitted that some limitation of this sort was possible. Even though he had made the suggestion, Fletcher was not sanguine about its prospects. He wrote Hughes that Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay had already signed and that probably the Protocol could not be changed.¹⁶

With France, Great Britain played a key role in the Protocol negotiations. Originally the British had been as enthusiastic as the French. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of the incumbent Labour government supported the Protocol without realizing the strong objections it would arouse at home and in the Dominions. When, on November 7, 1924, the Conservative government of Stanley Baldwin came to power, the atmosphere changed. Although the Baldwin government was predisposed to oppose the Protocol, it remained undecided until late in February or early in March, 1925. As early as December 10 Great Britain informed France of its willingness to consider a pact with France and Belgium and suggested that this could be discussed after the Protocol's future had been decided. Actual cabinet consideration of the Protocol was postponed until February, 1925, so that Robert Viscount Cecil, a supporter of revision, could participate.¹⁸ That the cabinet's final decision was

¹⁶ Fletcher to Hughes, Dec. 15, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/263.

¹⁸ Myron T. Herrick, American ambassador to France, to Hughes, Dec. 10, 1924, *ibid.*, 741.51/41, contains the report on the proposed tripartite pact that was to replace the Protocol. For Cecil's opinion see Viscount Cecil, *A Great Experiment: An Autobiography* (New York, 1941), 165-66. In February, 1925, the historical adviser of the British Foreign Office, Sir J. Headlam-Morley, submitted a report urging revision instead of rejection. See *The Diplomats*,

in part the result of American influence is clearly shown by the story of Anglo-American discussions.

On five different occasions Britain explored the American attitude toward the Protocol. Although one approach was made in England via Ambassador Kellogg, the more important conversations were those in Washington between British Ambassador Sir Esme Howard and the American Secretary of State. On January 5, 1925, Howard called on Hughes, explaining that in a private letter Sir Austen Chamberlain had requested him to discover the American view of the Protocol. Howard said that the British government was undecided about it. On one hand, the instrument might lead to events embarrassing to Anglo-American relations, a most unwelcome possibility since a "cardinal point" of British policy was friendship with the United States. On the other hand, France and certain small countries rightly believed that the failure of the Protocol would result in a burdensome arms race. His government was seeking modifications which would resolve these difficulties, and it wished to know American opinion, "which would play an important part in consideration of the case." In this first interview Hughes refused to commit himself to an official opinion. He emphasized that the problem involved important questions of policy, that he could only give his personal opinion until he had consulted President Calvin Coolidge, and that for these reasons he wished Howard to refrain from answering Chamberlain until he had obtained the President's approval. Because Coolidge was diffident about policy making, Hughes was accustomed to a great deal of independence. But this matter did involve a crucial policy decision requiring Coolidge's opinion. The President approved of Hughes's position, and Howard was informed of this at the second interview on January 8.¹⁷

In this first meeting Hughes said that he did not believe the Protocol would be accepted without amendments. But "speaking frankly, he had hoped that the Protocol would die a natural death because he saw in it numerous sources of trouble. If it went through as it stood, America could hardly help regarding the League of Nations as a potential enemy." Hughes

1919-1939, ed. Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (Princeton, N. J., 1953), 40-41. By March 5, 1925, the British cabinet had definitely made up its mind against the Protocol. Frederick A. Sterling to Hughes, Mar. 5, 1925, NADP, 511.3B1/306.

¹⁷ The Hughes version is found in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1925* (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1940), I, 17-18. Hereafter cited as *FR, 1925*. In April, 1925, Kellogg requested Howard's memorandum of the January meeting. Although this is couched in somewhat stronger language than the Hughes version, it seems to be an accurate reading between the lines of what Hughes was saying. Howard to Kellogg, Apr. 29, 1925, NADP, 511.3B1/345. It is interesting to note that the immediate predecessor of the Protocol was the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (1923). The Draft Treaty was less ambitious than the Protocol; the United States refused to sign the Draft Treaty but did not actively oppose it.

objected to the Protocol for two reasons: the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine¹⁸ and American neutral rights. Regarding the first, he thought there was "a proposal of a concert against the United States, when the powers joining the Protocol considered that the United States had committed some act of aggression." But the United States would feel justified since it would be acting in accordance with traditional policies. Howard correctly took this as a reference to an American action in defense of the Panama Canal that might lead a South American country to appeal to the League. As Howard interpreted the conversation, Hughes was saying that such an appeal would produce an explosion of American public opinion. Hughes also stated that although he did not believe this concert would become effective, in assessing it he had to assume the contrary. Thus the Protocol must be viewed with disfavor. It is clear that Hughes was implying that the United States would not tolerate interference with its protectorates in the Caribbean. Hughes also considered the Protocol as unfriendly to American neutral rights. But it is apparent both from the way he phrased his statements and from the general tenor of opinion in the Department of State that this problem did not worry him as much as the danger to the Roosevelt Corollary, because it was doubted that any country would permit the League to suspend its commercial relations with other countries. But this second problem was Howard's overriding concern, since Great Britain assumed (and Hughes agreed) that the United States would insist on trading with countries subjected to a Protocol blockade.

During the remainder of the interview, Hughes suggested that the Protocol would inevitably imperil British interests and bring that country into conflict with the United States, but he said that the British government must act on its own responsibility. And although Britain might wish amendments, these should not be presented as having American approval. He reasoned that such action would cause political unpleasantness on the domestic scene. This was quite likely the case, for although the Protocol had not been an issue in the campaign of 1924, American efforts to collaborate with the British in amending it would have antagonized the isolationists in the Senate, and Hughes always feared the sort of conflict Woodrow Wilson had sustained in 1919. Ambassador Howard thought the role of the United States could easily be hidden by a reservation to the Protocol allowing his government to make arrangements "with any power that was not a member of the

¹⁸ According to his own definition of the Monroe Doctrine given in two speeches made in the fall of 1923, it did not include the right of intervention. Intervention in the Caribbean under the Roosevelt Corollary was based upon the rights of national defense and self-interest. See Charles Evans Hughes, *The Pathway of Peace* (New York, 1925), 138-39.

"League" in the event sanctions were to be applied. Obviously, the world would have known that the United States was to be consulted, yet this reservation did not imply an agreement with the United States.

On January 8 Howard called for a second interview. After a brief review of the previous discussion, the British ambassador concentrated on the Monroe Doctrine. What would the United States do, he asked, should the League apply sanctions in a dispute between two Latin American countries? The new problem thus posed involved all of Latin America instead of only Middle America. Hughes refused to say more than it was not America's duty to oppose the Protocol, but the British were aware, he assumed, that difficulties analogous to the one Howard mentioned might appear elsewhere in the world.¹⁹ (The answer to Howard's question is to be found, however, in an address that Hughes gave on March 26, 1919, at the Union League Club in New York City. At that time he had said that American questions should be settled by the American nations acting jointly, unless as a group they invited European intervention;²⁰ he had followed this policy in the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute in 1921 and he had not changed his mind by 1925.²¹) Howard then proposed a reservation to the Protocol specifically permitting consultation with the United States, because Britain must tell its League associates that sanctions could not be successfully applied over the opposition of the United States.

Hughes and his advisers pictured the Protocol as a rebirth of the nineteenth-century concert of Europe that had supposedly threatened the newly independent nations of Spanish America. The parallel between the Holy Alliance and the Protocol as drawn by the Americans is all the more striking because the Monroe Doctrine, enunciated against the former, seemed also to be in serious conflict with the latter. As a practical matter the Protocol could be called a "Holy Alliance" only if its adoption would convert the League of Nations into a concert that assumed and could enforce the right of intervention in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere and only if this right of intervention included the activities of a nonsignatory nation such as the United States. From the legal standpoint, the Protocol threatened the Monroe Doctrine and the Roosevelt Corollary by imposing on disputes in the Americas the unpalatable alternatives of League arbitration or sanctions. The realities of the matter appear to have been quite different. It should be noted

¹⁹ *FR*, 1925, I, 19-20.

²⁰ *International Conciliation, Special Bulletin II, Criticisms of the Draft Plan for the League of Nations* (New York, Apr., 1919), 692.

²¹ For a discussion of the Panama-Costa Rica dispute see Lawrence O. Ealy, *The Republic of Panama in World Affairs, 1903-50* (Philadelphia, 1951), 60-61.

that by 1925 the League had done little to apply the Covenant to non-members. Although it had dealt with several disputes between a member and a nonmember, it had not shown any inclination to deal vigorously with great powers who were nonmembers.²² Only Britain had a navy strong enough to enforce the terms of the Protocol in Latin America. As the Howard-Hughes talks show, British misgivings arose from fear of conflict over neutral rights; they did not foresee such grave danger of trouble over the Monroe Doctrine as did the United States. Furthermore, Britain and the other great powers in the League needed the passive friendship if not the active cooperation of the United States in solving disarmament and reparations problems. These powers would not have risked American disfavor by backing the League in the Western Hemisphere, because they had nothing to gain thereby. They had failed to give vigorous leadership when the League had ineffectually considered the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute in 1921 and the Tacna-Arica dispute in 1920;²³ this fact strongly suggests that the Protocol was no threat to the American position in Latin America.

What did the Latin American governments think of the Protocol? A desire on their part to use it against the United States would have justified the opposition of Hughes to the Protocol, if only because it was wiser to avoid a test of strength with the League. But Hughes knew before he saw Howard in January, 1925, that there was little to fear from Latin America. A Department of State circular of November 22, 1924, requesting information on governmental reactions to the Protocol brought, for example, replies from Bolivia and El Salvador to the effect that the United States would not permit the League, a European organization, to intervene in the hemisphere. A similar paucity of interest was manifested in all the other Latin American states.²⁴ Probably it was the perpetual unrest in Middle America that influenced Hughes, for in 1924 the United States not only had five protectorates there but also exercised a restraining influence over the area as a whole. At worst, the United States might have found itself at some moral or legal disadvantage in justifying the exclusion of the League from the hemisphere. From all this, however, it is fair to conclude that the Secretary was excessively cautious about the Protocol.

²² Hudson, *What the Protocol Does*, 399.

²³ Dexter E. Perkins, *Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1941), 327-30.

²⁴ The only evidence of Latin American support came in a personal letter to Joseph C. Grew from an American member of the League Secretariat, stating that "in South America Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay have signed and are standing strongly behind the document." This was not confirmed by reports from these countries. Arthur Sweetser to Grew, Dec. 10, 1924, NADF, 511.3B1/225. The circular was sent to all but three of the Latin American capitals and to various posts in Europe. William R. Barker to Hughes, Jan. 17, 1925, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/290. Montgomery Schuyler to Hughes, Dec. 16, 1924, *ibid.*, 511.3B1/256.

Since Hughes opposed the Protocol, he naturally tried to reinforce the doubts of the British, but he saw no profit in shifting the blame for its failure from British to American shoulders. The British continued their efforts to obtain a public statement of American opposition. On February 12, 1925, Chamberlain asked Kellogg, still ambassador to Great Britain, for such a statement,²⁵ and shortly after Kellogg replaced Hughes as Secretary of State on March 5, Howard presented a fourth British request. As was his custom in the first months of his tenure, Kellogg consulted Hughes and followed his predecessor's policy. To satisfy Howard, however, Kellogg did refer the matter to President Coolidge.²⁶ If the British had decided to accept the Protocol, however, it seems clear that the American Secretary of State would have taken a public stand.

At the League Council meeting on March 12, 1925,²⁷ Foreign Minister Chamberlain announced that his government could not accept the Protocol. When the Covenant was written to include nonmembers, he explained, no one supposed that the United States and other great powers would not join. As a nonsignatory of Covenant and Protocol, the United States would, he believed, refuse arbitration in any dispute in which it was involved, and thus would be classed as an aggressor. And without American cooperation, sanctions against aggressors could only redirect world trade. Chamberlain touched on other reasons for opposing the Protocol, such as domestic questions, and made a veiled reference to Germany and Russia (the other great powers). Essentially, however, his thesis was that the absence of the United States from the League prevented Britain from accepting broader obligations than those contained in the Covenant. Chamberlain suggested replacement of the Protocol with special pacts limited to special needs.²⁸ During a House of Commons debate on March 25, the Foreign Secretary more explicitly stated that although there was no official United States policy on the Protocol, in

²⁵ Kellogg to Hughes, Feb. 14, 1925, *FR*, 1925, I, 4. Kellogg did not express the views of his government on the Protocol.

²⁶ L. Ethan Ellis of Rutgers University stated that Kellogg consulted Hughes rather often during his first few months as Secretary of State. Ellis to the author, Jan. 16, 1956. See also memorandum of Kellogg, Mar. 12, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/333 1/2.

²⁷ On March 11 British spokesmen appealed through the press for the support of the American people by saying that Britain, like the United States, believed that immigration and other domestic questions should be left in the hands of the state concerned. This was, of course, a misreading of the Protocol. *New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1925.

²⁸ Chamberlain's address (see *International Conciliation*, no. 212, *European Security*, New York, Sept., 1925, 247-53) was drafted by Arthur Lord Balfour as a member of the subcommittee on the Protocol of the Committee of Imperial Defence. For an analysis of the Balfour memorandum see Alfred Zimmern, *The League of Nations and the Rule of Law, 1918-35* (London, 1936), 357-59. For more information on Chamberlain's attitude see Sir Charles A. Petrie, *The Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain* (2 vols., London, 1939-40), II, 252-69.

fact they opposed it because they regarded it "rather as a possible cause of war than of increased security across the Atlantic."²⁹ Chamberlain was correct in stressing the importance of American opposition but by making this the main argument he carried the point too far. The fact was that the sweeping commitments of the Protocol, including its *de facto* guarantee of the 1919 settlement, were incompatible with Britain's view of the League and with its pro-German policy. The objections of the dominions were also a factor, though these (especially Canada's) rested partly upon the absence of the United States from the League and the Protocol.³⁰ Thus it can be concluded that American opposition to the Protocol reinforced rather than determined Britain's stand, which in effect killed the Protocol.³¹

Chamberlain's suggestion of special pacts was a sound one, for if the League could not be strengthened by the Protocol's universal approach, manifestly its basic principles could be used in narrower, regional treaties. With this type of treaty Britain could avoid conflict with the United States and dissension within the British Empire, yet achieve greater security. Formal negotiations for more limited arrangements began with the German note of February 9, 1925, to Great Britain,³² although, as we have seen, the British first broached the subject with a proposal of an entente to France. When, on March 16, the German ambassador to the United States, Baron von Maltzan, asked Secretary Kellogg for objections to or suggestions concerning the proposed security pact, Kellogg refused comment, since the United States could not join.³³ After Chamberlain's statement at the League Council killed the Protocol, newspaper stories that the United States would call a disarmament conference augmented French disappointment. French Ambassador Émile Daeschner informed Secretary Kellogg on March 26 that

²⁹ 182, *House of Commons Debates*, 5S, 314–19 (London, 1925). The statement was made in support of the thesis that the Protocol would not encourage disarmament. Chamberlain's speech to the Commons described British objections somewhat more accurately than his statement to the Council. He pointed out that the universal obligations of the Protocol, requiring an increase in the British navy, was the main reason for the rejection.

³⁰ Edgar W. McInnis, *The Unguarded Frontier: A History of American-Canadian Relations* (New York, 1942), 344–45; *The Diplomats*, ed. Craig and Gilbert, 38–39.

³¹ Gwendolen M. Carter, *The British Commonwealth and International Security: The Role of the Dominions, 1919–39* (Toronto, 1947), 118–23; Richard W. Lyman, *The First Labour Government, 1924* (London, 1957[?]), 176–79. Lyman states that since even the Labour cabinet of Ramsay MacDonald was divided about the merits of the Protocol, one cannot assume that the Labour government would have ratified it. The view that the United States figured importantly in the British decision is presented by Daniel S. Cheever and H. Field Haviland, Jr., *Organizing for Peace* (Boston, 1954), 126.

³² Hans W. Gatzke, *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (Baltimore, Md., 1954), 34; W. M. Jordan, *Great Britain, France, and the German Problem, 1918–39* (London, 1943), 213–14.

³³ *FR*, 1925, I, 20–21. Coolidge said much the same thing in a May press conference. *New York Times*, May 27, 1925.

his government did not consider the Protocol dead and, in view of the German threat, believed disarmament impractical at that time.⁸⁴ And the next month Ambassador Howard at the request of Chamberlain raised the question of an American statement against the Protocol in order to influence the coming September meeting of the sixth League Assembly.⁸⁵

Secretary Kellogg was sufficiently concerned by these signs of life in the Protocol to ask the opinion of Senator Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.⁸⁶ The Senator advised that the United States should not adhere to the Protocol, but that if it did not, the Protocol's claim of jurisdiction over nonmembers would nonetheless be a threat. An American refusal to submit a dispute to the League would create a presumption of guilt. The League would have the legal right, therefore, to coerce the United States for any action legitimately taken under the Roosevelt Corollary as, for example, the Haitian intervention of 1914. "This is a very serious situation," wrote Lenroot, "for . . . the Protocol places in very great jeopardy the Monroe Doctrine." Ambassador Fletcher meantime argued convincingly to Kellogg and Coolidge that the European states might put the Protocol into force without Great Britain.⁸⁷ Kellogg had hoped, as had Hughes, that the Protocol would fail; not because the United States could not defend itself, but because he "did not relish the idea of any foreign country demanding that we arbitrate the question of our control of Haiti, Santo Domingo, or . . . the question of any foreign country attempting to take possession of the customs of Central American countries in order to enforce debts, or . . . anything pertaining to the Panama Canal."⁸⁸ President Coolidge suggested an official pronouncement against the Protocol; the prob-

⁸⁴ *FR*, 1925, I, 10-11. Francis P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (2 vols., London, 1952), I, 269-70.

⁸⁵ Memorandum of Kellogg, Apr. 28, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/344½. For Kellogg's views on an American-sponsored disarmament conference and the prospects for the European security pact see his memorandum of April 30, 1925, *ibid.*, 500.A12/59a. David Bryn-Jones states in his *Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography* (New York, 1937) that the American attitude had no influence on British policy and that Chamberlain's approach to the then Ambassador Kellogg in February, 1925, was based on a desire to shift the blame for the failure of the Protocol to the United States. Although the February approach cannot be so lightly dismissed, Bryn-Jones's statement seems to describe accurately the April appeal to Secretary Kellogg. By April, Britain had publicly committed herself to an anti-Protocol policy.

⁸⁶ The covering letter is dated May 15, 1925, NADF, 511.3B1/345½. Lenroot regarded the Protocol as "an alliance to preserve the status quo." This alliance could be directed against the United States, and under the terms of the Protocol and the Covenant (Article XXI) the Monroe Doctrine would be subject to interpretation by the World Court, the League, or arbitrators. This seems to be the only reference to Article XXI, the Covenant's ambiguous statement about the Monroe Doctrine, in the official United States papers relating to the Protocol.

⁸⁷ Fletcher to Kellogg, May 19, 1925, NADF, 840.00/21. A letter of Fletcher to Kellogg, June 5, 1925, which I have not found, is mentioned in Kellogg to Hughes, June 19, 1925, Kellogg Papers.

⁸⁸ Kellogg to Fletcher, June 11, 1925, *ibid.*

lem was how it should be done. Although Kellogg prepared an address that mentioned the Protocol, Hughes's objections led him to hesitate.³⁹

Coolidge finally spoke out on July 3, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. But instead of condemning the Protocol he praised the Locarno negotiations.⁴⁰ Obviously Kellogg had now realized the desirability of encouraging a regional pact to replace the Protocol, as well as to promote European stability. In contrast to the cool response he received in March, the German ambassador was now cordially encouraged by the Department of State when he called to express appreciation for the Cambridge speech, which, he said, had been perfectly timed since it had assured Germany, France, and England of American interest. William R. Castle, head of the Division of Western European Affairs, urged the Germans to be conciliatory in negotiating with the French, and suggested that they would lose world support if they quibbled over French demands.⁴¹

Then, on July 30, Castle publicly reiterated American approval by saying that although the United States was not abandoning its policy of noninterference in European political affairs, it hoped "for the success of the European Security Pact."⁴² After the Locarno conference Coolidge himself expressed satisfaction with the resulting treaties,⁴³ while Kellogg informed the Danish and Italian ambassadors of American approval.⁴⁴ In his message to Congress on December 8 President Coolidge stated:

The Locarno agreements were made by the European countries directly interested without any formal intervention of America. . . . We have consistently refrained from intervening except when our help has been sought and we have felt it could be effectively given, as in the settlement of reparations and the London conference. The recent Locarno agreements represent the success of the

³⁹ "Some time ago the President suggested to me the advisability of making a pronouncement against the Geneva Protocol and asked me how it could best be done." Kellogg to Hughes, June 19, 1925, *ibid.* Kellogg was also concerned that the Protocol might affect the chances for Senate approval of American membership in the World Court, a step that the administration had requested in 1923. Although I have not found Hughes's answer to Kellogg's letter of June 19, 1925, his general attitude in the discussions with Howard in January, 1925, and his earlier advice to Coolidge as reported in this letter, indicate that he advised Kellogg against a forthright public statement of objections against the Protocol.

⁴⁰ This speech is in the *New York Times*, July 4, 1925. Coolidge said, "If the People of the Old World are mutually distrustful of each other let them enter into mutual covenants for their mutual security, and when such covenants have been made let them be solemnly observed no matter what the sacrifice." Edwin L. James wrote in the *New York Times* that Coolidge was keeping in close touch with the developments in the Locarno negotiations and that he had done much to influence both France and Germany to agree. July 20, 1925.

⁴¹ NADF, 793.00/87.

⁴² *New York Times*, July 31, 1925. I have not found Kellogg's letter of August 4 to Coolidge at Swampscott, Massachusetts, but have seen the latter's answering letter of August 6 in which he agreed that a statement on the Protocol was not desirable. A statement directly mentioning the Protocol was apparently under consideration.

⁴³ He said that Locarno was a "real achievement." *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1925.

⁴⁴ Dec. 3, 1925, NADF, 500.A12/91.

policy which we have been insisting ought to be adopted, of having the European countries settle their own political problems without involving this country.⁴⁵

He added that the United States was gratified by this regional approach, which promised substantial benefits to the world.

The failure of the Protocol prevented the disarmament conference from being held in June, 1925, until after Locarno. Late in 1925 the League took a new tack when it created a preparatory commission for the disarmament conference and included the United States as a member.⁴⁶ Much disturbed by American policy on the Protocol, Eduard Beneš, conferring with Lewis Einstein, American Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in February, 1926, predicted failure for the preparatory commission because of American participation. France, he reported, insisted on including naval disarmament on the agenda, and Britain agreed to this only on condition of American membership. Beneš believed that the Protocol's failure had not broken the intimate relationship of disarmament and universal security. With some bitterness he said that the guaranteeing of no more than regional security at Locarno meant that disarmament was now an "essentially European question," or, in other words, impossible.⁴⁷

The unwillingness of Hughes and Kellogg to accept a disarmament effort based on general security agreements had helped prevent any disarmament. Had the Americans not opposed the Protocol—ratification of it was of course a political impossibility—they would have forced the Baldwin cabinet to consider more seriously amendment instead of rejection. Chamberlain could only feel gratified at American disapproval of the Protocol; British distrust of the League and American isolationism were walking hand in hand.⁴⁸

Washington, D. C.

⁴⁵ *FR*, 1925, II, xii–xiii, has the complete speech. Alanson B. Houghton, ambassador to Great Britain, suggested this statement as a way to check European attempts to limit American influence and also to quiet criticism at home. Houghton to Kellogg, Oct. 27, 1925, NADF, 500.A12/75. The failure to invite the United States to the Locarno conference produced some newspaper criticism.

⁴⁶ Walters, *History of the League*, I, 360–61.

⁴⁷ Einstein to Kellogg, Feb. 22, 1926, Calvin Coolidge Papers, Library of Congress. This letter was passed on to the President.

⁴⁸ Houghton believed that the success of Locarno forbade the United States from bringing a land disarmament conference (in which the United States was little interested) but not a naval disarmament conference to Washington (Houghton to Kellogg, Oct. 24, 1925, *FR*, 1925, I, 15). James T. Shotwell suggested in 1925 that the United States might declare its policy to be governed by principles identical with those of the Protocol, in order that the rest of the world could build a security system with some degree of confidence. *International Conciliation*, no. 208, *Plans and Protocols to End War: Historical Outline and Guide* by James T. Shotwell (New York, Mar., 1925), 104.

* * * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * * *

General

BANKERS AND PASHAS: INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM IN EGYPT. By *David S. Landes*. [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi, 354. \$6.00.)

Egypt in the 1860's was bustling, dirty, corrupt, and exciting. For Europeans it was a place to make millions in any conceivable currency, but for Egyptians a place to go into debt to Europeans and to die of cholera. This frantic, unbalanced prosperity rested on three unstable foundations: the construction of the Suez Canal, the phenomenal boom in Egyptian cotton caused by the American Civil War, and the enigmatic personalities of Said and Ismail, the Egyptian viceroys veneered with Western culture yet dreaming grandiose dreams of an African empire. Professor Landes writes with authority on all of these, and in a sprightly—indeed, at times flippant and melodramatic—fashion that will reward reading even by those who are not particularly interested in Egypt, or finance, or economic imperialism.

The central core of the work, published in abbreviated form under the same principal title as a chapter of *Men in Business*, edited by William Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), concerns the career of Édouard Dervieu, one of the European bankers, businessmen, and adventurers who descended in droves on "Klondike on the Nile" (the author's term) in search of windfall treasures. The unusual interest of the narrative arises from the fact that it is based to a great extent on the long, full, and remarkably candid correspondence of Dervieu and his principal backer in France, Alfred André, one of the most respected private bankers in Paris. The use of private business and personal archives is a distinctive characteristic of the "new" economic history—not to be confused with mere business history—and Landes, who is one of the pioneers and most able practitioners in the area, has drawn from his sources the most informative account I have yet seen of the detail of nineteenth-century financial operations. In addition, he fills out his narrative with two long introductory chapters on the nature of merchant banking and the "financial revolution" of the 1850's, a "digression on Suez," and some concluding reflections on the contemporary significance of the "economic imperialism" of the 1860's.

The introductory chapters alone are almost worth the price of the book. They contain a wealth of factual information and demonstrate the author's authorita-

tive command of the literature of nineteenth-century finance. In my opinion, he is essentially correct in his revision of the prevailing view that the old-line private bankers flatly opposed and eventually were destroyed by the rise of corporate investment banking. The chapter on Suez brings out little new information, but does have the virtues of presenting a relatively unbiased account—rare in histories of the canal—and of placing Lesseps' achievement in its genuine historical setting, not in the “splendid isolation” which is its usual fate.

The brief concluding chapter is at once the most suggestive and disappointing of all. The use of the term “economic imperialism” in the subtitle is unfortunate. Economic, perhaps, but greedy men have always been willing to use the power of the state to achieve their selfish ends. Landes wisely refrains from trying to establish that economic forces were the sole or even the principal factors leading to military occupation and political control; indeed, he is acutely aware that the basic antagonisms between East and West were—and are—psychological and cultural. But many of his readers will, I fear, be misled by the emphasis of the subtitle. Underneath it all lay, as Landes correctly points out, the “double standard” of Europeans, reflected both in attitudes and behavior toward peoples possessing inferior technology and a weaker material civilization. That was the essential evil; the world today is harvesting the bitter fruit.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO E. CAMERON

LEZIONI DI STORIA DEI TRATTATI E POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE.

Volume I, PARTE GENERALE. INTRODUZIONE ALLO STUDIO DELLA STORIA DEI TRATTATI E DELLA POLITICA INTERNAZIONALE, LE FONTI DOCUMENTARIE E MEMORIALISTICHE. By *Mario Toscano*. [Corsi Universitari.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli, Editore. 1958. Pp. 518. L. 3,500.)

PROFESSOR Toscano is not only one of the foremost diplomatic historians of our time but also a participant in the making of diplomatic history. He has been in recent years an official at the Italian Foreign Office, is president of the commission for publishing the Italian documents, and is editor of the volumes from 1935 to 1943. His numerous articles and monographs have been mainly devoted to the period since 1914.

While the author writes primarily for his students in this volume, which reproduces a part of his lectures at the University of Rome, his knowledge of the sources is so profound and his observations so incisive and discriminating that even the most learned scholars will be able to consult his lectures with profit. The book is both ably done and important.

The study is divided into three parts and an appendix. Part I consists of valuable introductory comments on the nature of the study of international politics, on treaties, and on the great collections of treaties. Part II examines the col-

lections of published diplomatic documents, and Part III comments on some of the major memoirs of the diplomats. The appendix consists of one of the most provocative essays to appear in any country on the power struggle since 1945.

The author presents probably the best assessment yet made of the weaknesses and defects of the great printed collections of diplomatic documents. He finds much to criticize in Germany's *Die Grosse Politik*: the volumes are based too largely on reports rather than telegrams; the topical organization has more disadvantages than advantages; too little is reproduced from the Bismarckian period. Apparently political considerations did influence the exclusion of some important documents. He is likewise critical of the abandonment of the chronological order in the German collection for the Hitler period. The diplomats and the German Foreign Office played a minor role. Hitler, who had contempt for the diplomats, made the important decisions.

Toscano is unfavorably impressed with the organization of both of the great British collections of documents. The material for the early years of the 1898-1914 collection is somewhat thin. The private papers of Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlin are not used. Granting that the editors were men of integrity, he still feels that political considerations may have exerted an undetermined influence on the choice of materials. He praises the inclusion of minutes and marginal comments in the earlier collection and regrets the exclusion of these materials from the series covering the period between the wars.

The unscientific nature of the notes by the Russian editors of the still incomplete pre-Soviet documents and the poor indexing have been corrected in the excellent German translation, which is far superior. The serious gaps in the French documents before 1914 are to be explained by the reluctance of French statesmen to leave records of their secret actions, by the loss of documents in World War II, and by the failure of the editors to use private papers. The Austrian documents cover too short a period, exclude materials not directly or indirectly connected with the Balkans, and do not give the total picture of Austrian policy. The State Department documents have limited value for the historian prior to the change in the nature of the selection of documents with the volumes for 1932. The indexing, he finds, is the worst in any important collection being published. The author naturally writes with pride of the great Italian collection, which is in many respects the best planned of all the publications of documents and which makes extensive use of private papers. Due attention is also paid to Japanese materials, to the great French inquiry for the years 1933 to 1945, and to many minor collections, including the three volumes of Hungarian documents, the last two of which were suppressed and are extremely rare.

Part III begins with an analysis of the positive and negative values of memoirs as sources. In making a critical evaluation of selected memoirs from Talleyrand and Metternich to the more recent memoirs of World War II, the author shows great skill and knowledge in condensing the distinctive revelations into a few words. The result is a highly useful guide to this rich literature.

In his essay on the present international situation, Toscano feels that a kind of military stalemate has been reached between Russia and the United States based on the power of each to deliver mortal blows to the other. Formal agreements seem impossible but additional *de facto* accords are possible. He calls upon Europe to liberate itself from permanent fear of an imminent third world conflict and to raise living standards and solve urgent social problems. While admitting that local and civil wars may continue, he senses that much of the struggle will be economic and psychological.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

SOVIET POLICY AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, 1931-1946. By *Charles B. McLane*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 310. \$5.50.)

This is a study of Russian policy vis-à-vis the Chinese Communist movement from 1931 to 1946. It is based upon examination of published Russian sources and Western-language materials dealing with the Chinese Communists, including translations from the Chinese. These materials do not permit a conclusive answer to many questions concerning the nature and importance of Russia's influence on the Chinese Communists during this period. Because the Chinese Communist movement was almost completely isolated in China's rural hinterland as an insurgent military and political regime, at best it had only very tenuous lines of communication with those outside its territorial bases and these were necessarily of a covert nature pertaining in a military situation. Fighting as they were for survival and power, there was little that the Chinese Communists could expect of help from without and little that Moscow could offer that was significant. Neither the Comintern nor the Russian Foreign Office was equipped to deal with such a situation. The result was that while Japan's activities made Russia increasingly concerned about developments in China, Russian spokesmen and Comintern figures discussed Chinese Communist problems in terms of remoteness and general vagueness. This situation provides a relatively meager body of information which, as Dr. McLane recognizes, says little about Russian politics and influence on the Chinese Communists.

Much of the study, therefore, deals not with Russian statements, but with developments within the Chinese Communist movement in an effort to determine what evidence of Russian influence can be deduced from intramural politics and party programs. This is done by covering chronologically the various stages through which the party passed in its time of rural confinement: the Kiangsi period (1931-1934), the formation of the United Front (1935-1937), the United Front (1937-1941), the war period (1941-1945), and the immediate postwar period. The evidence available in the sources used is carefully sifted. The book is useful as a compilation of data and an indication of the large number of questions that remain unanswered in present Western sources. Further work needs to be

done in materials that are becoming available in Japan and Taiwan and possibly elsewhere. We now have, for example, additional evidence on links between Moscow and Yenan through Sinkiang in 1937 and 1938. Not only did Russian money go to Yenan, but Moscow also used Chinese Communists to serve its interests in its Sinkiang zone of influence and even vetoed the application of the Chinese governor for membership in the Chinese party and enrolled him instead in the Russian party.

McLane's book, which is focused on the Soviet-Chinese Communist relationship, does not deal with the central issues for the Chinese Communist party during this crucial period when it established itself as a major force. Its primary concern was survival, and this depended entirely upon its own resources and political and military unity and strength. In Chinese Communist terms this always meant survival as a Marxist-Leninist party linked to all other such parties, but Moscow was a peripheral factor in their situation during this time of lonely and bloody testing.

The usual monographic facilities, including extensive footnotes which at times carry much critical commentary, are provided.

Columbia University

JOHN M. H. LINDBECK

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.A. AND THE PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF 1941-1945. Volume I, CORRESPONDENCE WITH WINSTON S. CHURCHILL AND CLEMENT R. ATTLEE (JULY 1941-NOVEMBER 1945); Volume II, CORRESPONDENCE WITH FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND HARRY S. TRUMAN (AUGUST 1941-DECEMBER 1945). (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House; distrib. by Chicago Council of American Soviet Friendship, Inc., Chicago. 1957. Pp. 400; 301.) [American edition published in one volume by E. P. Dutton, New York. \$7.50.]

A HISTORY OF ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS. Volume II, 1943-1950. By W. P. and Zelda K. Coates. (London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1958. Pp. 463. 37s.6d.)

THESE are both curious examples of the kind of historical scholarship that leaves the average "bourgeois" historian breathless. The collection of "correspondence" was put together by an official Soviet commission of historians headed by Dr. A. A. Gromyko, who also is well known as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. The study by Mr. and Mrs. Coates is the latest in a long series of publications by this team, the common characteristic of which appears to be that their authors are prepared to believe the worst about British and particularly American foreign policy and the best about the policy of the Kremlin. While

the official Soviet publication can be criticized because of certain omissions, it has the merit of consistency with previous official Soviet publications. In the work of the Coates the merits are more difficult to discern, but since it is an ambitious work of interpretation let us give it priority of discussion.

The Coates make no pretense of objectivity. Their method of research is to state certain theses, partly explicitly in their own words and partly by implication in quotations from the Soviet press and from British sources sympathetic with the Soviet position. They seldom comment on Soviet sources but frequently deliver themselves of indignant or sarcastic judgments regarding British or American critics of Soviet policy. For example, in referring to the official United States attitude toward Soviet annexation of the Baltic states, they write, "We doubt whether such a shameless *volte-face* as that of which U.S.A. [sic] government has been guilty in this case has any parallel in the history of international relations." There is scarcely a major issue between the Kremlin and the governments of Great Britain and the United States in the period from January, 1943, to the middle of 1950 on which the Coates do not take a position of such extreme bias that one wonders once again at the limits of human naïveté.

There is no doubt that the Coates have good intentions. They have gathered together a great mass of material from the British and American press. Some of it is very interesting. Unfortunately, there is no indication of use of sources in the Russian language. This is important, for if the authors had read the Russian press they might have been more aware of the fact that the Kremlin was highly skeptical, to say the least, about the possibility of genuine peace between the "socialist" Soviet Union and the "capitalist" countries of the West. Perhaps the greatest value of a book such as this one is that it sheds light on the sentiments of a certain section of public opinion in Western Europe, which is remote indeed from that of almost any segment of opinion in the United States.

Perhaps the most interesting fact about the two volumes of correspondence between Joseph Stalin and his British and American counterparts is that it took it so long to be published. In a way its publication is to be welcomed, as it represents a slight concession to world public opinion. The official Soviet governmental commission responsible for this publication worked with exceeding caution. They obviously took pains to include nothing that was not consistent with previous Soviet publications in the Russian language. In all probability, one purpose of publishing this collection was to offset the impact of statements regarding various actions and declarations by Stalin, which are contained in the memoirs of Winston Churchill and in books by Robert E. Sherwood, James F. Byrnes, and others. Since in some cases statements by Western leaders referred to conversations, rather than to "correspondence," the Soviet editors are on strong ground, technically, in omitting references to such matters as the Churchill-Stalin agreement of October, 1944, regarding the division of the Balkans into "spheres of influence."

Ancient and Medieval History

THE GREEK EXPERIENCE. By C. M. Bowra. [The World Histories of Civilization.] (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. xiv, 210. \$6.00.)

THIS book is not one more survey, a procession of names, dates, and events connected by historical clichés and flavored with suitable anecdotes. The author undertakes a series of field explorations in related areas of the Greek scene, sinks his shafts into the rich soil, and brings up for our inspection a wealth of mental objects. These objects he handles and exposes with discrimination and delight, pointing continually to the evidences of a common stamp and style that they carry. The book has ten chapters, which range over the Greek landscape, language, and racial stock, examine the values of "The Heroic Outlook" and the meaning of the Greek gods, probe the moral and social values of the Greek citizen, and examine the specific qualities of the spoken and written word in the poets and the tragedians. The chapter on "The Place of Reason" treats the history of early philosophy and science. It is characteristic of Bowra that he finds room for a chapter on Greek art, which is supported by no less than 103 separate illustrations.

The over-all treatment has two notable limits. The Mycenaeans receive only scant mention. For Bowra, the Greek experience that can be authenticated begins with Homer. Also, as he warns in the preface and restates in the epilogue, he prefers to stop at 404 B.C., with the fall of Athens. From his point of view, even the century of Plato and Aristotle is already the twilight. This limitation, however unpalatable to philosophers, has one salutary effect. Previous surveys of the Greek genius have always tended to interpret it within a framework supplied by the two magisterial thinkers. In such accounts, Greek culture tends to emerge as a model of ethical balance or good taste or religious uplift rather than as a source of energy and power. Bowra recognizes the contributions of the two classic philosophers as rationalizers of the previous unconscious tradition, but he himself prefers to point firmly toward the earlier springs of that tradition in the values set on the concrete and on honor and achievement, in the preference for physical beauty, in the sense of rhythm, melody, and dance. The most effective chapters in the book are perhaps "The Heroic Outlook," "Myth and Symbol," and "Imagination and Reality." This is no surprise in an author who has done so much for scholarship in the study of the *Iliad*, of the lyric poets, and of Pindar.

An important survey of this kind always becomes vulnerable in proportion to its importance. Here and there, in the rapidity of his sweep, the author has perforce to cut corners. Thus we are told, "The word tragedy means goat-song, and the first beginnings of the art are to be found in a choral song to Dionysus, when a goat, which was thought to embody the god, was at first torn to pieces and later given as a prize for the best song." The unwary reader may not realize that be-

hind these unqualified statements lurks a disputed theory (of the goat-song) and two quite disparate attempts to support the theory (the dismemberment versus the prize) that Bowra has ingeniously combined. Also, the author perhaps too confidently projects the Platonic "cardinal virtues" into the sixth and fifth centuries. Sometimes an issue is avoided that if clarified could have shed further light on the Greek experience. Nor would one guess from Bowra the debt of Greek monumental sculpture to the Egyptians, who are otherwise included in that disparaging category described as "the herded multitudes of Egypt and Asia."

This last is an example of a kind of provincialism to which professional Hellenists are sometimes vulnerable. A generation ago even the history of Greek science was treated in careful isolation from "foreign influences." It is not an attitude in which Homer or Herodotus shared. Rather, it was the two great philosophers who on moral grounds finally divided Greeks and barbarians into superior and inferior races. If the point is to be made here, it is because even Bowra, despite his self-imposed restrictions, seems to relapse here and there into the metaphysics of the fourth century. He cites Plato only less often than Pindar, with Aristotle a close third.

In short, the Greeks even in these lively pages are sometimes commended to us in ways that appeal to modern religious instinct. It is a muscular Christianity, to be sure, in which the cult of the physical somehow suggests transcendental opportunities. It is a little too optimistic, even for the Greeks. A people possessed of such undoubting heroism and bounding energy might end by being a bit dull, in a new way. Bowra can rightly reply, however, in his own modest words, "If we try to form some general picture of what the Greeks were, we have to rely on our own judgment and hope that others will to some degree share it."

Harvard University

E. A. HAVELOCK

STORIA DELLE PROVINCE ROMANE DELL'AFRICA. By Pietro Romanelli. [Studi Pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica, Number 14.] (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. 1959. Pp. x, 720. L. 9,000.)

PROFESSOR Romanelli of the University of Rome is particularly well qualified by his years of archaeological experience in Cyrenaica to write this massive book. Geographically, the author limits himself to Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, and Mauretania; the temporal range is from 509 B.C. (Rome's first treaty with Carthage, which he tentatively accepts) to A.D. 439 (the Vandal capture of Carthage). The book does not aspire to replace S. Gsell's monumental eight-volume *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, but it does bring it up to date, with copious documentation. The references to inscriptions, often published in obscure journals, are particularly valuable. Fullest treatment is reserved for Africa under Augustus, quite properly, in view of that monarch's administrative reforms and broad colonization policy there. What Romanelli has written is political, military, ad-

ministrative, and economic, not intellectual history. This emphasis is justified because it is in these areas that the bulk of the evidence lies. The motive of Rome's original conquest was political: the annihilation of Carthage. Manifest destiny worked sporadically under the Republic, methodically under the Empire. And the fact that it is an account of imperialism at work will constitute the book's central interest for the nonspecialist historian.

The book provides, implicitly, likenesses and contrasts with the story of the rise of colonialism in the nineteenth century and its breakdown in the twentieth, with special though still implicit reference to modern Rome's lost new empire in Libya. The author, for all his objectivity, cannot be without a certain nostalgia for that empire under which the Fascist regime, consciously imitating ancient Roman imperial policy, built roads, grandiose civic buildings, schools, and hospitals, settled 200,000 colonists, counted Libya's administrative subdivisions as regular provinces of Italy, and extended a limited form of citizenship (like old Roman "Latin rights") to the native population. And so out of massive Roman ruins in the desert Romanelli makes a symbol.

In short, the book raises, though it does not solve, the old question of whether the alleged blessings of empire are worth their price in *Schrecklichkeit*. The site of Carthage sown with salt, Jugurtha strangled, Cyprian martyred—all this must be balanced against the evidence for prosperity and Romanization, especially for the African bourgeoisie; the evidence for a Rome-inspired African renaissance in art (especially mosaics), literature (Terence, Fronto, Apuleius), learning (No-nius), philosophy (Synesius), and Christian apologetics (Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine). But the prosperity and the renaissance was a middle-class affair; the mass of the population remained poverty-stricken and un-Romanized. Ancient panegyrics on the blessings of empire come from its bourgeois beneficiaries; the views and the grievances of the lesser breeds without the law remain largely unrecorded. Yet there may be some justification for Romanelli's argument that the very impulses to independence at work in North Africa today are the fruit of a seed first sown by ancient Rome.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL MACKENDRICK

TACITUS. Volumes I and II. By Ronald Syme. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 464; 466-856. \$13.45 the set.)

PROFESSOR Syme places Tacitus in a broader historical setting than does professor Mendell, whose *Tacitus* (New Haven, Conn., 1957) was reviewed briefly in this journal (*AHR*, LXIV [Oct., 1958], 143). Mendell concentrates on the literary aspects of Tacitus and devotes more than half of his discussion to the manuscript tradition, a topic that appears only incidentally in Syme's *Tacitus*. In this extensive and thorough study Syme pays equal attention to Tacitus the writer and to the history both of the years in which he lived and of those covered by his historical writings.

Syme agrees with the currently established position that the *Dialogus* is by Tacitus but disagrees with those who, like Mendell, would date it early, in the eighties, and thus minimize the contrast between its Ciceronian style and generally optimistic tone and the Sallustian style and pessimism of the other works. Syme argues, both here and in a contemporary article "The Friend of Tacitus" in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (XLVII [1957], 131-35) that the Fabius Justus to whom Tacitus dedicated this essay was a man known to have been suffect consul in A.D. 102 and that in antiquity such dedications were generally occasioned by some such important event in the life of the dedicatee as the attainment of a consulship. So late a date makes it difficult to believe that Tacitus could with one hand compose in flowing Ciceronian periods a dialogue concluding that the peace brought by the Empire compensates for the loss of occasions for oratory and with the other, pen with pointed Sallustian brevity the *Agricola*, which for all its tribute to Nerva's union of *principatum ac libertatem*, paints so blackly the tyranny of Domitian. Such an attitude was to be even more fully developed in the account of Tiberius in the *Annals*. Granted that an ancient author could adapt his style to his subject—Ciceronian for rhetoric, Sallustian for history—nevertheless, it does seem unlikely that such contrasting views of the Empire could be held at the same time by one who seems as sincere as Tacitus. Syme gives no answer to the objection that if the *Dialogus* was dedicated to Fabius Justus on the occasion of his consulship, might this not suggest that it may not have been written by Tacitus?

Syme revises the traditional picture of Tacitus' literary career on a second, less disputable point. He would agree that the composition of the *Histories* fell in the first decade or so of the second century, during the early years of Trajan's reign. But he finds evidence in the *Annals* that Tacitus was personally acquainted with the eastern provinces and problems and suggests that this familiarity may have been acquired during his proconsulship of Asia, in about A.D. 112. He therefore takes the reference (*Ann.* II 61 4) to the extension of the Roman Empire to the *mare rubrum*, presumably meaning Trajan's march to the Persian Gulf in 116, not as a later insertion but as showing that the early books of the *Annals* were composed at this time, or even later, since the abandonment of Trajan's conquests by Hadrian would not necessarily have led the historian to excise this note. From the conclusion that the bulk of the *Annals* were composed under Hadrian he develops a more dubious argument that there can be found in them, by innuendo, criticisms of Hadrian's antiimperialistic and antisenatorial policies.

By a third suggestion, Syme cuts the Gordian knot of how, if the *Annals* contained only sixteen books (as indicated by the numbering in the second Medicean manuscript and Jerome's total of thirty books for *Annals* and *Histories*), Tacitus could have crowded the hectic period from the middle of A.D. 66 to the end of A.D. 68 into the approximately half book lost from the end of the *Annals*. Syme's suggestion is that Tacitus originally planned eighteen books for the *Annals*, divided, as has previously been suggested, into three groups of six, but that he did not live

to complete much more than survives in Book XVI, and, indeed, left signs of haste and incompletion in the later books.

A series of appendixes is devoted to a penetrating analysis of Tacitean style and vocabulary. Syme finds in the early style Ciceronian and Livian traits, then a movement toward a more thoroughly Sallustian manner, and finally the attainment of a balance in the third hexad of the *Annals*, in which the dichotomies and syncopations of the middle period are softened by a return to a more periodic structure.

The historian will profit richly from these volumes. They abound in the prosopographical detail, accuracy, and intuitions at which Syme excels. With Mendell, he justifies Tacitus as a military historian against the criticisms that have been leveled at his accounts of campaigns and battles. Syme holds that both the *Histories* and the *Annals* reflect not only Tacitus' bitterness against Domitian but also his varied reactions to Trajan and to Hadrian. The analysis of these reactions leads into thorough and suggestive discussions of the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian. Much attention is also given to the emergence of the new senatorial aristocracy, comprising men from northern Italy and the more Romanized western provinces who rose into the senate through the imperial service. These chapters breathe life into the specialized studies that have been made during the past half century on the composition of the senate and on the replacement of the old republican families by those of provincial origin. Tacitus realized the narrowness of the *nobiles* of the later Republic and the intransigence of their descendants, who survived into the early Empire and whose opposition to the new regime was based on family pride and resentment over their loss of privileged status. Tacitus and his contemporaries admitted that the Empire was not merely necessary but even beneficial, and to this extent the opinions expressed in the *Dialogus* may be fitted into his general pattern of thought. But they accepted it only on the presupposition that the ruler should be "good," that is, should conform to the Augustan pattern of a prince who respected the senate and the "republican" traditions that Augustus had been careful, at least outwardly, to "restore." Syme interprets most sympathetically their combination of respect for the great Roman past, of practical appreciation of an imperial, rather than a narrowly Italian approach to government, and of acceptance of monarchy if it was the Stoic "rule of the best."

These two volumes are not to be read at a sitting or only once; they must be studied, pondered, and consulted again and again. Their wealth of precise detail never obscures their imaginative understanding of the whole theme. And it need hardly be added, at least for those familiar with Syme's earlier writing, that the style, though often elliptical, staccato, and occasionally difficult to follow, is lively, stimulating, and Tacitean.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

KULTURGESCHICHTE DER RÖMISCHEN KAISERZEIT. By *Ulrich Kahrstedt.* (2d rev. ed.; Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 440. 38 fr. S.)

ULRICH Kahrstedt's *Kulturgeschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* is considered by some to be among the standard works dealing with the cultural and social history of the Roman world during the first two centuries of the Empire. In this second edition, the author has brought this work to the latest stage of his investigation, which encompassed three continents, reaching from Morocco to Armenia, and from Britain to Arabia. Unlike most cultural and social studies of Roman life, this work follows a bold plan which presents a picture of the entire Roman world. Its usefulness is augmented by an abundance of splendid plates illustrative of the text.

The author is not simply presenting a picture of Roman life for the sake of the picture itself; the topic is presented in support of a general thesis. At the outset a brief account of the main aspects of the imperial constitution is presented with a discussion of the emperor and his court, the magistracies, and the financial, military, and judicial administration under the Principate together with the character of imperial and local government. A consideration of these topics leads to a survey of the domestic economy and administration of the individual provinces, concluding with a discussion of the crisis that existed in the provinces by the beginning of the third century. Important to an understanding of this crisis is the examination that follows of the manner of life enjoyed by the contemporaries of this age. The extravagance and general tone of life is related to the decay of education, literature, and science evident during this period. The concluding chapter is taken up with the philosophical and spiritual life of the Roman world at the close of the second century, which includes a treatment of the various superstitions and religions then prevailing in the Empire.

The civilization of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire the author regards as more than just a part of the last phase of ancient history. He finds that the history of the West comes in two great waves, the last of which includes the first two centuries of the Roman Empire as described in this volume. The first great wave begins with the passing of the natural economy of archaic Greece to the religious reformation and discovery of the world that men of the Greek city-state released. The curve reaches its material and spiritual climax in the Hellenistic world. The second great wave has its beginning with the rising power of the Roman Republic in the west. Here the Roman aristocracy has transcended the boundaries of the material power means known to the old world. The Hellenistic culture of the old world was blended into a great world state which became the object of exploitation by the capitalism of the young west.

Opposition in the west to this exploitation arose out of the convulsions that followed the age of the Gracchi. In the east this opposition was manifest in the wars with Mithradates of Pontus. Out of these struggles the army emerged as the

ruling factor, creating the image of the Principate that developed out of this revolution. By the end of the second century territorial states are gone, political interest is dead, and the impulse for scientific investigation has passed. The political overfatigue of the civilized world produces a rigid class state which at least has the virtue of security. The "present" having found its form, all human hopes and wishes turn toward the world of the spirit. A typical last phase of a civilization, in which the seeds of another medieval era are already apparent, is developing.

The author has tried to indicate in the text that this civilization accomplished its own downfall. The Middle Ages was present again as it had been before the awakening of the Hellenic spirit. Thus the second of the great waves includes the modern world which has passed through its religious Reformation and Renaissance and must one day need a new Augustus.

In conclusion, it might be well to note that this work is intended for those who possess no specialized knowledge of history as well as for the scholar. Thus the text is supplemented with a short list of the chief ancient writers consulted by the author and a chronological list of the emperors from Augustus to Septimius Severus.

University of South Carolina

RICHARD H. CHOWEN

THE CANONS OF THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA, A.D. 343: A LAND-MARK IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF CANON LAW. By *Hess Hamilton*. [Oxford Theological Monographs, Volume I.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 170. \$4.00.)

In the past few generations, studies on the Council of Sardica have made remarkable progress. The background and history of the assembly, the text and significance of its legislation have been thoroughly investigated and reinterpreted by numerous scholars. Particularly because of the painstaking research by Duchesne, Batiffol, Schwartz, and C. H. Turner, contemporary scholarship has been freed from the atmosphere of bitter controversy that surrounded for so many centuries the canons of Sardica and their interpretations—from the altercations that the affair of Apiarius caused between Rome and Carthage in A.D. 419 to the Gallican polemics of the eighteenth century and to the ill-starred, partisan attack that "higher criticism" at the threshhold of our century (J. Friedrich, E. C. Babut) waged against the authenticity of the canons.

Still, though the days are gone when Sardica was a fighting word, not all the problems of interpretation have been given a final answer by modern Sardican studies. Also, much of this learning is scattered in specialized articles or tucked away in the apparatus of Turner's admirable edition. There was room, then, for a fresh monographic treatment, and Dr. Hess deserves our gratitude for pulling the threads together, reexamining the evidence, and carrying the analysis of his-

torical, textual, and canonical problems onto new results in many respects. The book presents a happy combination of straightforward historical writing and highly technical discussion.

The first part of this study deals, after a summary of the background and history of the synod of 343, with the textual problems and the transmission, while the second part is concerned with the historical and canonical interpretation of the canons. In Part I special attention may be called to the section in which the author develops in detail observations of earlier scholars on the form of procedural minutes, which characterizes most of the canons; only cc. 7, 19, 21 are formally redacted statutes of the *placuit* type. Regarding the much-debated priority of the Latin or the Greek text, Hess returns with some modifications to the theory proposed in the eighteenth century by the brothers Ballerini: he thinks it probable that Latin was for the most part the business language of the proceedings but that two sets of minutes were taken. A convincing explanation of each of the twenty-eight passages that show differences in meaning between the two texts is given. As for Pope Zosimus' erroneous quotation of the canons of Sardica under the label of Nicaea, there is interesting evidence to show how widespread this and similar misquotations of early councils were in the fifth and sixth centuries. A more detailed account of the Latin transmission of Sardica in the early canonical collections is given in Appendix III, with the variants of canon seventeen as a sample of the textual development.

Part II is a thoughtful, well-balanced study of the Sardican legislation in the context of the history and the jurisdictional problems of the fourth century. Hess shows that the canons have to be read in their entirety as a consistent and courageous program of reform, designed to curb episcopal abuses, partisan action at regional synods, and civil interference in ecclesiastical affairs. This legislation included the acknowledgment in principle of appeal from synodal judgments to the Bishop of Rome—to the *caput, id est ad Petri apostoli sedem*, as the synodal letter to Pope Julius puts it—and thereby became tied up in all subsequent discussion with the sensitive topic of papal primacy. Admittedly, the three appeal canons present considerable difficulties of interpretation. Hess proposes to resolve these by considering them as three phases of the synodal proceedings. This answers not all the questions but is a methodologically sound approach. Also, in other sections of Part II (on the canons concerning translations of bishops, appointment of bishops, and episcopal visits to the imperial court) the method of arguing from the formal structure of the acts of the council often proves helpful. Hess also rightly emphasizes the fact that canonical legislation in a technical sense was still a new and often awkwardly handled instrument in the fourth century. One may add that during just that period the legislative techniques of the only model to which the Church could turn, the laws of the Empire, were in a process of rapid deterioration.

Of the three appendixes of the book, the first discusses the date of Sardica

(autumn, 343, against Schwartz and Telfer) and the second, the date of the Antiochene canons (probably 330). The third, on the early Latin collections of canon law, has been mentioned above.

Not all interpretations given by Hess of the Sardican canons may remain the last word on the matter. The book will stand nonetheless as a remarkable and successful contribution, not only to the study of these important conciliar enactments, but to the history of early canon law at large.

Catholic University of America

STEPHAN KUTTNER

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 12. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D. C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 287. \$10.00.)

THE present volume, dedicated to the memory of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., consists of eight studies and a review of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, 1955-1956. Four of these studies are theological, but touch also on philosophy; two deal with art and archaeology; one examines a number of Roman and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, while the remaining one discusses certain aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations during the period of the Umayyads.

Of the theological studies, one has as its subject the philosophical implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism; the other three deal with the thought of the great Cappadocian Fathers. F. Callahan discusses the cosmology of Basil, which, though based on *Genesis*, owed not a little to Greek philosophy; G. B. Ladner analyzes the anthropology of Gregory of Nyssa, i.e., Gregory's conception of the nature of man, a conception based essentially on the text of *Genesis* that man was created according to the image and likeness of God, but elaborated by means of Greek philosophical ideas as, for instance, the Platonic conception of man's assimilation to God; and B. Otis examines the thought of the Cappadocians as a coherent system. The study on Arianism and Apollinarianism, written by H. A. Wolfson, is the clearest account on the subject I have ever read.

The two studies whose subjects are in the domain of art, together with the review of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, constitute almost half of the volume. One of the studies, written by H. Stern, examines the iconography and style of the mosaics in the Church of Santa Costanza at Rome, a fourth-century edifice, perhaps built originally as a mausoleum and decorated by a daughter of Constantine the Great. The other study is by Paul Underwood, the third of a series of preliminary reports that he has been publishing on the frescoes in Kariye Čamii at Istanbul. Underwood also wrote the review of the Byzantine Institute's work in Istanbul, 1955-1956. Perhaps to art history more than to numismatics, also, belongs the article in which A. R. Bellinger describes the Ro-

man and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. The medallions described date from the third to the sixth century, but one of them, a silver piece of Phocas now in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University, belongs to the seventh century.

The article on Arab-Byzantine relations during the period of the Umayyads is by H. A. R. Gibb. It is not war and diplomacy, however, that Gibb discusses here, but certain cultural influences, particularly the Byzantine inspiration of the Umayyad policy of erecting imperial religious monuments. The authenticity of the Arab tradition that indicates this inspiration has been recently denied, but Gibb offers convincing arguments why the denial cannot be supported.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Volumes I and II. Edited by *Austin Lane Poole*. (Rev. ed.; New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xxviii, 381; xiii, 383-661. \$17.50 the set.)

MR. AUSTIN LANE POOLE AND HIS FELLOW CONTRIBUTORS HAVE PRODUCED NINETEEN ESSAYS ON VARIOUS PHASES OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION. TWELVE OF THESE DEAL ESSENTIALLY WITH ITS PHYSICAL ASPECTS. TWO ARE GEOGRAPHICAL—LANDSCAPE AND COMMUNICATIONS. THREE DEAL RESPECTIVELY WITH CIVIL, MILITARY, AND ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE. SEVEN OTHERS MIGHT BE CALLED ANTIQUARIAN IN THEIR EMPHASIS. THEY DISCUSS ARMS AND ARMOR, COINAGE, COSTUME, HERALDRY, ART, HANDWRITING, AND PRINTED BOOKS. THE REMAINING SEVEN ESSAYS COVER ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE TIME—WARFARE, TOWN LIFE, RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES, EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND RECREATION. ALL THE CHAPTERS THAT THIS REVIEWER IS COMPETENT TO JUDGE MAKE USE OF THE RESULTS OF RECENT RESEARCH AND ARE AUTHORITATIVE SUMMARIES OF OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE. IT IS AN INVALUABLE WORK FOR THE ENGLISH MEDIEVALIST WHO WANTS A REASONABLE COMMAND OF SUBJECTS OUTSIDE HIS FIELD OF SPECIAL INTEREST.

In his introduction Poole states that this book "does not aim at uniformity of treatment." As a result the essays are aimed at no particular audience. Some of them are well suited to the general reader with an interest in the subject, but others demand a fairly extensive knowledge of English medieval history in general and a few require some specialized command of the subjects with which they deal. A further criticism may be made of most of the chapters. Too much detail is crammed into too little space. As a result the examples given are commonly too vague to be useful. The two volumes are profusely illustrated and in general well supplied with diagrams and charts. Here, however, there is one strange lapse. Lady Stenton's chapter on "Communications" is essentially one of the best in the book, but it will be almost incomprehensible to anyone who has not a detailed knowledge of English geography. No map is supplied except a very illegible reproduction of the Gough map of the early fourteenth century.

A number of essays in this work deserve special mention. "The English Land-

scape" by W. G. Hoskins is a readable and masterful summary of an exceedingly complex subject. It should be read by every historian of medieval England. The chapter on "Domestic Architecture and Town Planning" is particularly valuable because the material on which it is based is scattered through many periodicals and I know of no other summary of the subject. Perhaps the most useful chapter for the general historian is Anthony Wagner's discussion of "Heraldry." As a clear exposition of an incredibly involved subject, it is a masterpiece. He shows, moreover, the significance of heraldry in the history of the period more effectively than any work I know. The same comment applies to Professor Galbraith's essay on "Handwriting." Although Dom David Knowles in "Religious Life and Organization" undertook a task far too vast for his very limited space, he has succeeded in conveying a great deal of detailed information while making events of fundamental importance stand forth clearly.

While most of the other chapters are excellent, some are a little disappointing. The essay on the "Art of War" is too vague in its details to serve its purpose well. The chapter on "Coinage" contains too many unexplained technical terms to be of much value to the nonspecialist. The chapter on "Learning and Education" is a good survey of education, but is most inadequate as a discussion of English learning in the period.

The medieval historian will find these two volumes extremely useful as summaries of subjects that he needs to know something about but that lie outside his field of special competence. The general reader with an active interest in medieval England will be entranced by some of the chapters but will find others rather indigestible. The illustrations will delight and instruct all readers.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

HOHES UND SPÄTES MITTELALTER. By Otto Brunner, Gustav E. von Grunebaum, Walther Hubatsch, et al. [Historia Mundi, Band VI.] (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. Pp. 644. 34 fr. S.)

THIS volume continues the history of the three mutually antagonistic cultures that emerged after the disintegration of the Roman Empire: the Western, the Byzantine, and the Islamic. The superior creativeness of the West gave rise to a more diversified institutional development in contrast with the abeyant Byzantine and Islamic worlds. The relation of the static East *vs.* the dynamic West, "which ultimately drew the whole earth into its sphere of influence," provides a spectacle of almost ceaseless conflict. Throughout the book there is a constant but unobtrusive suggestion of the continuity of history as opposed to the periodic interpretation. This is most strikingly apparent in the introductory remarks of Professor Otto Brunner in his chapter "Humanismus und Renaissance."

Emphasis on the dynamic character of the West doubtless accounts for the basic plan of the book, which, in its total of 596 pages of text, devotes 385 to the

West, eighty-eight to the Byzantine Empire, eighty-three to the Islamic world, and forty to the closing decades of the Middle Ages.

The history of the West as here sketched begins with the rivalry between papacy and Empire for the dominance of Europe, appropriately characterized by Gerd Tellenbach as "one of the central themes of Western history." Brilliantly though briefly sketched, together with contemporary features of European history pertinent to both Empire and papacy, Tellenbach develops this rivalry to the moment when the canonists, ignoring the compromises born of the investiture conflict, boldly proclaimed: "papa ipse verus imperator" and, at length, to the temporary triumph of the pope following the death of Frederick II.

The emergence of national states, principally England and France, is sketched, first to 1154, by Walther Kienast and thereafter, to the fourteenth century, by Ferdinand Werner. It is here that one becomes most aware of the limitations inherent in the concepts of *Weltgeschichte* and *Handbuch*. This is especially apparent in the constitutional history of England during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. While the sketches are admirable as broadly conceived interpretations, their summary character compels the sacrifice of qualifying explanations and essential illustrative details.

The contribution of Franz Huter, "Niedergang der Mitte, Aufstieg der Randstaaten im Spätmittelalter," carries forward both the papal-imperial conflict as it was resumed in the late Middle Ages, and the growth of the national states and dynasties. Here also are treated many aspects of the revolutionary developments of Europe as exemplified by the Avignon captivity, the Wycliffian and conciliar movements, and the changing concepts of the *Universitas Christiana*. Subjects such as the rise of the universities and the spirit of Gothic architecture suffer from overcondensation. The late medieval economic development is admirably sketched, especially the expansion of trade and commerce, the transition to urban life, the growth of money economy, and other features of the emerging capitalistic society. A chapter by Walther Hubatsch sketches the belated flourishing and subsequent decline of the Baltic regions, while that of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz traces the growth of the Christian states of the Iberian Peninsula and the *Reconquista*.

The inner structure of the West is described by Otto Brunner, emphasizing such medieval concepts as that of the world of Christendom, the *imperium* in theory and in practice, the concepts of justice and kingship, the social classes, and the communes. Perhaps the most notable feature of this section of the book is the clarification of the hypothesis that the inner structural transition of Europe to the *Neuzeit*, notwithstanding the profound alterations of the ancient foundation resulting from the French and Industrial Revolutions, took place "auf dem Boden der 'alständischen' Gesellschaft Europas."

The conviction grows as one progresses through the book that a just appreciation of it can be made only when the *Historia Mundi* can be reviewed in its en-

tirety. Such chapters, as for example, Hunger's "Byzanz in der Weltpolitik" and Ostrogorsky's analysis of the inner structure of the Byzantine Empire should be read in conjunction with the Byzantine section of Volume IV. The chief features of Byzantine foreign relations as here treated are: the rivalry with Rome and the Western Empire and the conflicts with Islam and the northern barbarians. As Hunger observes, "among the world historical functions of Byzantium it was not the least that it served as a buffer between the East and the Latin West." The author is no less aware of the influence exerted by the Byzantine Empire upon the institutions of the Slavic peoples and upon the humanism of the West. The cultural influence is sketched further by Ostrogorsky during the "new era" following the iconoclastic crisis, when cultural and intellectual life continued to flourish despite the conflict of the feudal magnates with the *autokratische Zentralismus*, which led ultimately to the ruin of the Empire.

The Islamic chapters, the work of Bernard Lewis, Roger LeTourneau, and Gustav E. Grunebaum, deal respectively with Islam and the East, Islam and the West, and the spiritual-cultural unity (*geistig-kulturelle Einheit*) of the Islamic peoples as it was reflected in certain far-flung institutions such as the chivalrous order, the *futūwā*. This tripartite organization serves, in a measure, to clarify some features of Islamic history that often appear needlessly confused in books of similar scope.

Two summary chapters, one by Otto Brunner, "Humanismus und Renaissance," and the other by Hans Wühr, "Die Kunst der Renaissance," are designed to sketch the cultural transition from the late Middle Ages to the modern era.

The book will doubtless evoke conflicting opinions as to its organization, although there will be general agreement that, within limitations imposed by a *Handbuch*, the individual authors have accomplished their tasks with admirable skill. Stylistically, it suffers the inevitable defects of composite authorship. It is pleasing to note, however, that the editors apparently have not marred the individual contributions by rewriting the chapters for the sake of stylistic unity. The bibliographies are usually ample, though not all-comprehensive. A few American works are included, although there are several notable omissions. It is the distinguishing feature of the volume, however, that it has incorporated most of the significant results of recent historical scholarship.

Bowdoin College

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

Modern European History

GUIDE TO THE DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES OF WESTERN EUROPE.

Edited by Daniel H. Thomas and Lynn M. Case. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 389. \$7.50.)

THIS long-awaited book, a *Festschrift* in honor of Professor William E. Lingelbach, is designed for scholars "interested in finding and making the fullest use of

the original diplomatic documents of western Europe." It has a total of eighteen chapters, the work of twenty-one authors. The first fourteen deal with archival repositories in as many countries—Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Vatican City. The remaining chapters, on "Special Archival Sources," are entitled "Bavaria," "The League of Nations and the United Nations," "Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs," and "UNESCO." A general index covering repositories, guides and inventories, private papers, and place names concludes the book.

Each country chapter usually contains four types of information: a history of the principal repositories; a description of the organization, arrangement, and classification of records; an array of data about administration, regulations, search room hours, periods when repositories are closed, libraries with manuscript holdings, cost of microfilm, even a few suggestions about living arrangements in the various cities; and a bibliography of published documents and finding aids. In short, the authors have tried to answer the questions of potential searchers in foreign archives.

On the whole they have acquitted themselves admirably of their respective tasks; the chapters on Austria, Belgium, and France seem particularly inspired. The wealth of information brought together should be found useful not only by both new and experienced searchers but also by archivists. Work with manuscripts is slow work at best. The better prepared a searcher is when he appears at an archival repository the better the archivist will be able to serve him. Such preparation involves consultation of printed guides and inventories and documentary publications. This book provides a number of helpful leads to such tools that are readily available on this side of the Atlantic. Additional leads are found in the annual "Writings on Archives" in the *American Archivist* and in *Archivum*.

Also available here are quantities of photographic reproductions of documents in the archives and libraries of at least five European countries. Only the chapters on France and Vatican City call attention to these materials in the Library of Congress and elsewhere. In 1946 the Library published a *Guide*, compiled by Miss Griffin, to manuscripts in British depositories of which its Division of Manuscripts has reproductions. This *Guide* is not mentioned under Great Britain, nor are Charles McLean Andrews' two guides to records in that country. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Certainly anyone contemplating research in Europe would do well to check the photographic reproductions in the Library of Congress before setting out. The National Archives now has microfilm copies of some of the records of the German Foreign Ministry (largely postdating 1914) and the Stresemann papers that are mentioned in the chapter on Germany.

Considering the intense interest of recent years in international relations since World War I, the editors were wise to include chapters on several important international organizations. The book in fact points to archival fare extending from

the Middle Ages to the present. Should a second edition be issued, this reviewer suggests that it include a short list of generally applicable references. In the present volume the *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder seit dem Westfälischen Frieden* appears under Austria only. Rather than repeat the title under each country having diplomatic representatives between 1648 and 1763, it could be given once in a general list.

National Archives

CARL L. LOKKE

POLNISCHE NATION UND DEUTSCHE POLITIK IM ERSTEN WELT-KRIEG. By Werner Conze. [Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Number 4.] (Köln-Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1958. Pp. xxii, 415.)

AMONG the several excellent monographs on the 1914-1918 period published in recent years, this is easily one of the most important. The author, a professor at Heidelberg, is a leading German expert on the history of East Central Europe, and one of the most versatile. In this substantial volume he turns from sociological analysis and the systematic exposition of political ideas, in which he has previously demonstrated his facility, to the detailed political narrative within a conventional chronological framework. The volume is based on a staggering amount of archival research as well as on a mastery of the printed literature in all relevant languages, particularly the Polish.

The impetus to the study came when the papers of General von Beseler, the governor general of the German zone of occupied Poland, were made available to Conze some years ago. He subsequently widened his researches to include papers of the general government of Warsaw, the most pertinent files of the German Foreign Office archives, and a number of other collections and items. Of these latter, the most important was a voluminous historical manuscript, based on documents from both the German and Austrian archives, which had been composed by Kries, the head of the German civil administration in occupied Poland.

As the title quite accurately suggests, Conze's study has a double focus. He is first of all concerned to show the political developments among the Poles in Poland leading up to the emergence of the new state in 1918. This he does in much detail. He also casts his beam with equal force on German policy toward Poland, or, more precisely, on German policies: for the essential fact was that while there were certain interim policy decisions—as, for example, the famous proclamation of November 5, 1916—various fundamental questions of policy were never really settled. There was, instead, constant debate and constant tension between the proponents of a German-oriented big Poland (Beseler), a German-oriented small Poland (Ludendorff), and the leaders who at one time and another espoused the Austro-Polish solution (Kühlmann, Friedrich Naumann, etc.).

A further theme, which does not receive quite the same emphasis as the other two, is Austria-Hungary's Polish policy and its impact on German policy. The

troubled wartime relations of the Hohenzollern-Hapsburg allies were certainly made no easier by the need to coordinate their Polish policies, and Polish policy was also the hinge upon which their discussions of a future political, military, and economic integration of Central Europe tended to turn. German and Austro-Hungarian leaders were vigorously arguing over Polish policy until the very eve of the Armistice. In handling the Austro-Hungarian side of this debate—the respective positions of Czernin, of Emperor Karl, of Wedel, the German ambassador in Vienna—there is not quite the same sureness of touch that otherwise characterizes the volume.

The book is without large dominating points of view, except for a prevailing intention, successfully realized, to avoid treating the Polish question from a narrow German nationalist standpoint. One regrets a little that the author, who has demonstrated elsewhere his gifts for interpretation and generalization, abruptly ends this volume with an *Überblick* of only a page and a half.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL R. SWEET

THE KING'S GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMON LAW, 1471-1641. By *Sir Charles Ogilvie*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1958. Pp. vii, 176. 21s.)

THE interplay between the common and the civil law and between the common lawyers and the kings' governments in Renaissance England constitutes a momentous theme. Sir Charles Ogilvie tells this story as a continual battle to procure the victory of the common law over all others and to maintain the common lawyers' monopoly over litigation and justice, too. These professionally proud men affected the English constitution profoundly, historians and lawyers for long have assumed, and now Ogilvie has chalked out the main lines of their struggle in an intelligent, sensible, and seemingly valid interpretive essay.

The dominant point of view is one of antipathy toward the common law and its practitioners and of sympathy toward the civil law and the prerogative courts. The intricacies and rigidity of the common law sometimes precluded justice; and the common lawyers' pedantry and obscurantism, with their sacred formula, "the course of the law," also put off reforms. And so for justice's sake, first the chancery's court of equity and then the prerogative courts came to purvey equitable and enforceable law. Throughout these contests, however, the "toughness" of the common law prevailed; and Ogilvie has described the common lawyers' "toughness," too, in clinging to the privileges of their professional order and in trying to keep a strangle hold on royal justice. Constantly in alliance with men of property, they fought in Parliament to limit the prerogative courts so popular for quick and effective decisions until their abuse by Charles I sullied their reputation.

Ogilvie has combined admirable analyses of the conflicts in laws and of the rivalries between men of law and ministers with a narrative of political and constitutional history. His account, although founded on familiar evidence and

standard authorities, has focused attention and put needed emphasis upon the prolonged opposition, by both populace and princes, to the common law and lawyers. The political-constitutional story is traditional, and parts of it are now outmoded. Reference to the writings of Elton, Neale, Willson, and other historians in Britain and America, instead of so great a reliance upon Pollard, Holdsworth, and their contemporaries, would have avoided an obsolete version of Tudor and Stuart governance. However, such shortcomings are offset by Ogilvie's common sense and a pragmatic attitude toward both law and history, and his conclusions are worthy of more detailed investigation. His wise and respectful criticisms of the common law and its exponents should correct the excessive adulation of that law and such violent champions as Sir Edward Coke. And yet, paradoxically, "tough old Coke" and his uncivil successors, with their distortions of the uncouth medieval law, were the ones who won for us the blessings of modern constitutional government.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

THE MIDLAND PEASANT: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF A LEICESTERSHIRE VILLAGE. By *W. G. Hoskins*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. xxii, 322. \$6.75.)

THE ESTATES OF THE PERCY FAMILY, 1416-1537. By *J. M. W. Bean*. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 176. \$4.00.)

MR. HOSKINS' study of the Leicestershire village of Wigston Magna from Anglo-Saxon times to the nineteenth century is, in the author's words, a "contribution to English economic and social history, and not a history of the village as such." His concern is with the Midland open-field economy, with the society based upon that economy, and with the effect of change upon both of them. Wigston, then, is a case study in agrarian history and both the subject itself and Hoskins' authority make *The Midland Peasant* a weighty contribution that takes rank with Miss Davenport's pioneer *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor* (1906) and Professor Gras's *Economic and Social History of an English Village* (1930).

The book might not unreasonably have been entitled "the slow decline and fall of Wigston Magna," for Hoskins' interpretation is a cataclysmic one. Before the eighteenth century, Hoskins argues, the keynote of Wigston's history had been continuity. The stability of the open-field economy with its closely knit system of tenant rights, the relative self-sufficiency of the small holders of the village, the persisting social structure of the Danelaw in which Wigston lay, the weakness of the manors that history (i.e., conquest) had superimposed upon, without really affecting, the life and work of the vill—all these had shielded

Wigston's peasant society from the effects of change. Within this framework Wigston had an active, if somewhat limited, economic life. From the earliest date we see much buying and selling of land by villagers, the rise and fall of small holder families, and some degree of population mobility, especially in the later medieval period. Wigston had felt the agricultural depression of the fifteenth century, the price increases of the sixteenth century, the stresses (and especially the heavy taxation) of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth. In the eighteenth century the increase of population had brought the vill to the limits of its available arable land; after about 1700 the landless laborer predominated and, for the first time, indigence became a permanent problem. All this, however, took place within the framework of the open fields. Altered somewhat, the vill remained essentially what it had always been.

The history of Wigston thus falls into the old pattern of English agrarian history. It provides little support for recent interpretations that seek the overthrow of the old Midland village in the agrarian changes of the sixteenth century or in the rise, during the seventeenth, of a ruthless and thrusting gentry. The knell of Wigston's peasant society was struck, not by these events, but by an enclosure act in 1766. With Wigston we have come full circle—back to Dean Cunningham and Thorold Rogers! In Wigston, as elsewhere in the Midlands, the cataclysm did not arise from the breaking up of the open field *as such*. For two or three generations before the act the small holders had been losing out; enclosure, in a sense, no more than confirmed the long decline of the small husbandman. What destroyed him—and the cottar and bordar with him—was the sweeping away of rights to the commons. In the relatively short space of sixty years (1770–1830) he was reduced to pauperdom.

If the argument is an old one, *The Midland Peasant* is nevertheless a tour de force. Hoskins' mastery of his sources (especially of taxation documents and of copyholder wills, probates, and inventories, in the use of which he has pioneered), his elevated, at times almost elegiac, style, and his commendable emphasis upon the essential continuity of English village life lend distinction to this study. It is not without weaknesses. Wigston was a singular village; the Danelaw influences, the absence of a lord and the weakness of its manorial structure, and the lack of any monastic influences make it an example from which it is difficult, indeed risky, to generalize. No manorial records—accounts, custumals, and court rolls—survive and the alternative sources upon which Hoskins relies may have led him to exaggerate the degree to which Wigston's peasants were shielded from the influences of a money economy. But these are minor blemishes. Both for its own sake and for the correctives that it applies to recent tendencies, *The Midland Peasant* must be considered a major contribution to English social history.

The fifteenth century in England was a time of political turmoil and of agricultural depression, particularly as concerned the fortunes of the gentle landholder. Since Thorold Rogers English historians have debated the relation be-

tween these two phenomena. Mr. Bean's study of the estates of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, is a careful and scholarly work, only slightly controversial in intent. With admirable control of his sources, Bean traces the tenurial and economic evolution of the widespread Percy manors during this period and analyzes the general financial position of the family. In view of the Percies' importance in fifteenth-century England, Bean's monograph is an important contribution; it throws much light on the problems, methods, and tendencies of fifteenth-century land management. It throws light, too, on larger issues, for on two separate counts the experience of the Percies constitutes a warning against dashing opinions concerning the decline of noble finances in the fifteenth century. Like other noble houses, the Percies faced a serious financial crisis during this period. But the financial difficulties of the third Earl, who in 1461 died twelve thousand pounds in debt, and the bankruptcy in 1537 of the sixth Earl, so much remarked upon, proceeded, Bean argues, from specific as much as from general causes. Rents and revenues declined by about a quarter in the early fifteenth century and fixed charges, particularly retainers' fees, heavily encumbered the estates. But what might for smaller landholders have proved disasters were for the Percies merely difficulties, and by no means insurmountable ones. In the latter part of the century matters were repaired partly by rationalization (within rather broad limits) of the estates, partly by gains from inheritance, partly by tighter central administration by the lord's household. The stabilization of rents after 1460, their rise after 1490, accompanied by sound methods of administration lacking in the earlier period, put the Percy estates on solid footing in the sixteenth century. Their dissolution under the sixth Earl arose from causes which, in Bean's words, "were not financial or economic but psychological in character the personal responsibility of a weak and gullible character, the willing victim of greedy favorites and of the skilful diplomacy of a hostile Crown." The history of the Percy estates, then, suggests not the weakness but the strength of noble fortunes. Similarly, on the political side, Bean argues that the Percies' contest for political power in that epoch of "bastard feudalism" was more a cause than an effect of their debts and financial difficulties in the mid-fifteenth century. The prizes of politics in the north were great ones; the Percies' wardenship of the eastern marches brought 2,500 pounds per annum in peace and five thousand pounds per annum in time of war, as against estate revenues that Bean (probably underestimating them somewhat) puts at about three thousand pounds in 1455. But the costs in terms of retainers' fees and annuities were great, too, engorging about 50 per cent of income and involving the Percies in considerable debts. Was it worth it? The question probably did not present itself to the Earls of Northumberland in those stark terms, but Bean suggests that if their experience may be taken as a basis for generalization, the motives behind "bastard feudalism" were somewhat misty ones, not clearly economic, but probably, if anything, the reverse. Bean's study goes far toward rescuing the Percies' history from controversy and emphasizes at

the same time the need for further monographic work on one of the least-understood periods of English agrarian history.

Yale University

WILLIAM R. EMERSON

BRITAIN'S DISCOVERY OF RUSSIA, 1553-1815. By M. S. Anderson. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 245. \$6.75.)

Mr. Anderson has undertaken to present a study of Anglo-Russian relations from the days of Richard Chancellor's celebrated discovery of the White Sea (1553) to the Treaty of Vienna in 1815. If the Russians were virtually an unknown quantity to the Elizabethans, by the close of the Napoleonic wars no diplomat could deny Russia's position among the major powers. In effect, Anderson's impressively documented researches are not intended as a systematic analysis of the complex evolution of Anglo-Russian diplomatic, military, and commercial relationships; the objective, rather, is that of surveying English reactions, both official and popular, to the gradual development of Russia from obscurity to the great power she was to become.

There are clearly some high lights in this always absorbing picture: the early commercial success of the Russia Company; the remarkable four-month visit to Britain of Peter I; the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations in 1704-1707; England's "hiring" of Russian troops in the War of the Austrian Succession; the vital significance to the Georgian navy of Russian naval stores; the voyage of three Russian Baltic squadrons to the Mediterranean in 1769-1770 and their extraordinary victory—with the help of British officers—over the Turks. No less significant is the discussion of the ill-fated Anglo-Russian Netherlands campaign of 1799, as well as of the much-debated Ochakov affair, in which the younger Pitt initiated the gradual trend to hostility toward Russia, later to be so characteristic of Victorian diplomacy. It is impossible to read this admirable survey without constant reference to the international realities of 1959. If the eighteenth-century Englishman tended to see the Muscovite as little more than a slave; if he envisaged Russian life in terms of cruelty, display, censorship, secret police, and superstition, how could he think otherwise, if indeed it were otherwise? Actually, how could he learn more in the face of the pervasive Russian xenophobia, obscurantism, and reluctance to permit czarist subjects to travel abroad? In many ways the Iron Curtain was hardly less ubiquitous in the Russia of Catherine II than it is in Khrushchev's Russia, whatever the Czarina's Voltairian pretensions. In the three centuries prior to 1815 English public opinion, varying, of course, with the immediate situation, tended to reflect an admixture of national superiority, contempt, and condescension, occasionally seasoned with a kind of astonished respect not unmixed with a growing undercurrent of fear. It is a melancholy commentary that in the course of two generations the Soviet Revolu-

tion has done little to alter this approach, except in the progressive increase of one element: fear.

Colgate University

DOUGLAS K. READING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume I, APRIL 1744-JUNE 1768. Edited by *Thomas W. Copeland*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. xxv, 376. \$8.00.)

AFTER more than a century, a new *Correspondence* of Edmund Burke has begun to appear. The old *Correspondence* (1844) contained only 305 letters; now Thomas W. Copeland and a committee of distinguished American and English scholars are working on several thousand, most of which became available only ten years ago when the Fitzwilliam family deposited their papers in the Central Library of Sheffield and in the archives of the Northamptonshire Record Society.

In the first of eight volumes planned by Copeland are nearly two hundred letters from Burke's formative years: his school days, his "literary" years in England, and the beginning of his political career. Some have never been printed before, some are produced accurately for the first time, and one much-quoted letter is shown—by sharp internal criticism—to be fraudulent and so appears in an appendix. Subsequent volumes will present many more new letters, bring together those now scattered in a surprising assortment of books, journals, and manuscript collections, and will probably turn up more surprises. The new *Correspondence* will greatly enlarge and enhance the body of evidence for Burke studies. Judging from the quality of the first volume, the work will be superb. A perfectionist's attention to detail is evident in the reproduction of the letters, and the notes hit just the right medium—they are ample and succinct. Clearly the editors are accumulating crucial information for the emergence of a better-known and better-understood Burke: they identify obscure people important in his life and clarify his personal relationships, explain intricate political situations, solve old questions about his anonymous writings, and refer to an astonishing array of little-known sources—résumés of lost speeches, fragments of unpublished writings, contemporary correspondence and comment. The ingenious research that produced this kind of annotation must be uncovering still more source material and information that will not find its way into the notes; could we hope to see it in a supplement to the volumes of letters? Meanwhile we shall be grateful for the fine editing of the letters themselves. They make fascinating reading, not only for Burke scholars, but for everyone interested in eighteenth-century politics and thought and for all those who admire (or deplore) the man and the kind of political philosophy for which he stood—and stands.

Emory University

WALTER D. LOVE

L'ÉCONOMIE BRITANNIQUE ET LE BLOCUS CONTINENTAL (1806-1813). Volumes I and II. By *François Crouzet*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. 408; 420-949. 1,700 fr.; 1,800 fr.)

As its title indicates, Professor Crouzet's study is primarily concerned with the structure and vicissitudes of the British economy during the eight years that Napoleon's continental blockade operated. He does not attempt to analyze the effects that the blockade and the British countermeasures had on the continental countries or the United States. Nor, except in a short *conclusion générale*, does he try to assess the influence of the blockade on the Napoleonic drama as a whole. There was, as he reminds the reader from time to time, a close relationship between Napoleon's varying military fortunes and the effectiveness of his plans for ruining England economically. But he focuses his attention resolutely on one major aspect of the titanic struggle—how and why the British were able to defy and surmount the blockade. This question, he insists, has not hitherto been examined in sufficient depth and detail.

The author's eminence as Professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux and the decision of the French Ministry of Education to subsidize the publication of his work emphasize its value and significance. Crouzet has made an important, detailed, and conscientious contribution to the economic history of the Napoleonic period. His manuscript, "malheureusement trop volumineux," had to be somewhat curtailed for the press, notably by omitting the bibliography and list of printed sources. But the "Sources Manuscrites," the "Liste des Principales Séries Statistiques Utilisées," the extensive tables and graphs, and the frequent and explicit footnotes fully attest the amplitude, rigor, and exactitude of his research.

British historians, as the author notes, have tended to ignore the effect of the blockade on British economy. Surveying the literature of the subject from the pioneer work of Kiesselbach and the labors of Rose, Cunningham, Heckscher, and Silberling, he comes to the recent studies of Gayer, Rostov, and Schwartz. He pays a warm tribute to the contributions made by American historians—Melvin, Galpin, Albion, and others—without including Mahan. The information he draws from his predecessors and contemporaries is checked and enriched by his own patient exploration of the archives and the surviving records of individual banks and business firms.

The precise and lucid style, the logical organization, and the abundant statistical data of these two volumes augment their value and usefulness. But their main importance rests on other grounds. Crouzet dissects and rejects the oversimplified thesis that Napoleon's attempt to seal off Europe against British commerce failed for the simple reason that goods from England continued to enter as contraband. The actuality, as he reconstructs it with patient care, turns out to be more complex and more fascinating. The Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806-1807) cut British exports to Europe from some twenty million (1805) to fourteen

million pounds (1808). Jefferson's embargo cut British exports to the United States even more sharply, from twelve million (1807) to five million pounds (1808). Yet Britain's total exports remained close to fifty million pounds throughout these years and in 1809 leaped to 66 million.

Obviously British exporters found other markets, and the speed with which they did so demonstrated their flexibility and enterprise. English trade with Latin America, for instance, rose twentyfold in three years. In the "boom" year 1809, when Napoleon was distracted by the Spanish revolt and the Austrian war, British exports to Europe reached 27 million pounds, almost double the 1808 figure. But by 1811, when the continental blockade had been tightened again, shipments to Europe fell to eighteen million pounds and total British exports to 44 million. Inflation, riots, and unemployment became a serious threat to British stability and might have produced grave results if the decline in trade had continued. Napoleon's disastrous Russian venture in 1812 ended his ability to enforce his system.

The conclusion Crouzet draws is that Napoleon was correct in believing that a sharp and sustained reduction in exports could undermine the British economy. His failure lay in his inability to maintain the blockade consistently. He also underestimated the flexibility of British business enterprise and the compensatory effect of opening other markets. His system did damage the British economy, producing genuine crises in 1808 and in 1810-1811. Capital seeking quick profits was largely diverted, in the decade 1803-1813, from factory building to agriculture. But the British credit structure failed to collapse despite a sevenfold increase in the national debt.

Ithaca, New York

GEOFFREY BRUUN

CULTURE AND SOCIETY, 1780-1950. By *Raymond Williams*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xx, 363. \$5.00.)

WHAT are the twentieth-century connotations of the word "culture"? A prominent Nazi leader remarked that he drew his revolver every time he heard it. Reaction in England and America has tended to be both less violent and more sympathetic. This does not mean that no differences of opinion exist. Some people, appalled by forests of television aerials, rock-and-roll, and "The News of the World," wholly and necessarily dissociate the word from the age of the masses and put the cultural banner into the hands of those few remaining choice and discriminating spirits who can alone attempt to hold it aloft. Others, like Mr. Williams, feel that a derogatory equation of "masses" with "mob" is unjustified; and that the possibility of a common culture still exists and is worth striving for. He has written his important book from this conviction.

The organizing principle of this work is the proposition that the idea of culture, and the word itself in its general modern uses, came into English thinking

in the period of the Industrial Revolution. Thus, in effect, it is both an account and an interpretation of responses in thought and feeling to changes in English society by men of letters ranging in time from Burke and Cobbett to Eliot and Orwell. Under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, and to a large extent as a protest against it, "culture" came in the nineteenth century increasingly to represent the separation of certain moral and intellectual activities from society as a whole. It was held at the same time to be both a court of judgment over that society and a mitigating alternative to it.

"Culture" came to embody certain human values and capacities that the new industrial and commercial civilization seemed to be threatening and destroying. By means of a brilliant analysis of the ideas of some of the leading English nineteenth-century thinkers and writers—the romantics, the utilitarians, Carlyle, the industrial novelists, Newman and Arnold, Pugin, Ruskin, Morris, Mallock, Pater and Wilde, Gissing and the Fabians—Williams demonstrates that incisive criticism of that new civilization in the name of culture came alike from the radical and conservative sides of the political spectrum. The tragedy was that many of the critics ended with a disjunction of the idea of culture from English society as a whole, unable to find the material for the cultural process either in contemporary society or in an order transcending that society.

This was the troublesome legacy they bequeathed to our own century, and in chapters dealing with Hulme, D. H. Lawrence, Tawney, Eliot, I. A. Richards, F. R. Leavis, the Marxists, and Orwell, the author shows that we are still wrestling with it, thus far without success. One may or may not agree with Williams' passionately stated thesis concerning the need for and the likelihood of a common culture. On that point this reviewer must range himself on the side of the skeptics. But there is no doubt at all that here is one of those rare books that shed genuinely new light on the social and intellectual history of England in the past and the present centuries.

Harvard University

JOHN CLIVE

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Volume III,
THE EMPIRE—COMMONWEALTH, 1870–1919. Edited by E. A. Benians,
Sir James Butler, and C. E. Carrington. (New York: Cambridge University
Press. 1959. Pp. xxi, 948. \$19.50.)

At long last *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* is completed. The first installment of this massive cooperative work appeared thirty years ago. It is well to remember that the first three books are survey volumes, while Volumes IV–VIII are histories of British India, Canada and Newfoundland, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa. All of these latter works appeared before the second volume, *The Empire, 1783–1870*, was published in 1940. Of the original board of editors only Mr. Benians had a share in the production of this conclud-

ing volume. Before his death in 1952 he completed two illuminating chapters: "The Empire in the New Age, 1870-1919" and "Finance, Trade and Communications, 1870-1895."

In the book under review fourteen British historians record in nineteen chapters the significant events, problems, and policies of fifty crowded years in British Empire history. This exciting period saw radical changes in intraimperial relations, and the mounting international tension that culminated in World War I. Several of the book's contributors give special attention to the activities of foreign rivals who were also potential enemies. Among other important topics treated in detail are imperial expansion and imperial defense, the activities of pressure groups interested in imperial problems, changes in the British attitude toward overseas colonies, World War I and its aftermath, and the advance toward equality with the mother country of the self-governing colonies. The authors generally seek to present issues in their imperial context, but because until 1914 Britain's dominance in the field of international relations was so complete, a goodly share of the volume might be labeled a history of Britain's foreign policy.

The years 1885, 1895, and 1914 are important chronological division points. Among the topics considered in separate chapters are Anglo-American relations, 1870-1914; the Empire at war, 1914-1918; the peace treaties of 1918-1921; and "The Colonial Office, 1801-1925." An excellent classified bibliography of 146 large, closely printed pages provides invaluable help to students of British imperial history.

The volume is well edited, the repetitions are few, and most of the authors are refreshingly objective in discussing issues of the period that aroused sharp controversies. Except in the general elections of 1880, 1900, and 1906, problems of overseas empire seldom obtruded upon British politics. But the bitter fight over home rule for Ireland had noticeable repercussions overseas, and the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902, was hotly debated not only in Britain but in Australia and Canada as well.

The term anticolonialism, which formerly was bandied about a good deal by writers on British imperial history, has now fallen into disuse. As Benians sagely remarked, it represented an opinion, never a policy. To be sure, in the 1870's the Liberals more than the Conservatives considered the British Empire territorially sated, and as might be expected, Disraeli and Gladstone disagreed on basic principles of colonial government. The former deplored the fact that responsible government with "no strings attached" had been bestowed upon the colonies, while the latter believed that "freedom and voluntaryism" provided the best means for the preservation of the Empire. Dominion action in 1914 splendidly vindicated Gladstone. Before the end of the nineteenth century both parties had divided over imperial issues. The Conservatives had extended self-government overseas and encouraged the federation of colonies that soon claimed equal status with the mother country, while the Liberals had acquiesced in imperial expansion. Joseph Cham-

berlain, an erstwhile radical, became the most ardent imperialist of the period when he was Colonial Secretary, 1895-1903, and leading Liberals supported him on the South African issue.

The many strands of Empire history, 1870-1919, are traced with varying degrees of competence and skill in this volume. Some of the authors have made good use of the wealth of material available in British archives, while others have relied mainly on accounts in books based on the documents that the British government has allowed to be printed. The time lag between completion of the manuscripts for some chapters and their publication may account for the omission of many valuable recent monographs that should have been used and cited in footnotes. There are errors, but few are serious.

The reviewer has found those chapters dealing with World War I and the early postwar years truly excellent. In his judgment the activities of the many pro-Empire propagandist organizations should have been given more consideration, and the discussions of colonial and imperial conferences of the period are inadequate. But in a treatise that covers such a multitude of events, of course there must be omissions. This volume joins its predecessors in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* as a storehouse of information and a very valuable contribution to British imperial history.

University of Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

ECONOMIC ELEMENTS IN THE *PAX BRITANNICA*: STUDIES IN BRITISH FOREIGN TRADE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Albert H. Imlah*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 224. \$6.00.)

STUDENTS of international economics as well as of nineteenth-century Britain will find this book valuable for the fresh evidence with which it buttresses generally accepted history. By well-defined and cautious methods (which this reviewer cannot judge) the author revises and supplements his earlier statistical findings on British imports and reexports before 1853, on Britain's income from shipping, business services, and foreign investments, and on the terms of trade for the period. He devotes the heart of his book to the construction of a statistical series concerning those basic elements in the economic relations of Great Britain. Flanking these highly technical chapters, his opening chapter summarizes with brilliance the distinctive elements in the *Pax Britannica* and his two final chapters discuss the failure of protectionism and the achievements of free trade in the light of his laboriously assembled statistics. The appendix contains a review of the Volume Series of Schlothe and of the Board of Trade and five long statistical tables.

The carefully qualified figures bring out a new and fuller picture of Britain's economic development and its bearing on the maintenance of peace in the century

between Waterloo and August, 1914. Cast as the mediator of Europe by the settlement at Vienna, Britain sought a peace through economic policies that not only benefitted her own people but increased the prosperity of other nations sufficiently to allay temporarily the causes for major international friction. Her high protectionism in the decades after the French wars gave place to free trade not because she needed wider markets for a surplus of manufactures—actually she had grappled with a surplus of imports until 1845 and continued to do so throughout the century—but because it became evident to statesmen and, gradually, to the people that protectionism, in holding back the further potential growth of her expanding trade, was causing ill will and retaliatory measures in other nations, and discontent and class bitterness among her increasing population. Her reexport trade did not thrive under protectionism. And even her all-important invisible earnings had failed to gain in sufficient proportion to offset the deficits in the merchandizing trade.

Britain saved herself through her experiment with free trade. Her step-by-step reduction of duties, and her abolition of the Navigation Acts with the compensatory revival of the income tax between 1842 and 1860 were accompanied by phenomenal economic growth, which brought a higher standard of living and relative harmony to her people. Other nations were thus encouraged to reduce their trade barriers, and world trade flourished under British leadership until 1873. Britain adhered with conviction to free trade during the great depression of 1873–1898 when business slowed down and prices fell despite a return to protectionism in many countries. She again experienced rapid growth in trade volume and, owing to the improvement in prices, a more rapid rise in trade values between 1898 and 1913, when economic nationalism and militarism were enveloping Europe. All this material is well organized and viewed in the light of general national and international developments of the century. A section on British agriculture and one on national security in relation to free trade are of especial interest.

Washington, D. C.

GRACE FOX

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Civil Series).

Edited by *Sir Keith Hancock*. MANPOWER: A STUDY OF WAR-TIME POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION. By *H. M. D. Parker*. 1957. Pp. xviii, 535. \$7.46 postpaid. LABOUR IN THE MUNITIONS INDUSTRIES. By *P. Inman*. 1957. Pp. xv, 461. \$6.53 postpaid. (London: H. M. Stationery Office and Longmans, Green and Company; distrib. by British Information Services, New York.)

THE British war economy achieved results in its mobilization and utilization of the British civilian population during World War II that far surpassed the Nazi German record, but of which the general and scholarly public have not been

adequately informed. Now we have two volumes on this subject, each written with unusual mastery of the primary sources, sensitivity to social and personal factors, and balanced judgment on highly controversial issues. Both Mr. Parker and Mrs. Inman write with a clarity and liveliness that will hold the interest of any reader who has the slightest curiosity about their themes. The first volume deals with the total resources of manpower in the United Kingdom and their use. The responsibility for making and implementing policy decisions on the allocation of British men and women among the fighting services, civil defense, and industry and for developing manpower-budgeting techniques rested with the Ministry of Labour and National Service, under War Cabinet direction. Parker, an important Ministry of Labour official during the war, brings out very well the indispensable contribution of Ernest Bevin as Minister of Labour to the unification of the British people and the full mobilization of the nation's manpower under the unified direction of a single department of state. After a review of the phoney-war frustration, he gives a chronological account of the decisions on, and mechanisms for, increasing the working force and allocating the available numbers according to the urgency of need from May, 1940, to May, 1945. He concludes the first half of his book with a fine statement on the government's reconstruction plans and resettlement schemes. In the second half of the volume he analyzes with much skill such important questions as the remarkable mobilization of women, of professional and scientific workers, of boys and girls; the training of workers, the welfare of the industrial worker, wages, conditions of employment, and industrial disputes. In conclusion the author contrasts the high degree of efficiency with which manpower supply and demand were assessed from 1942 to 1945 with the rudimentary, haphazard estimates of the first two years of the war.

Mrs. Inman centers her volume on manpower as a factor of production within the munitions industries, including shipbuilding, which were controlled during World War II by the Ministry of Supply, the Admiralty, and the Ministry of Aircraft Production. She sketches the general labor policies that Parker has treated in such detail. But Mrs. Inman gives a wealth of valuable detail on problems of the engineering and shipbuilding industries on which Parker can only touch. In Part I Mrs. Inman relates how the labor force was built up for the work of the Supply Departments and the problems of dilution, training, etc., that this involved. She reveals the special problems in labor supply that each department and industry had to face owing to differences in the timing of programs, in the types of labor required, and in the conditions of work. I found intriguing her treatment of the way in which unskilled labor for heavy work in the metal industries was obtained from Eire, prisoners of war, and other sources. She devotes Part II to describing the government's efforts to improve labor welfare and the methods of utilizing labor. My chief regret is that Mrs. Inman has no final chapter in which she draws together all the threads of her volume. Another omission was

an understandable failure to provide a detailed comparison of the relative efficiency of the British war experience in labor mobilization and utilization with the Canadian, American, German, and Japanese experiences. Fortunately, this deficiency can be remedied by recourse to Clarence D. Long, *The Labor Force under Changing Income and Employment* (1958), and Jerome B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction* (1949). Although some earlier studies on British manpower in World War II were available before Parker and Inman published their volumes, none of these can rival in scope, cumulative detail, and readability these two notable contributions to scholarship.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

COMMONWEALTH PERSPECTIVES. By *Nicholas Mansergh et al.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center Publications, Number 8.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Commonwealth-Studies Center. 1958. Pp. viii, 214. \$4.50.)

THE present volume from the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center consists of seven interpretative essays. The authors are two Englishmen and four Americans.

Professor Nicholas Mansergh of St. John's College, Cambridge, contributes two essays: "Commonwealth Membership" and "Commonwealth Foreign Policies, 1945-1956." These introduce and set a high tone for the symposium. In his first essay Mansergh deals with the difficult problem of membership in the Commonwealth. He traces the numerous conferences, reports, and the attempts to define, limit, or modify status or membership. Most of this reviews familiar ground and leads its reader very easily and comprehensively through rather involved constitutional procedures and theories. In his second essay he surveys the problem facing the British dominions in determining or developing their foreign policies after the attainment of full international sovereignty in 1931.

Robert R. Wilson writes on "The Commonwealth and the Law of Nations." This is a valuable, brief summary of the Commonwealth's position in international law. Possibly his essay's most convenient feature is the part that treats and traces the rise of the dominion nationality laws, from the first—that of Canada in 1946—to that of Ghana in 1957. A basic aspect of this development is the provision of the legal ground by which a citizen of each nation of the Commonwealth may himself be recognized by international law as participating in the benefits of such association.

The modern discipline of demography, as applied to the Commonwealth, finds expression in "The Commonwealth: Demographic Dimensions; Implications" by Joseph J. Spengler. Inaugurating his essay with an examination of population factors in the United Kingdom, he examines similar and homogeneous aspects in the principally British countries of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. South

Africa may be regarded as a bridge or transitional area between those parts of the Commonwealth in which the population is principally non-British and non-European. Spengler's able presentation and condensation of a vast amount of demographic information reinforces one reason for the continued existence of the Commonwealth. Its strength lies not in sentiment, not in constitutional ties, not in a common ethnic origin, but in its having become a mutual benefit association.

In "The Emergence of Ghana" James L. Godfrey provides a clear example of the process by which a British crown colony becomes a sovereign, self-governing nation and thereby achieves, of its own volition, or possibly request, membership in the Commonwealth. One can only marvel at this process. It has been inherent in the crown colony system, especially the potential of the legislative council. It is, as Godfrey asserts, "a tribute to the efficiency of the British policy of matching political power to the advancing maturity in colonial areas."

The final two essays deal with social and economic rather than constitutional and political topics. B. U. Ratchford surveys "The Development of Health and Welfare Programs in Australia: A Case Study," and Brinley Thomas writes on "The Evolution of the Sterling Area and Its Prospects." Both are excellent studies of detail. Professor Ratchford traces various periods in the rise of Australian social legislation from 1900 to the attainment of today's welfare state. He concludes that Australia has almost reached its "critical area" in the proportion of national income that may be expended for social and welfare programs. Thomas indicates the rise of the pound sterling as a medium of international currency and exchange from the great days of England's nineteenth-century dominance to the problems of the post-World War I period and of the present. It is a valuable and clear presentation of the historic role of the pound in international finance and currency regulation.

University of Colorado

JAMES G. ALLEN

SURVEY OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS. PROBLEMS OF WARTIME CO-OPERATION AND POST-WAR CHANGE, 1939-1952.
By *Nicholas Mansergh*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xvi, 469. \$10.10.)

This fourth volume in the series *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* continues the work of comprehensive scholarship notably begun by Sir Keith Hancock and admirably maintained by Professor Mansergh in his volume published in 1952, *Problems of External Policy, 1931-1939*. Taken together, the whole set thus far constitutes the best brief library available on the complex history of the Commonwealth of Nations—a less than one-foot shelf. Taken by itself, the volume is well up to the high standard of the series in range, lucidity, and balance.

In three parts, the book deals with the Commonwealth at war, with postwar

changes in its composition, and with the problems that it met in the postwar world, both in external and internal relationships. Above all, it depicts the effective cohesion of the Commonwealth in wartime, its elasticity in comprehending new Asian nations, and its capacity still to adjust to conditions of life in the present world, where the old underlying guarantees of British power have largely lapsed for its members, and where regionalism no less than nationalism draws them away from any central focus. Yet, as Mansergh presents the story—in a manner as convincing as it is calm—this does far more than disguise the decline of the British Empire, far more than inflate an already tenuous organization until it has no more substance than a soap bubble. Instead, it is the record of the persistence, and indeed new weaving, of connections between nations that despite widely varied interests choose to remain in some association in this bleakest of bleak ages.

Since this book is a survey covering a vast terrain, it is impossible to do more than note a few random points that emerge from its pages. For example, to the recognized fact that the dominions of the "old" Commonwealth perhaps stood highest in world affairs in 1940–1941, after France had collapsed and before the Soviet Union and the United States had entered the war, the author adds a significant point regarding their military contributions: "It was the presence of Canadian forces in the United Kingdom, of Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Indian forces in the Middle East, comprising as they did so large a proportion of the trained forces of the British Commonwealth after the evacuation from Dunkirk, that ensured survival."

Then, in commenting on the apparent paradox that in the same month of 1949 Ireland broke its final ties with the Commonwealth to become a republic (a step that had previously been considered incompatible with Commonwealth allegiance), while India was accepted as a republican member by the April Declaration, Mansergh makes clear that the essential difference lay not in any realm of constitutional theory but in political intent.

Finally, one might note an illuminating discussion on the blurring of monarchism and republicanism in the "post-Statute of Westminster" Commonwealth—on the acceptance of the Queen in republics like India, Pakistan, or Ceylon as a symbol of association, and on the decline of the role of the crown in government in "nonresident" monarchies like Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. The fact, moreover, that republics became fully acceptable as Commonwealth members has interesting connotations in South Africa for the republican shibboleth of Afrikaner nationalism.

It should be emphasized again that this work is a survey, based essentially on printed public documents, memoirs, or secondary studies. It is a preliminary investigation in a field that has yet to produce its detailed works of basic research. But it will be a long time, surely, before this well-conceived, judicious, and urbane volume will be surpassed.

University of Toronto

J. M. S. CARELESS

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND: A STUDY OF DÁIL ÉIREANN 1919-48. By *J. L. McCracken*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 229. \$4.80.)

THE prospective reader not put off by a forbidding title will find that Professor McCracken has written an interesting and much-needed study of the origins and development of the Dáil Éireann. The author demonstrates that, since from 1919 to 1948 the Dáil was the "constant element" in the Irish constitution and the "most important institution of the state," one must know the history of the Dáil in order to understand the workings of representative government in Ireland. Although this book will be of particular value to the reader interested in Irish history, it should find a wider audience among those seeking a case history in the development of political institutions.

Within the limitations of the Anglo-Irish treaty, those who drafted the Free State constitution were at liberty to experiment. The initial result was a textbook constitution, providing for initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and other currently popular constitutional devices. The proposed executive was an intricate combination of the British and Swiss systems, with a president selected by the Dáil and an executive council of parliamentary and extern ministers, the latter to be chosen for specialized knowledge. The president and the parliamentary ministers were to be collectively responsible to the Dáil; the extern ministers would hold office for the entire term. All real power was concentrated in the Dáil, "a genuinely deliberative assembly in which each measure would be analysed on its merits," with the "maximum of individual liberty for the deputies." The upper chamber, part of the system of safeguards for the unionist minority imposed upon the new government by the British, had limited powers but was a source of dissatisfaction to many members of the Dáil.

By 1948 the intricacies of Irish politics had occasioned extensive modifications of the system. Contrary to the plans of the original constitution makers, an Irish legislature evolved that was quite similar to its British counterpart. Proportional representation led naturally to numerous parties, but the treaty controversy precipitated a consolidation that led to a virtual two-party system. This development, with the failure of the extern minister plan, created an executive council resembling a cabinet of the British type, with a clearly recognizable prime minister at its head. Logically, with the growth of the cabinet system, the Dáil became "very much the instrument of the government it had created." A prolonged struggle led to loss of all effective power in the upper chamber, which became in theory a body of expert opinion but in practice a refuge for tired politicians.

In the organization and presentation of the material, this book resembles the volumes in the Studies in Irish History series. After establishing the necessary background, the author continues with chapters devoted to particular aspects of the development of the Dáil. An excellent bibliography is appended. Some readers may be surprised to find the discussion of the role of the Roman Catholic Church

in Irish politics reduced to a few paragraphs, but in general this book is to be recommended. McCracken's efforts meet the high standards we have come to expect of Irish historical scholarship in recent years.

University of Tennessee

GALEN BROEKER

LYON DE L'ENCYCLOPÉDIE AU PRÉROMANTISME. Volumes I and II. *

By *Louis Trénard*. [Collection des Cahiers d'Histoire publiée par les Universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble; Histoire sociale des idées.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1958. Pp. lxii, 377; 389-821. 3,000 fr. the set.)

THIS two-volume work on the intellectual development of France's second largest city is also a valuable addition to the growing literature on the revolutionary era outside Paris and to the history of the French bourgeoisie. Trénard does not raise many questions that would interest the specialist in the period, yet he furnishes a wealth of new information for the answers. He has omitted the role of the Lyonnais workers, who played little part in the intellectual history. The forty-page bibliography is an invaluable guide to archives and to recent monographs; it will be useful beyond the scope of these volumes.

The subject is treated in two periods, 1770-1794 and 1795-1815. Volume I contains a detailed analysis of the period before 1789 and an overly brief treatment of 1789-1794, and Volume II, the Directory and Napoleonic periods. For each period Trénard describes all phases of philosophy, religion, science, and the arts, and their manifestations in libraries, education, academies, Masonic lodges, schools, the press, theater, public fêtes, and art. Through the volumes the special characteristics of Lyon and relationships to the rest of France and to Europe are presented. The Lyonnais bourgeoisie exhibited strong regional traits and, despite a penchant for applied science, strong mysticism.

Trénard begins with a description of the bourgeoisie—the industrial and merchant elite who were leaders of the intelligentsia in the absence of a hereditary nobility. Their intellectual horizon and economic interests extended far beyond Lyon to the southwest and to neighboring foreign states. Trénard underlines the influence of German Illuminism on prerevolutionary Lyon, and of German pre-romanticism on Napoleonic culture. The prerevolutionary economic crisis began in Lyon with the accession of Louis XVI and was accentuated during the general crisis of 1787-1789. During the twenty years before 1789, the diverse currents of the Enlightenment were all illustrated at Lyon, and as 1789 approached, ferment and diversity increased. Trénard confirms submergence of intellectual exploration by daily problems during the Revolution, but also notes important developments of mysticism, utopianism, and a temporary revolutionary religion. The optimism of the eighteenth century gave way to resignation and pessimism only after the purge of 1793-1794. Chapter viii on "Le Climat terroriste" is an invaluable explanation of the severe repression of anti-Parisian Jacobinism. Increased economic

difficulties led the bourgeois to federalism and to collaboration with *émigré* and local royalism. Quarrels among prorevolutionaries further divided the Lyonnais. Terrorism was first used by federalist-royalists, then by Hébertists, who were strong at Lyon, and finally by Jacobins sent from Paris. From then on, the Lyonnais were submissive outwardly to the central authority, but defensive about their own importance. A Gallican regional Catholic revival and preoccupation with science and technology related to Lyon's industries prepared the background for Napoleonic classicism and preromanticism. Judges, lawyers, merchants, and those who had acquired *bien national*s supported Napoleon, but increased imperial taxation and renewed economic crisis alienated the bourgeoisie.

The historian of ideas will find a challenge in Trénard's delineation of Lyonnais thought between 1770 and 1815. Equally important to the reviewer is his treatment of its manifestations, especially through Masonry, the press, and the theater. Although Masonry shared the humanism and humanitarianism of all French Masonry, the innumerable lodges, the development of Scottish rites, and mysticism, especially *Martinisme*, made Lyon a capital of Freemasonry. Also outstanding and new is the description of the rapid and complex growth of Lyonnais newspapers after 1789 and the impact of censorship, a valuable contribution both to local history and to the history of the press. Trénard has presented a very important history of ideas from the thought of the Enlightenment to "the rejuvenation of humanism" and "the triumph of the man of sentiment."

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

HISTORICAL PESSIMISM IN THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Henry Vyverberg*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 36.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 253. \$5.50.)

A REVIEWER of Dr. Vyverberg's illuminating study might well begin by paying tribute to a provocative, stylistically engaging, and scholarly work. He could go on to say that the thesis it develops is perhaps less novel and paradoxical than it appears at first sight and that the author's conclusions will certainly be contested, perhaps more in details than in the whole.

Briefly put, the argument runs somewhat as follows: While the eighteenth-century belief in progress was real enough, scholars have persistently overestimated its significance. That belief was neither the single focus of the Enlightenment nor its simple logical consummation. An undercurrent ran through the age, an undercurrent of thought "of a depth and force seldom appreciated." That undercurrent the author denominates "historical pessimism." Within it he places three conceptions of history which were in varying degrees hostile to the belief in progress as a descriptive analysis of man's temporal existence: the movement of history as decadence, as cycle, and as flux.

To test the genesis and development of those ideas Vyverberg begins by ex-

amining representative thinkers of the seventeenth century. He finds that not one of them unreservedly made a case for pessimism, not one flatly defended historical optimism. During the eighteenth century there were of course spokesmen for progress, Turgot and Condorcet the most forceful; many more expressed in their writings the antiprogress principles that had been adumbrated earlier. Among them were Buffon, Grimm, Marmontel, and Raynal. The diffusion of such ideas was not restricted either to the religious *antiphilosophes* or to minor writers of more progressive persuasion. It infiltrated into the thinking of the titans. Montesquieu was "pessimism in moderation." In Voltaire, while there were baffling complexities and perplexing inconsistencies, there was certainly no out-and-out belief in progress. With Diderot there were complexity, catholic interests, divergent strivings and struggles, as every student has noted, but "ultimately [he was] engulfed in an inclusive view of inescapable historical flux."

With those men and with briefer analyses of Linguet, Sade, and Holbach, the study ends. It ends with the author reaffirming that the Enlightenment did retain its generous belief in progress and acted upon it; insisting, however, that resistance to that belief was no accident: "It was firmly rooted in the thought of the age."

That the particular aspects of this work and the evaluation of the men it treats will be challenged is clear. But the care and the skill with which the author makes his case are patent. This small thought-provoking book, despite its inclusiveness, is no premature synthesis. The author makes no dogmatic and definitive assertions. It is a valuable chart of a terrain for others to explore in detail.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

THE CROWD IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By George Rudé. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 267. \$5.60.)

In this important book George Rudé has embodied many years of research on eighteenth-century crowds in France and in Great Britain. He has mastered the appropriate literature, and gone to the archives, notably to surviving documents of the Parisian *sections* and to those of official inquiries after certain crucial *journées* of the Revolution. After a brief introductory section on eighteenth-century crowds, he goes on to succinct but well-nourished analyses of the role of crowds (not, he insists, "mobs") in all the great crises from Bastille Day to Vendémiaire. In all, because of his use of new sources, as well as of the specific set of questions his approach suggests, he adds to our knowledge and to our understanding of the Revolution. In a final section entitled "The Anatomy of the Revolutionary Crowd" he gives—though always with the caution of a professional historian—a kind of retrospective sociology or social psychology of these crowds, their composition, motives, their role in generating revolutionary activity. A final suggestive chapter, "The Revolutionary Crowd in History," draws on British as well as French experience, and concludes that at least in Western Europe and

America the trade-union, the new weapon of the strike, and other variables had worked to make just the kind of revolutionary crowd he is studying a thing of the past by mid-nineteenth century.

Rudé maintains that the evidence, especially evidence as to social and economic status of most of these crowds, disposes finally of the rhetoric of Taine and other alarmist antirevolutionary writers: these crowds were not composed of the scum of the earth, vagabonds, good-for-nothing rascals, the dregs of humanity, not even of the unemployed, but rather of the more active of the *menu peuple*, artisans, craftsmen, with a sprinkling of bourgeois and "intellectuals." They seem on the whole not motivated by immediate desires for pillaging or other direct private gain, and the police reports note relatively few cases of rioters found with stolen objects or money. Furthermore, the evidence does not confirm the exaggerated antirevolutionary view that there were important elements of hired agitators in these crowds, though Rudé grants that there was in the early days probably an "Orleanist plot." All in all, this is a very balanced account, not unduly simplifying, not attributing these most complex forms of social action to any form of one-way causation, not even to that tempting form, hero-villain causation.

Rudé, at bottom friendly to the great Revolution, shares the tendency of modern French republican historians since Mathiez and Lefebvre to emphasize the role of economic stress in bringing the *menu peuple* out for direct action. His suggestion that in fact much of these eighteenth-century direct actions are rough equivalents of the modern strike is an interesting one. He is not doctrinaire in his use of evidence from economic history, and he does see that something other than economic deprivation or "cramp" is apparently needed to generate revolutionary activity, even if that something is no more than the ideas of the insane Lord George Gordon. To this reviewer, Chapter xiv on the generation of revolutionary activity, the relation of leaders to led, the organization of these crowds, the old problem of degree of spontaneity, the motivation of the crowds—all this needs expansion and development, perhaps a somewhat less basically "rationalist" social psychology than a heavy reliance on man's most rational activity, the economic, usually affords. But we should be grateful for the book we have; there is nothing quite like it.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

LES SANS-CULOTTES PARISIENS EN L'AN II: MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE ET GOUVERNEMENT RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE 2 JUIN 1793-9
THERMIDOR AN II. By *Albert Soboul*. (Paris: Librairie Clavreuil. 1958.
Pp. 1168.)

THIS learned tome by Albert Soboul is of the tiny category of French theses that have made permanent impressions on historiography. The period spanned by this volume, that is, from the fall of the Girondins to the fall of the Robespierrist,

was crucial in the history of the Revolution. Georges Lefebvre's verdict that it marks a turning point in the writings on the French Revolution is a just measure of its worth. In the first place, it confirms, with regard to the sans-culottes, the conclusions he had come to concerning the peasants. The urban movement, like the rural, according to Soboul, was independent of the bourgeoisie both in origin, methods, and aspirations. In the second place, it casts a shaft of light on the boldest, lowly elements of the Revolution that shaped its character during the most trying year of its history. In the third place, it corrects conceptions, bequeathed to us by such great historians as Mortimer-Ternaux, Michelet, and Mathiez. The first had methodically run down the sans-culottes. The second had regarded their pressures on the revolutionary government as volcanic eruptions whose *Primum movens* was a mystery to him. The third, Mathiez, so exalted the role of Robespierre that he underestimated the social and economic significance of the Enragés and Hébertists. In the fourth place, it has given the coup de grâce to Daniel Guérin's thesis that the sans-culottes were the advance guard of the revolutionary proletariat of the nineteenth century, and by implication, a modern factory proletariat. Soboul proves beyond dispute that they were instead an *arrière-garde*, defending traditional economic practices. The mainsprings of their action, he maintains, can be understood properly only in terms of their background, their social and economic status, and their criteria of the good life. What we have then is a substantial work in an area of the Revolution that comparatively few pioneers dared enter.

Soboul's charting of this area commands our admiration. As far as is known, he has not missed a single collection of unpublished papers, nor has he ignored pertinent published material, as witnessed by the lengthy bibliography. Apart from the heavily documented text, there are almost forty pages of appendixes on the political organization of the Parisian sans-culottes, on the social and political structure of the capital's forty-eight sections, and finally, wherever possible, on the agenda and balloting at meetings of the popular societies. The industry and patience the appendixes represent may be better appreciated if it is borne in mind that their mass of statistical data was derived from the still extensive archival remains that had escaped destruction.

What were the sans-culottes? Soboul points out a number of their distinguishing characteristics. They could of course be singled out by their garments, principally the long trousers. But more peculiar were their creeds. They had strong convictions on social equality and on an existing antagonism between them and aristocrats, a term that encompassed all their enemies; they hated the rich in general and the *rentier* in particular; they evaluated the Revolution much as Babeuf did later, that is, a war between rich and poor. Their object was to restrict the right of property, to protect the small owner and to secure the right to labor. Bread was central to their program, so that it was arid in point of theory.

The sans-culottes were not a class, but a social category, consisting of shop-

keepers, artisans, and wage earners. The sprinkling of persons higher in the economic scale was insufficient to dilute their composition. This composition was a source of discord, of imprecision in social views and in courses of conduct.

Assessed with the wisdom of hindsight, we may say that they could not permanently impose their way of life on the French nation. But in the balance sheet of their role in the Revolution, high credit must be given them, as Soboul does, for having advanced and solidified its bourgeois gains.

New York City

SAMUEL BERNSTEIN

STUDIES EN STRIJDSCRIFTEN. By P. Geyl. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 11.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1958. Pp. vi, 544. Fl. 22.50.)

PETER Geyl, who until his retirement in 1957 taught history at the University of Utrecht, is the nestor of Holland's living historians. He needs no introduction to the readers of the *American Historical Review*; he is well known in this country for his criticism of Toynbee's *A Study of History*, for his *Napoleon For and Against*, and for the lectures delivered at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and at other American universities. In this volume he has assembled articles and addresses that deal exclusively with Netherlands history. They form an impressive testimony to the wide range of his knowledge and to the youthful vigor that enlivens even the latest of his polemical writings. Geyl is a born fighter and a courageous one. No widely recognized authority abashes him into silence. He has challenged Pirenne, Fruin, Colenbrander, Toynbee, and has returned from the combat with honors. There are several *strijdschriften* among this collection, and in the period that has elapsed since they came from his pen they have not lost a trace of their original freshness.

The story of the Dutch revolt against Spain as it used to be taught in my young days has been drastically revised, thanks to Geyl's convincing demonstration that the schoolbooks taught a myth, not history. There are few historians left in the Netherlands who have not come around to Geyl's point of view. He challenged the theory that the cleavage between Hollanders and Flemings was an unavoidable effect of a difference in their natures. The military events of the late sixteenth century were the cause of it. The Spanish troops under Parma were able to reduce the southern Netherlands to their former obedience to the king of Spain and the provinces north of the water barrier of the great rivers were able to keep the Spaniards out. Geographical conditions decided the issue of the eighty-years' war. That the Dutch in Belgium are Catholics and those in Holland predominantly Protestant is not the result of temperamental differences. In the south, after Parma's triumph, the Church acquired a monopoly; those who refused to rejoin it had to leave the country and settled in the north, where the Calvinists dominated a population that was still largely of the Roman faith. The successful out-

come of the revolt in the north tended to remove that inequality. Waverers saw wisdom in joining the powerful minority, and lukewarm Catholics with political ambitions left the Church in hope of joining the city fathers. Even so, the Catholics in Holland were never reduced to a negligible minority and still constitute a third of the present-day population of the Netherlands.

The articles are grouped in four categories. The problems of the revolt and the cleavage between Hollanders and Flemings are dealt with in the first; then follow aspects and personalities of the seventeenth century, including a discussion of the historical background of Dutch painting; the third group is concerned with conflicts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and the fourth presents the historian in the framework of his own period. Geyl is an able stylist. His volume of over five hundred pages is heavy to hold but light to digest. He knows how to discuss even an abstruse subject with precision and clarity.

Columbia University

ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW

GERMANY AFTER BISMARCK: THE CAPRIVI ERA, 1890-1894. By *J. Alden Nichols*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 404. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first full-scale treatment of Bismarck's successor as chancellor of the German Empire, and it seems unlikely that we shall ever need another. Mr. Nichols has not only exhausted the available printed sources and worked diligently in contemporary periodical and newspaper files, but he has brought his findings together in a readable account that covers every aspect of Caprivi's term of office and, in doing so, shows a mastery of the constitutional ambiguities of the imperial structure and a thorough understanding of the personal feuds that played so important a role in the politics of these years.

The latter gift has made it possible for the author to bring to life such long-dead issues as the Prussian school bill and Caprivi's army bill, which generated so much heat in their own time. The former has enabled him to explain the peculiar difficulties of all post-Bismarck governments, for, as Nichols rightly points out, since the real power in Germany was not located in the Reichstag and since all important questions were decided in struggles between Reich, Prussia, bureaucracy, court, and the ministries, the government had to maintain an official camarilla to maintain its position in the incessant *bellum omnium contra omnes*. This gave great scope for the talents of people like Holstein and Philip Eulenburg, but made it difficult for Caprivi to maintain control in policy matters.

Nichols sees Caprivi as a man confronted with a political situation that was insoluble by the only methods he was capable of employing. Opposed, because of his training and background, to anything in the nature of real liberalism or democracy, he tried to work toward "a single-party system of frock-coated totalitarianism," in which a bureaucratic government would attract popular support by

a nationalistic, middle-of-the-road policy and parliamentary support by the creation of a government party of "king's friends." He was doomed to defeat by his own political inexperience, by the antediluvian thought processes of Prussian conservatives, and, above all, by the shadow of the exiled Bismarck, who not only kept the parties in a turmoil, but exercised a continuing influence on the bureaucracy, the ministries, and even Caprivi himself, so that he could never escape the inhibiting effect of inherited Bismarckian teachings and precedents.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

MACHIAVELLI AND THE RENAISSANCE. By *Federico Chabod*. Translated from the Italian by *David Moore*. With an introduction by *A. P. d'Entrèves*. (London: Bowes and Bowes; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xviii, 258. 30s.)

THE contents of this book are most adequately described by its title. Of the four essays that make up the volume, three are devoted to Machiavelli, and the fourth deals with general problems of the Renaissance period; a very useful bibliographical guide to recent works on the Italian Renaissance and Italian humanism is appended.

To the specialist, the volume contains nothing new. The four essays are translations and have previously appeared in Italian; their author is one of the chief Italian authorities on Renaissance history and whatever he writes is carefully studied by those working in the Renaissance field. This translation of a few selected essays by Chabod is most welcome, however, because it might spread acquaintance with Chabod's work beyond the narrow range of Renaissance specialists.

The selection will serve well as an introduction to what constitutes the particular character of Chabod's approach to Machiavelli and the Renaissance. To Chabod, the connection between the Italian political situation and Machiavelli's political thought is crucial. Machiavelli's concept of "the prince" is not a romantic construction but the legitimate result of the "lessons of events" offered by Italian history. In a world in which the gap between rural and urban life was steadily widening and in which both the feudal structure of the country and the guild organization of the commune was disintegrating, the ruler alone provided a center of attraction that could tie together the divergent social forces and create a politically effective organization. On this intuitively recognized fact, Machiavelli's imagination began to work and constructed the picture of the prince. I use purposely the terms "intuition" and "imagination" because they are central concepts of this interpretation of Machiavelli; according to Chabod, one should not expect from Machiavelli's writings a logical political system, free from contradictions, but a creative transformation of single empirical facts into generally applicable political insights. Whereas the first two essays develop these views chiefly in the form

of an introduction and commentary to *The Prince*, the third essay, somewhat misnomed "Machiavelli's Method and Style," surveys Machiavelli's entire career and works from this point of view. This third article was published thirty years after the preceding two essays, and whereas the latter show the youthfulness of their author by a slight tendency toward dogmatic statements, the former is a work of admirable balance and moderation. The last essay on "The Concept of the Renaissance" is distinguished by the same masterly maturity; its distinctions between medieval "realism" and Renaissance "realism," between the medieval use of the classics and the Renaissance revival of antiquity are sharply drawn and penetrating, and the whole essay is, in my opinion, the best available statement on what is still alive of Burckhardt's concept of the Renaissance.

In his introduction Passerin d'Entrèves provides a brief evaluation of Chabod's personality and scholarly achievements. His historical interests are by no means restricted to the intellectual history of the Renaissance; Chabod has done important work in the political and institutional history of sixteenth-century Italy, and, with the brilliant panoramic survey of European political life in the second part of the nineteenth century that represents the first volume of a *History of Italian Foreign Policy*, he has extended his interests into more recent history. It would not be the least of the merits of the volume under review if its publication would lead to increasing interest in the work of Chabod, who is one of the leading historians of our century.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI: STORIA DEL SUO PENSIERO POLITICO.

By Gennaro Sasso. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Volume 10.]
(Naples: the Institute. 1958. Pp. 504. L. 3,500.)

AFTER so many mutually exclusive interpretations of the "true" mind of Machiavelli, the most immediate tasks appear to be to comprehend each of Machiavelli's writings as a reaction to a concrete situation, and on this basis to trace the successive changes in his way of thinking. Nobody has done more in Italy for such a genetic approach than Federico Chabod, and from his school comes the first systematic "history of Machiavelli's thought" (only the late phase represented by the *Istorie Fiorentine* is not included), a penetrating and fundamental revision of a long-tilled field.

Preparatory to an exhaustive analysis of *The Prince*, Dr. Sasso discusses all the political letters, reports, and memoranda from the time of Machiavelli's labors for a Florentine *milizia* and of his wide participation in diplomatic missions. In every instance, the author's aim is to determine the contribution that accrues to the growth of the new political "logic" and "method" in consequence of Machiavelli's painful experience of both the helplessness of the Florentine city-republic and the workings of concentrated power in the unified French monarchy as well

as in the "new principedom" of the Borgia in central Italy. One of Sasso's principal findings is that in those early writings Machiavelli does not yet search for the causes of Italy's decadence, nor look for any *interpretazione storica* of the Florentine or Roman past, nor approach the idea (later, central in the *Discourses*) that republics, too, have a strength of their own in their ability to mobilize all popular energies. The problems on which his mind was centered at that time are well known from *The Prince* and from some kindred portions of the *Discourses*, such as the need of every state to have its own soldiers, the condemnation of any compromising *vie di mezzo*, and the conflict between *coscienza* and *necessità*. The story of the genesis of these and similar leitmotifs of Machiavelli's thought is of arresting interest; it proves that "Machiavellism" was not so much the upshot of the interstate relations of the Italian *quattrocento* as the child of the chaos and insecurity that followed the destruction of the microcosm of Renaissance Italy by the new great European powers.

The reconstruction, in the second half of the book, of the later course of Machiavelli's thought is ingenious and thorough, but may be less final. Sasso adheres to the conventional chronology according to which Machiavelli wrote the first eighteen chapters of the *Discourses* and subsequently *The Prince* in 1513, whereas the remainder of the *Discourses* is assumed to have been gradually composed during the years that followed, with the second and third book finished possibly not until the time of the *Arte della Guerra* and the *Vita di Castruccio Castracani*, about 1519-1520. In this light, as Sasso shows, the development of Machiavelli's thought appears not as a process of growth and expansion, but rather as one of contraction from a penetrating "power of historical comprehension" in the first eighteen chapters of the *Discourses* to "arbitrary" concentration upon "one single element," the role of native soldiers, in *The Prince*. Subsequently, in Books II and III of the *Discourses* and in the *Arte della Guerra*, the hope of the year 1513 for some kind of political regeneration has disappeared, and is replaced by a classicist belief that the present had gone wrong because it had not sufficiently followed the example of the ancients—an attitude called pessimistic chiefly in view of the Castruccio *Vita* from the same period, which sounds the melancholy note that man is a helpless victim to the whims of *Fortuna*.

To this reviewer, not only does a sudden contraction in 1513 of the range of Machiavelli's outlook seem little credible, but other assumptions indispensable for this reconstruction appear even more absurd. Since Sasso has conclusively shown that none of the broader views distinguishing *Discourses*, Book I from *The Prince* had ever made an appearance in Machiavelli's writings before 1513, how can one believe that a part of *Discourses*, Book I originated as early as 1513? Again, in order to maintain that by the time he composed *Discourses*, Books II and III and his *Arte*, Machiavelli had abandoned all faith in the Florentine republic, one must consider as "abstract," "utopian," and not quite serious the republican program in his *Discorso sopra il Riformare* of the same period (1519-1520)—a tour de

force to which Sasso, indeed, devotes a goodly part of his last chapter. Those who find these and other necessary suppositions for the proposed scheme unacceptable and prefer the more plausible solution, recently much discussed, that *The Prince* preceded the *Discourses* and the period in which Machiavelli was gradually to become a great historical thinker and pronounced advocate of the invigorating political role of republicanism, will necessarily judge that a number of pages in the second half of Sasso's study require modifications. But even within a changed pattern of Machiavelli's development during his later years, Sasso's keen and thought-provoking observations would not lose their significance.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

THOUGHTS ON MACHIAVELLI. By Leo Strauss. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1958. Pp. 348. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR STRAUSS gives us the crux of his thoughts on Machiavelli when he writes, "Books like *The Prince* and the *Discourses* do not reveal their full meaning as intended by the author unless one ponders over them 'day and night.' The reader who is properly prepared is bound to come across suggestions which refuse to be stated." Far from being clear and simple, as his successors thought them to be, Machiavelli's writings are elusive, and at times his silences are as important as his statements. Strauss holds that we must never surrender to the drift of Machiavelli's sentences without correlating them with the total scheme of the work under discussion, as well as with the sources he analyzes. This contention is based upon Machiavelli's own approach to reading, which was "nearer to the way the theologians of the past read the Bible than to our way of reading either Livy or the Bible." Such an analysis of Machiavelli's thought is continued over four long chapters, treating the relationship of *The Prince* to the *Discourses*, *The Prince* and the *Discourses* separately, and finally, Machiavelli's teachings.

It is surprising that despite this subtle approach to Machiavelli's works the author's conclusions are the same as those of men in past ages who found these books simple reading. For here, in contrast to modern scholarship, the distinction between Machiavelli and Machiavellism is eliminated. On the very first page of the book the author professes himself to be of the "old-fashioned" opinion that Machiavelli was a teacher of evil. In his concluding remarks he contrasts true philosophy, which "transcends the City," with Machiavelli's thought in which nothing suprapolitical is allowed and "beast man" becomes the symbol instead of "God man." Though this summary of the complex tapestry of ideas contained in the work is much foreshortened, it is clear that Strauss's approach is not only at variance with modern scholarship (no modern work on Machiavelli is cited), but that it is also based upon certain philosophical presuppositions.

Machiavelli is accused of "indescribable misuse" of Biblical teaching because, as Strauss believes, the Bible sets forth demands of morals and religion in their

purest and most intransigent form. But theologians did read the Bible the way Strauss himself tells us we should read Machiavelli, and what they found was not such a simplistic and absolute view. Machiavelli is thus contrasted with a philosophical absolute and not with what the Bible did mean to men within a historical context. By calling Machiavelli a blasphemer, the author states that he is merely calling a "spade a spade," though he will be accused by social scientists of being "culture conditioned." Instead he seems open to the charge of comparing Machiavelli to moral absolutes which are not historically warranted. In this sense the book contrasts with the Crocean school of Machiavelli studies, which believed that his greatness lay precisely in the discovery of the necessity and autonomy of politics beyond good and evil; that Machiavelli was aware of the tragic dilemma of his times. This meant that his thought could only be understood within the context of Florentine history.

There is hardly any trace of such a historical framework in this book. Machiavelli is seen against a background of classical thought, and little else. Gennaro Sasso's belief that Machiavelli used Roman history to demolish contemporary Florence is not reflected here, since Machiavelli's ideas are viewed exclusively from within the works themselves. Thus Strauss's Machiavelli is "new," indeed, "revolutionary," because he changed the direction of inherited classical thought; but just how new Machiavelli might be within the context of medieval Renaissance thought is never mentioned or discussed. Sasso also examines the text of Machiavelli's works and comes to the conclusions that the Machiavelli problem is complex, and that it cannot merely be determined by his relationship to classical or Florentine humanistic thought. While the approach of Sasso is that of a historian, Strauss's approach seems divorced from a historical context. Federico Chabod, influenced by Croce, has exclaimed, "But *The Prince* is no literary exercise!" To the historian it seems at times as if this book has made Machiavelli's works into just that. Yet once the limitations of Strauss's approach have been taken into account, his book can give us some valuable insights. The interplay of appearance and reality in Machiavelli's writings, for example, does convey something of the temper of his mind.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSZ

HISTORY OF UKRAINE-RUS'. Volume I, TO THE XI. CENTURY; Volume II, XI-XIII. CENTURY; Volume III, UP TO YEAR 1340; Volume IV, XIV-XVI. CENTURIES, POLITICAL RELATIONS; Volume V, SOCIAL-POLITICAL AND CHURCH ORDER AND RELATIONS IN UKRAINE-RUS' TERRITORIES IN XIV-XVII. CENTURIES; Volume VI, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND NATIONAL LIFE OF THE XIV-XVII. CENTURIES; Volume VII, COSSACK TIMES UP TO 1625; Volume VIII, Part 1, 1626-1638, Part 2, 1638-1648, Part 3, 1648-1650; Volume IX, Book I,

Part 1, 1650-1653; Part 2, 1654-1657; Volume X, FROM THE DEATH OF KHMELNITSKY TO THE HADYACH AGREEMENT. By *Mykhailo Hrushevsky*. (New York: Knyho-Spilka. 1954; 1954; 1954; 1955; 1955; 1955; 1956; 1956; 1957; 1957; 1958. Pp. xxix, 648; 633; 586; 535; vii, 687; 667; x, 624; 321, 224, 314; 869; 871-1630; 594.)

THE greatest Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, 1866-1934, is known in the Western world chiefly, if not exclusively, for his brief survey of the history of Ukraine, which in 1916 appeared in French and German, and in 1941 in an English translation. This outline gives a clear idea of the author's interpretation of Ukrainian and, in general, East European history, but not of his amazing scholarship and of the tremendous amount of painstaking research on which his interpretation is based. His monumental *History of Ukraine-Rus'* in ten or rather eleven volumes (the ninth consists of two parts) appeared in Ukrainian only, except the first volume, which was translated into German. Until recently it was not easily available even to those familiar with the Ukrainian language because most of the volumes were out of print and the last one, posthumously published in 1936 in Kiev, could not easily be obtained abroad. Highly welcome, therefore, was the decision of the Ukrainian émigrés in the United States to reprint the whole work in New York, with an introductory essay by Professor B. Krupnytsky on "Mr. Hrushevsky and His Historical Work" and a very helpful index to all volumes.

When Hrushevsky started his project sixty years ago, he planned to present the history of his country in three parts or "cycles," each of them treated in three volumes. He strictly followed his plan as far as the first two parts were concerned. The first three volumes covered the history of old Kievan Rus' from the origin to the end of her independent political life which, in the states of Halych and Volhynia, continued until 1340. The next three volumes described the political, social, economic, and cultural development of the Ruthenian lands under Polish-Lithuanian rule from the middle of the fourteenth to the turn of the sixteenth century. The remaining volumes received the subtitle "History of the Ukrainian Cossacks" and were supposed to deal with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the author, who anticipated that for this third part probably not three but four volumes would be needed, entered into such a detailed treatment of the Cossack period that the tenth (strictly speaking, eleventh) volume (the last that he was able to write before he tragically died, deported to Moscow by the Communist regime) ended rather abruptly with the year 1659.

There is indeed a twofold difference between the approach of the first six and that of the subsequent volumes. To the end of the sixteenth century Hrushevsky gives a synthesis of the history of the Ruthenian people. Then he turns to a monograph of the Ukrainian Cossacks, who certainly were the most dynamic part of that people—gradually assuming its leadership and reviving the idea of its statehood—but who nevertheless cannot be identified with the nation as a whole. And

though the presentation in all three parts is based on primary sources, with numerous footnotes and critical appendixes, the third one, aiming at a fully exhaustive picture, discusses even minor points and uses much unpublished source material.

As they are, however, all parts of the imposing series—the mature product of a lifetime's strenuous efforts—are indispensable for any serious study of East European history. The first "cycle" gives clear evidence of how misleading it is to treat, as is so frequently done, the whole history of old Kievan Rus' as merely an introduction to the history of Muscovite Russia and of the Russian Empire of modern times. The second part shows equally well that the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth were not at all a "West Russia" artificially separated from Moscow. And the wealth of material in the last volumes makes us understand what the Cossack tradition means to the Ukrainian people.

All this must be recognized, although the work as a whole, and especially the first two parts published well before World War I, is no longer quite up to date, and although very few historians would fully agree with all of Hrushevsky's interpretations. Even in Ukrainian historiography he is sometimes blamed for his very concept of history, which "does not give priority to the people's strivings to found their own state, but to their desire to secure the maximum social and economic benefits." However, the same distinguished scholar, Dmytro Doroshenko, who criticized that trend in Hrushevsky's thought, particularly after the 1917 Revolution, not only praised "the systematic summation of information, its scholarly examination and analysis," but also the central idea of the author's synthesis, which stresses "the continuity of the historical evolution of the Ukrainian people on the territory settled in the dawn of the history of humanity."

In the evolution of all Slavic nations, in the development of their national consciousness and of their ideologies, great historians participating in the political events of their times have played an outstanding part, to mention only Karamzin in Russia, Lelewel in Poland, or Palacký in Bohemia. Hrushevsky's place in the writing and making of the history of his nation is hardly less important. And since he wrote at a time when the science and method of history had already reached a higher level of maturity and perfection, his "huge encyclopedia comprising all the results of previous studies of Ukrainian historiography" as well as the results of his own investigations, has an even more durable value from the scholarly point of view.

His highly personal views require, however, a careful confrontation with those of Polish and Russian historians who have touched the same problems, and also with those of the younger generation of Ukrainian scholars. The reissue of his *History* will certainly stimulate such discussions and also the desire to see that outstanding work completed. In the anniversary year of the Hadyach Agreement, which is rather too critically evaluated on the last pages of Hrushevsky's work, it is only natural to express the hope that Ukrainian and Polish historians will join

in trying to explain why that promising agreement between the two nations did not come into force. And since this is also an anniversary year of the Battle of Poltava, it might be explained, too, why that event of truly European significance ended for a long time the struggle for Ukrainian freedom. It is at least to that turning point that Hrushevsky's story ought to be continued, in agreement with his original intention.

Fordham University

OSCAR HALECKI

TSARIST RUSSIA AND BALKAN NATIONALISM: RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF BULGARIA AND SERBIA, 1879-1886. By Charles Jelavich. [Russian and East European Studies.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. x, 304. \$4.50.)

DESPITE its expansive title, this useful volume is, as its subtitle clarifies, a survey of Russian influence in Bulgaria and Serbia in the decade following the Congress of Berlin. Its author has already demonstrated his expertise in a series of articles in the *American Slavic and East European Review* and *Südost-Forschungen* from 1953 to 1957, many of which were written in collaboration with his wife.

By Russian "influence" Professor Jelavich means specifically diplomatic action. Where he does discuss broader issues such as Pan-Slavism, problems within the Orthodox Church, or economic penetration of the Balkans, the author is mainly interested in the diplomatic aspects of these questions. Furthermore, since Bulgaria was a Russian satellite in this period, while Serbia was tied to Austria, it is natural that most of the book deals with Bulgaria and the reign of Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

Jelavich has made good use of unpublished material from the British Foreign Office and the Austrian Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv. He did not have access to Russian unpublished materials, except for the important correspondence of N. K. Giers, the Russian foreign minister from 1882 to 1885. Nor has he done anything with Bulgarian or Serbian unpublished sources, presumably because they were not made available to him, for he has been to Yugoslavia, at least, and reads the South Slavic languages as well as Russian.

Even with all his zealous digging, the author does not uncover anything that changes the story as historians have already presented it. He would be the first to acknowledge his debt to Cyril Black's *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria* (Princeton, N. J., 1943), to Egon Corti's biography of Alexander of Battenberg, and to William L. Langer's well-known works in the diplomatic history of this period. Yet Western scholars who have been dependent on these standard items still have reason to be grateful to Jelavich for his use of recently published Slavic works such as the four-volume diary of D. A. Miliutin, the Russian minister of war, or the studies on Bulgarian constitutional history by the Soviet historian I. V. Koz'menko. Furthermore, the author's chapters on Serbia,

though few, are a distinct contribution to Western scholars who are unable to read the monumental works of Slobodan Jovanović, Vladan Djordjević, Jaša Prodanović, or Živan Živanović.

Rather than introduce any new interpretations, Jelavich has helped dot many "i's" and cross many "t's." What his volume lacks in freshness it compensates for in usefulness as a clear, unbiased, and complete summary of a complicated situation. In this sense it may be considered a sequel to H. B. Sumner's massive work *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880* (Oxford, Eng., 1937).

As diplomatic history this book is a creditable one and is sure to become a standard work. It raises once again, however, the question of just how useful traditional diplomatic history such as this really is. When one has waded through all the diplomats' names, treaties, dispatches, letters, court gossip, etc., etc., does one really know why Russia failed so miserably in its Balkan policy in the decade after 1878? Diplomatic history offers pertinent information, to be sure, but even a capable diplomatic history such as this one seems to be dealing with surface ripples while passing over the undertow of social, economic, and cultural factors. There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that Jelavich appreciates these factors. Furthermore, he has a perfect right to define his task and to limit himself to it. Yet while Western diplomatic history has behind it a solid foundation of works in economic, social, cultural, intellectual, and local political history, the authors of books on Russian diplomacy in the Balkans unfortunately cannot assume that their readers command the more fundamental facts of life in those countries. It is for well-trained specialists like Jelavich to supply those facts and to interpret them. Meanwhile we can be glad for this volume and congratulate the University of California Press for undertaking such a promising venture as this series.

University of Wisconsin

MICHAEL B. PETROVICH

THE AGRARIAN FOES OF BOLSHEVISM: PROMISE AND DEFAULT OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARIES, FEBRUARY TO OCTOBER 1917. By Oliver H. Radkey. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 521. \$8.50.)

THIS book on the Russian Socialist Revolutionary party (SR) stems from more than two decades of research and fully reveals the author's incomparable knowledge of the subject. But it is hopelessly marred by unbridled emotions. Mr. Radkey's task was to explain the decline of the SR from a peak of immense popularity after the February Revolution to its discomfiture by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution. Yet long before Radkey begins to explain the defeat it becomes clear that he cannot forgive it. Unlike Lucan's Cato to whom *causa victa placuit*, Radkey knows neither mercy nor courtesy in his strictures. The old populists, the venerated figures of the nineteenth century, are brushed aside con-

temptuously as a "tiny band of adult children." "Folly," "ineptitude," "fatuousness," "nauseous display of hypocrisy," "large child," "aberration," "intellectual snobbishness," "caste prejudice," "feminine venom"—those are the terms in which the author characterizes his heroes. Many an action or attitude is attributed to the Jewishness or membership in Masonic lodges of the persons concerned. This may be quite true, but in absence of any real evidence in support of those imputations one cannot help feeling that they were more in place in the contemporaneous Russian newspapers and pamphlets (whence they possibly came) than they are in a scholarly work published four decades after the event.

Vituperative, scornful, and condescending as Radkey chooses to remain throughout his book, he does make an effort to discuss the problem on a somewhat higher level. He lists a number of factors to explain the course of events, but the analysis is lacking in both depth and range, and in particular the fateful connection between the problem of the war and that of the gentry land remains in the dark. The final yield of nearly five hundred pages is astonishingly meager. After having exhausted an inelegant vocabulary in upbraiding the SR, the author suddenly and surprisingly admits "in justice to them," that for the problem of war and peace "there was no easy solution, perhaps no solution at all." Continuing in his reflective mood, Radkey also admits belatedly that at least some SR leaders could not accept a German victory and had to consider what a Hohenzollern hegemony in Europe would mean for the development of democracy in Russia. Yet he quickly recovers to argue that those fears were unwarranted because after America's entry into the war its outcome was no longer in the balance. This is an easy hindsight that ignores the formidable impetus of German offensive thrusts in 1918, a full year after the February Revolution. It is on the very last page that the author divulges what would have been the correct policy for the SR to follow: to steer "a middle course of keeping the army in being, but formally suspending operations." But would the soldiers agree to stay put? Radkey admits this to be uncertain but remains undaunted. "Had the front gone to pieces anyway, the party would at least have the consolation of having acted in conformity with its principles and would have emerged with a clear conscience." One must wonder whether the mouse of this alternative policy justifies the mountain of angry rebuke under which the author has buried the actual policy pursued by the SR.

Harvard University

ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924-1926. Volume I. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1958. Pp. x, 557. \$7.50.)

As a part of a part of a work in progress this book is particularly difficult to review. It is the first volume of a trilogy, which in turn is a continuation of Professor

Carr's ambitious and important History of Soviet Russia, of which four volumes (three on the Bolshevik revolution and one on the interregnum after Lenin) have previously appeared. Moreover, the reviewer can hardly do justice even to the author's treatment of the two years 1924-1926, since the arrangement of the material is by topic: the present volume deals with economic issues; political developments and external affairs are to be covered in the two succeeding volumes. Consequently, it may be best at this stage merely to comment briefly on the contents and on certain problems that seem to emerge, without attempting a more general appraisal of *Socialism in One Country* until the series is completed.

One must be grateful that a scholar of Carr's experience, skill, and industry has dug his way into this period, where, as he observes, "material is abundant, but often vague and sometimes contradictory, and where I have had few predecessors and few signposts to follow." After an extended background chapter in which he summarizes his views on the relation of the Revolution to Russian history, on the new currents in the aftermath of the civil war, and on the leading personalities, Carr examines successively agriculture, industry, labor, trade, finance, credit, and planning during the years of economic revival. In each case he finds a similar pattern of developments: the real improvements under NEP create in turn new problems which are seen to set the stage for the quite different course of the following years.

At this point, however, certain problems emerge which we may hope that Carr will resolve in the course of his trilogy. In part they stem from his organization of the material. Even within the compass of the present work the method of parallel treatment hinders a clear view of the historical process in the economic sector alone. More serious is the question of the interplay during those years among economic, political, and external factors. Carr tells us that he has given precedence to the economic issues because they were more decisive in determining the pattern of events than was the more dramatic rivalry between party leaders. This may be so, but, in the present volume at least, the conclusion can only be stated, not proved, since we are not given a close analysis of the reciprocal relations between politics and economics. On more than one occasion the reader confronts a major turn in policy that seems plausibly to have arisen from an economic quandary but that also happened to take place at a time of desperate factional conflict, the elucidation of which, however, must wait for the next volume.

A second difficulty proceeds from a tendency to let a number of underlying categories—the pattern of choices that were available, the nature of social groups—be determined by the perspectives of the Soviet leadership. Thus, while Carr presents with skill the varying and conflicting views of the way the *kulak* should be handled, the terminology and concepts he employs for discussing economic and social relations in the countryside may be misleading. Here again one could wish that the political issues had not been put off to the second volume.

To repeat, it can be only after we have had the opportunity to grasp the whole

picture that we can seriously come to grips with the structure and interpretations of what will undoubtedly be a major landmark in Soviet studies.

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

Far Eastern History

A HISTORY OF JAPAN TO 1334. By George Sansom. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia, Volume I.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 500. \$8.50.)

ON rare occasions a reviewer is justified in indulging in frank prejudice; the publication of Sir George Sansom's superb *A History of Japan to 1334* is one. This volume is the first of three that will cover Japanese history from its beginnings to 1854.

To this reviewer, a student of the author for many years at Columbia University, reading the present work brings back the quiet voice, graceful language, and urbane wit with which he charmed his listeners. The substance of his thoughts and interpretations now expressed in print were then being formulated.

One of the many observations Sansom made at that time is especially pertinent here. In those days before Pearl Harbor, some of us had asked ourselves in moments of dejection, "Why conduct research in Japanese history at this distance from Japan? What can we hope to achieve that Japanese historians cannot more easily achieve with their material lying close at hand, and with their command of the necessary specialized language skills?" Visiting Japanese scholars had asked the same questions.

Sansom admitted that minute and painstaking studies of a textual or perhaps a bibliographical nature (such as those conducted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Sanjō-Nishi Sanetaka, or later by Moto'ori Norinaga or by Kariya Ekisai, and still pursued exactingly by the Historiographical Institute attached to Tokyo University) would probably forever have to be, and ought rightly to be, left to the able Japanese scholars working in Japan. But what of synthesis and interpretation of that material? Who would place that information in perspective in relation to the whole of Japanese history, or the history of the entire Far East, and of the world? There had been attempts to look at the history of man from the world view, but at that time the attempts were inadequate insofar as the Far East was concerned, since their authors relied on secondary works either inadequate in themselves, or out of date. On the other hand, Japanese historians in Japan, then still only recently emerged from traditional Chinese philosophies and methods of historiography, were reminiscent of "frogs in a pond with little sight of the sea," clinging to dates in the Japanese "era" names (*nengō*)—which for an outsider were difficult to keep straight, and even then had to be synchronized with Christian chronology for purposes of comparison with events in other areas.

Japanese history, (*Kokushi*) was an entity in itself, almost entirely divorced from *Tōyō-shi* which, although it means "Oriental history," was mainly devoted to the history of China. A few forward looking Japanese scholars were even then trying to broaden this narrow view of Japanese history, notably the late Tsuji Zen-nosuke and Akiyama Kenzō. But their important writings were generally regarded as peripheral.

Here the Occidental Japanologist could make real contributions with his wider bases of training in the social sciences and history of other areas. He could view the larger picture without the prejudice or the ethnocentricity that had blinded or the nationalistic pressure that had silenced even scholars of great ability in Japan. Sansom has done this and more in the first volume of his *History*. Placing Japan in the panorama of world history, he has tied together loose ends in syntheses that could only be made through a thorough knowledge of both Europe and the Orient, and has compared similar or contrasting events in other areas and in other times.

With characteristic modesty Sansom says that this work was written for the ordinary reader and not for professional scholars, but scholars must respect and ponder such observations as the differences rather than the similarities between Japanese and Chinese social customs; that "much of Confucian doctrine was not to Japanese taste"; that features of the early cult of Shinto were almost universal, and those distinctively Japanese were perhaps the result of environmental influence; and his penetrating observation on Shinto in spite of what twentieth-century nationalists attempted to make of it. This work will be the standard history of Japan for all serious students, and will be of even greater value to Japanese students in Japan.

Through the entire volume the reader will find that much is familiar, for the basic events are the same as those treated by Murdock, Brinkley, Kuroita Katsumi, and more recently in the numerous multivolume compilations produced by the joint efforts of Japanese specialists. Sansom's contribution is his own arrangement of the facts, his frequently unique interpretations of them, and his choice of which facts and what aspects to mention. Even in a three-volume history not all known facts about nineteen hundred years of a nation's development can possibly be included. For instance, the author mentions "superstitious dread" as having played a great part in the decision to abandon the capital at Nagaoka for (present) Kyoto but he does not mention the intrigues of the local landowning clans or the political assassination of Fujiwara no Tanetsugu.

His descriptions of the natures of Kiyomori and of Yoritomo may sound somewhat arbitrary to some readers, but they are refreshing interpretations based upon the reading of contemporary historical sources. People may disagree, but these character sketches are as intimate as any hitherto written on these figures in European languages for general consumption. Based upon standard and sometimes lesser-known historical sources, introducing translations of a number of

them, Sansom has given us intimate glimpses into the life of the times reminiscent of Trevelyan's *English Social History*.

Many people (this reviewer is not one) consider the period covered in this volume to be a prologue to Japanese history. If it is, we await all the more eagerly the subsequent volumes and Sansom's account of the Wars of Onin, which mark the beginnings of another feudal struggle for power similar to that at the end of the Kamakura period. But "this time," said Sansom in his *Short Cultural History*, "[it] was to be decisive and final," to form the basis for the modern history of Japan.

Library of Congress

OSAMU SHIMIZU

CHINA'S EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION: SHENG HSUAN-HUAI (1844-1916) AND MANDARIN ENTERPRISE. By Albert Feuerwerker. [Harvard East Asian Studies, Number 1.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 311, xxxii. \$6.50.)

THIS is the first volume of a series on modern China planned by the Center for East Asian Studies at Harvard University. The author, a research fellow at the Center, has chosen the career of the pioneer Chinese industrialist, Sheng Hsuan-huai (1844-1916), to show the development of certain key industries during the years 1872-1913—undertaken to combat foreign economic exploitation of the country. Given traditional business methods and the strength of family and personal ties, capital could then be raised and industry started only by a system known as "official supervision and merchant management" (a literal rendering of the Chinese phrase *kuan-tu shang-pan*). The system, as Mr. Feuerwerker so ably portrays it, is really the beginning of the "self-strengthening" effort by which China hoped to overcome the affronts to her pride that Western technical superiority presented. How strong this determination became can be observed on mainland China today.

Sheng Hsuan-huai, a subordinate to the statesman Li Hung-chang, had the requisite vision and business acumen not only to start great enterprises but also to keep them going under the handicaps of imperial exactions, provincial loyalties, nepotism, and the blindness of the "official mind." All this is told without overstatement and with rare understanding of the intellectual and moral ideals that Confucian teaching inculcates. The roster of enterprises that Sheng at one time planned or managed is impressive: China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, Kailan Mining Administration, Shanghai Cotton Cloth Mill Company, Telegraph Administration, Imperial Bank of China. In addition, he founded Nanyang University in Shanghai and Pei-yang University in Tientsin. At the same time he financed numerous scholarly publications. Feuerwerker drew his information from company reports, official memorials, newspaper accounts, and correspondence of contemporaries. His acquaintance with business practices and his ability to evaluate complex statistics are exemplary.

Though the book features the business career of one man, it throws much light on Chinese governmental practices and on statesmen such as Li Hung-chang, Chang Chih-tung, and Yuan Shih-kai. We observe how Chinese who got their start as compradors in foreign firms rose to positions of influence. At every stage the industrial progress of China and Japan are compared and reasons assigned for the more rapid pace of the latter. The glossary of Chinese and Japanese names, with characters appended, will be of great help to future investigators.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

American History

THE UNITED STATES AND THE TREATY LAW OF THE SEA. By *Henry Reiff*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. c. 1959. Pp. 451. \$8.00.)

This work is a labor of love and real usefulness prepared during the lifetime of a devoted scholar dedicated to the ocean road toward eventual unity of mankind. It should be on the desk of every man or woman dealing professionally with the sea: historians, political scientists, diplomats, admiralty lawyers, sea captains, aviators, and scientists in related disciplines.

The book is a technical work of encyclopedic scope not without a touch of poetical feeling in its preliminary chapters on the nature of the sea, the treasures in and under it, and its uses and abuses by mankind. Presented as a contribution to political science, the philosophic bent of the treatise is away from the ancient concept of *res nullius* toward the modern tendency of *res communis* and national restraint for the common welfare of all nations and people using the seven seas. "The sea around us," concludes the author, really is the sea that unites us. You will find that Reiff discusses all the seas authoritatively.

What a multitude of problems have come up to be regulated, increasingly by means of multilateral arrangement, for the progress of international oceanic usage! An ever-broadening range of mutual maritime concerns summons the sovereign nations of the world into an expanding area of cooperation. This widening scope of usage, set forth in Reiff, extends beyond the historic problems of navigation and transportation to the regulation of fisheries, the conservation of many forms of marine life, suppression of the slave trade and traffic in women and children, and other humanitarian programs; provisions for the safety of life at sea, communications in three dimensions of sea and air, prevention of pollution of waters, meteorology and other sciences, public health, the vexing problem of definition and administration of the continental shelf, the troublesome contest of limits of sovereignty over territorial waters, codification of international law of the sea, not to mention the most recent diplomatic as well as legal problems relating to the testing of nuclear weapons and guided missiles.

After a century and a half of relative isolation from international conferences, the United States in recent decades has advanced its own considerable interests in the sea by an increasing participation in international conferences and resulting treaties and executive agreements, until today it is a full participant if not a leader in this realm of international cooperation in time of peace. Reiff rather arbitrarily excludes maritime problems in time of war.

The author does not always distinguish "like a political scientist should" between treaties of the United States and executive agreements. This uncertainty of designation appears even in the wonderful checklist in the appendix of "Treaties Perfected by the United States," and cited in the volume. The reader could do with a glossary of the numerous alphabetical abbreviations, occasionally five or six to the page.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND ITALY. By *Antonio Pace*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XLVII.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1958. Pp. xi, 450. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH Franklin never visited Italy, he was well known there. He numbered among his friends and correspondents several of the leading Italian scientists and other intellectuals. At different periods, both in his own lifetime and in the nineteenth century, his Italian admirers translated some of his writings or published popular biographies; more than any other American he came to symbolize the virtues attributed in the public imagination to the new society developing across the Atlantic. Professor Pace has written much more than just another book about Franklin; this is a book about Italy as well, and, even more significantly, it is a notable chapter in the early history of what might be called the foreign relations of American culture.

This was not an easy book to write. The topics range from electricity through diplomatic history and political science, to printing, music, art, literature, education, and the cultural forces underlying the Italian *risorgimento*. The author displays an impressive command of these varied fields and his research has been thorough. So far as the reviewer is aware, he has missed no more than one or two surviving manuscripts in this country or abroad that were important for his purpose. The presentation of so diverse a body of material involved its own problems, but the organization is logical and orderly, with only an irreducible minimum of repetition.

After a general introductory chapter, the book is divided into sections that deal with Franklin's Italian "fortune" as scientist, statesman, printer, and popular philosopher, and with his place in Italian literature and arts. The first of these describes in detail the course of his reputation as an "electrologist" and inventor, and traces his relations with Beccaria, Volta, and other outstanding Italian scien-

tists. The chapters on Franklin as a statesman discuss his part in the diplomatic relations between the Italian states and the American republic during the Revolution, his contacts with Filangieri and other political scientists of the "Neapolitan circle," and his place in the "American mirage" as Italians viewed it in the eighteenth century and again in the later *risorgimento*. As popular philosopher, the author of *Poor Richard's Almanack* and the "Way to Wealth" had a wide influence, especially between about 1830 and 1870. One of the most interesting passages describes the use Cesare Cantù, "the McGuffey of his country," made of *Poor Richard* in an "immensely successful series of progressive readers upon which generations of Italians were nurtured." Since Italian unification, however, Franklin's influence has declined sharply, yet two translations of the *Autobiography* were published in the twentieth century in reaction against Fascist authoritarianism.

An appendix of documents and an exhaustive bibliography of 335 published items of Italian Frankliniana add to the usefulness of this book. There is an index of personal names but, unfortunately, none of subject matter. With this exception Pace has served his readers extremely well. Few episodes in the history of American cultural impact abroad have been so thoroughly or so satisfactorily examined. The author deserves gratitude not only from all admirers of Franklin but from all students of America's place in the intellectual world of the past two centuries.

Yale University

LEONARD W. LABAREE

THE JACKSONIAN ERA, 1828-1848. By *Glyndon G. Van Deusen*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. c. 1959. Pp. xvi, 291. \$5.00.)

THE JACKSONIAN HERITAGE: PENNSYLVANIA POLITICS, 1833-1848. By *Charles McCool Snyder*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1958. Pp. x, 256. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Van Deusen's formidable assignment was to bring together in fewer than three hundred pages a comprehensive restatement of national political developments in the Jackson era. He has succeeded in incorporating in this New American Nation volume the substantive findings and the interpretive insights of the hosts of able scholars who have investigated this field over the past half century. His account is flavored with his own mature and informed judgments. The traditional narrative has been brought up to date, but our comprehension of this dynamic segment of our history has not been broadened significantly.

The difficulty may lie in the fact that Van Deusen deals with the familiar structure of issues, parties, events, and personalities, and he keeps strictly to the national level of politics. He is primarily concerned with describing the positions taken by the major parties on national questions and with delineating the con-

stituencies that the parties represented. Whether it continues to be feasible or rewarding to treat American political history in such terms seems increasingly doubtful.

From Van Deusen's perspective both parties in 1828 represented "uneasy congeries of interest," with the Jacksonians leaning toward the "plain people" and their opponents toward the "business class." Cutting across this loose class orientation was a much more obvious sectional alignment. By 1834, owing to the furor over banking, the Democracy had become dedicated to the principle of equality of opportunity. The Whigs, socially conservative and dominated by vested interests, adopted a national viewpoint toward contemporary problems.

Under Van Buren the "southern planters and plain republicans" moved to the left, but their radicalism was essentially negative and even neo-Jeffersonian. Reform had spent itself by 1840, and the Democrats sought a new issue in expansionism. The Whigs, meanwhile, had arrayed themselves in the "panoplies of democracy." With Polk came southern domination as the erstwhile Jacksonians set about expanding the nation at the expense of Mexico, largely in order to realize commercial opportunities. The old issues were by now dead. The parties in 1848 were indistinguishable, but expansionism had revived the slavery issue, which would shortly produce a new alignment of parties.

Instead of introducing a new interpretation of the era, Van Deusen endeavors to utilize—and even synthesize—the often divergent insights of Hammond, Hartz, Hofstadter, Myers, and Schlesinger. Such eclecticism is beset by the twin dangers of ambiguity and inconsistency.

This, then, is an expertly executed brief summary of the best scholarship. It will remain for some time the standard one-volume treatment of the topic. It will be completely superceded only when the political content of the Jackson era is given a different definition from that which it has had for the past half century.

Scholars who are acquainted with the monographs by Tinkcom, Higginbotham, and Klein on earlier periods of Pennsylvania politics will recognize a familiar pattern in Snyder's study. Local political factors, patronage rivalries, and personal antagonisms continued to impede the development of strong parties or issue-oriented politics throughout the Jacksonian period.

Pennsylvania parties were not readily responsive to national political stimuli. Although the Democrats did fall into line nominally with Jackson on the bank issue in 1834 and with Polk's low tariff views in 1847, such conversions were largely expedient. So divided was the party by factionalism that it could rarely reach agreement on any matter. The major opposition was furnished by the Anti-masons, who, unlike their counterparts in New York, refused to coalesce with the Whigs. Instead, they succeeded in maintaining their vigor and identity long after they had lost their original reason for existing. The disorganized Whig minority could only trail along in the wake of the Anti-masons, at least until 1844.

Snyder attributes the weakness of parties in Pennsylvania to the extraordinary

diversity of the state. The potency of democratic appeals to a society that was highly egalitarian accounted for the success of the Jacksonians, in spite of the state's predilection for the Bank and protectionism.

This study is a useful one, despite certain pedestrian qualities, for it again illustrates the diverse forms that the "Jacksonian heritage" could take in different states. Descriptive rather than analytical, it does not pose any intriguing hypotheses, but is soundly based on the sources and must be reckoned with by every student of the Jackson era.

Rutgers University

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

CIVIL WAR IN THE MAKING, 1815-1860. By Avery O. Craven. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. c. 1959. Pp. xiv, 115. \$3.00.)

THIS book represents a unique experience in historiography. Twice in twenty years its author has delivered the Fleming Lectures. In accepting the second assignment he determined to use it to illustrate an elusive fact, namely that historical truth is in a process of constant evolution.

Dr. Craven's sustained labor in this vineyard over the last two decades has convinced him that the significance of the situation now seems somewhat changed. His first interpretation of the period was in terms of the development of a *Repressible Conflict*. He found no logical reason why the two sections could not dwell together peaceably. Intemperate and unjustifiable attacks by the North, however, aroused the South to abandon its natural conservatism and fight. The resultant war unfortunately destroyed the balance of the nation's economic development.

In this second series of lectures the emphasis is not so specifically on the South; rather there is a balanced discussion of developments both North and South. Two political forces were struggling for control of the Republic. One was the Republican party, which was in reality a sectional association demanding progress along paths marked out by the modern world and leading a crusade against sin. The other was a South largely conservative, endeavoring to protect against attack a cherished way of life to which it believed it had every constitutional right. This situation could not be handled through the democratic process because the issues were so vital to each side that there was nothing that could be compromised or adjusted by negotiation or debate. So a cold war developed between two different societies paradoxically bound together by the closest of national ties.

Craven now sees the conflict as the product of this cold war, of the "tension, suspicion and fear produced by a power struggle between two competing ideologies" at a time when part of a great people were pushed on by forces engendered in the modern world which another part sought to resist. The emotional overcharge resulting from this tension drove men to abandon reason, scrap carefully

constructed democratic machinery, and shed blood. This second picture is more comprehensive, less sectionalized, and more perceptive.

American scholarship is richer for this unique exercise. More important—the great community, on the eve of a centennial of the conflict when it is once again sorely beset by unsettled problems of sectional rivalry and world tension, can read this book with great profit. Too few historians put their talents at the disposal of society so effectively.

University of Pennsylvania

Roy F. Nichols

A FRONTIER STATE AT WAR: KANSAS, 1861-1865. By *Albert Castel*.

(Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. xi, 251. \$4.50.)

Dr. Castel seeks to accomplish a twofold purpose in this volume: to fill a gap in Kansas history that has been neglected too long, and to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi West. Although the author expresses his intention to discuss the first four years of Kansas' statehood in all its aspects, political, military, social, and economic, the emphasis of the work lies in the first two areas. Aside from two brief chapters at the end, the book, which was awarded honorable mention in the Beveridge competition for 1957, is essentially the story of border conflicts and political struggles. This apparent lack of balance is not a weakness of the book, but rather an indication that, in the words of Castel, "this period of Kansas history was essentially political and military in character." The Civil War years were a continuing sequel to the troubled Kansas territorial years. It was not until the end of the war that Kansans were able to turn their full attention to problems of economic and social development.

Kansas was not a major battleground during the war, but its exposed border condition did produce anxieties, fears, and tensions among its citizens. Unlike some other frontiers, Kansas was intensely loyal to the Union; there was little or no avowed sympathy for the Confederate cause. But Kansans were not only anti-slavery but anti-Negro in their feelings, a frontier characteristic during the sectional conflict. While settlers on frontiers to the west often regarded the war as distant and remote, thinking of themselves more as spectators than as participants, Kansans were constantly reminded of the nearness of the struggle.

Castel has described in scholarly fashion the military events that dominated life in Civil War Kansas: the border raids, perpetrated by both Kansans and Missourians, which often degenerated into outright banditry; Quantrill's raid on Lawrence, "the most atrocious act of the Civil War"; General Ewing's controversial Order Number 11; and Sterling Price's raid into western Missouri in 1864, culminating in the Battle of Westport. The author has ably demonstrated the amazing degree to which the military events shaped the political developments of frontier Kansas. The outcome of the factional struggles for control of state politics was often determined by military events, as each group used the military threat

for its own political purposes. The central figure of the book (he could hardly be called its "hero") is James H. Lane, described by the author as "vulgar, tempestuous, of fluctuating courage, and utterly unscrupulous." Lane's character has been probed by Castel, but much mystery still surrounds this enigmatic person, especially in his puzzling relationship with Lincoln.

This book is a solid contribution to the yet untold story of the Civil War in the West. One might wish, however, that the relations between the young and troubled state and national events and issues were delineated in more detail. The author's use of primary sources has been scrupulous and his conclusions are judicious. The book should do much to correct the all too prevalent notion that in the Kansas-Missouri border conflicts all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other.

University of Kansas

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN

THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY IN A FRONTIER COUNTY. By *Merle Curti*. With the assistance of *Robert Daniel, Shaw Livermore, Jr., Joseph Van Hise, and Margaret W. Curti*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 483. \$8.50.)

THIS study originated in an effort to contribute a clearer understanding of some of the issues in two long-standing major historical controversies: Is it possible really to be objective in writing history, and how valid is the Turner hypothesis? As to the first of these, the authors in reality were asking to what extent historians can improve their objectivity by using quantitative and statistical methodology. Much of their data came out of the census reports for 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880, and was processed on business machines. At the same time, they studied in detail all available records of the more traditional type, such as county histories and records, newspapers, and manuscripts. As to the Turner thesis, they make clear that they were not trying to test it in every way but rather only their interpretation of Turner's theory that the ready accessibility of free or almost free land promoted economic equality and that this was followed by political equality.

A microscopic study demanded selection of a limited geographical territory. In the end they chose Trempealeau County, partly because as one of the smaller Wisconsin counties the material relating to it seemed manageable. Its frontier evolutionary changes, its attraction for several regional and national groups, and its consistently rural character added to its attractiveness for study. Perhaps the strongest argument for selecting it rested on the abundance of historical material available. With regard to the property structure of the county, they made a comparative study of an area in Vermont to see if the Wisconsin community displayed marked differences in its pioneer period from those observable in older sections. Otherwise, the book relates almost wholly to the one Wisconsin county and treats virtually every aspect of life for the period covered.

As to conclusions, the authors feel that their material, both in its quantitative and qualitative aspects, lends support to what they believe are the main implications of Turner's thesis about the frontier and democracy. On balance, their findings "indicate that Turner's poetical vision of free land and of relatively equal opportunity was for a great many people being realized in Trempealeau County." As to objectivity, they feel that by combining "objective-quantitative methods" with those more commonly used by historians they obtained more precise information on such subjects as social mobility, economic and occupational status, and literacy, which made possible deeper insights than could have been achieved by either method alone. They do not feel that all historians should use quantitative-statistical methods, nor do they find these useful for all aspects of historical problems. They do feel that historians should respect such methodology and recognize its value to the historical profession. If one insisted on a categorical answer, they obviously would say that historians cannot be wholly objective in their writing.

The book is excellent local history and a contribution to the debate over the Turner hypothesis, but its greatest significance lies in the field of historical methodology. It reads well for a detailed narrative larded with statistics and demonstrates the wisdom inherent in considering all possible methods and interpretations when attacking a problem. Since the authors used both quantitative and qualitative methods, however, they would have performed a still greater service by elaborating more fully on their conclusions as to the strength and weakness of both approaches as applied to the various types of historical material and problems that they encountered. Although I am inclined to agree with their evaluation of both the advantages and limitations of quantitative research, a book such as Russell L. Ackoff's *The Design of Social Research* (Chicago, 1953) implies that all problems can be quantified, or at least are potentially capable of being expressed in terms of a range along a scale. Why would the authors not agree? Others may be inclined to say that the study of Trempealeau County demonstrates that qualitative procedures by themselves are adequate for answering the major problems in which historians are interested. A concluding essay of somewhat broader scope than the material in the conclusion and appendixes would have been especially welcome because the authors seemingly have no special predilection for any one method and could have spoken with a minimum of bias. As it stands, the study does contribute a great deal on the subject.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

BRITISH INVESTMENTS AND THE AMERICAN MINING FRONTIER,
1860-1901. By *Clark C. Spence*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for
the American Historical Association. 1958. Pp. ix, 288. \$4.50.)

NONE of America's many frontiers witnessed so heavy an investment of capital for purposes of exploiting natural resources as the "last frontier," 1860 to 1900.

Speculative enterprises in rails, cattle, land, and mines drew both foreign and American investors in droves, all of whom were anxious to cash in on what appeared to be the last western bonanza. The British of the Victorian era, who elected to place their bets on the West's mineral potential, are discussed in Professor Spence's excellent volume, which won honorable mention for the Beveridge Award in 1956.

Managing western mines by "remote control" was complex enough for American investors, but for the British, enormous distances from headquarters magnified the difficulty. An abiding unfriendliness of western legislatures and courts toward foreigners further complicated matters. Problems of capitalization, of management, and of litigation that confronted both individual and cooperative British promotion comprise the principal part of this study. To exemplify them, the author has devoted one chapter to the tumultuous history of the Emma Silver Mining Company, Limited, of Utah. It presented all the aspects of tricky promotion, extensive legal maneuvers, and acrimony among the officers and stockholders of which many a British investor became suspicious as the nineteenth century drew to a close.

In his attempt to unravel the complexities of British investment in the West, the author attacked a problem that he admits is not completely solvable. In his last chapter "A Backward View" he makes an earnest effort to pull together some of the many loose strings, but he concedes that if the financial legerdemain of the promoter dazzled prospective buyers it also leaves the historian somewhat bewildered. He is able to conclude that between 1860 and 1901 British capital "flowed into the mineral industry of the trans-Mississippi West in significant amounts." A more specific quantitative assessment is impossible, partly because of a lack of complete sources and, ironically, partly because of the tremendous volume of records where the scholar may easily lose trace of elusive companies whose frequent reorganization obscured their identity. Frequently, like icebergs, only a small portion appeared on the surface.

When one considers the extent to which the author has searched the documents at national and state levels in this country and at the Companies Registration Office of the Board of Trade and other depositories at London, it is doubtful that anyone will very soon discover a more detailed answer to the extent of British investment in the American West than that set forth here.

University of Colorado

ROBERT G. ATHEARN

THE WORLD WAR AND AMERICAN ISOLATION, 1914-1917. By *Ernest R. May*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. viii, 482. \$7.50.)

ERNEST R. MAY'S excellent book, the title of which is, however, never clearly explained, provides a reassessment of American involvement in World War I by

examining the issues of neutral rights and Wilson's peace proposals through the eyes of the American, British, and German governments. Similar to Seymour and Link in his interpretation and in his rejection of the revisionism of the 1920's (the word propaganda, for example, is rarely mentioned), May adds new dimensions particularly in providing a concise description of the development of German policy. An exhaustive bibliographical essay testifies to the multiarchival nature of the research.

May believes that "questions of American policy became key issues in domestic struggles for power" in Britain and Germany. In Britain the issue was the extent of the "blockade" and the importance of Anglo-American friendship. In Germany the theme was Bethmann-Hollweg's struggle against a combination of individuals and groups over the use of the submarine. In the United States, according to May, "the drama was less a factional struggle than a contest within one man's conscience." May shows that American policy favored the Allies, but that this favoritism resulted not from conscious unneutrality but from what Wilson and his advisers considered the interests of the United States. Although Link has suggested that United States relations with Britain deteriorated to a point where an outright break was conceivable in 1916, May believes that only if the Germans had cooperated more with Wilson's peace efforts could the tie with Britain have been broken.

In January, 1917, however, Ludendorff and Hindenburg compelled Bethmann to agree to unrestricted submarine warfare. Even then, May insists in agreement with Link, Wilson did not consider war inevitable. He was not convinced that United States intervention was necessary for an Allied victory. (May, in a unique analysis, even questions whether an American economic embargo would have been disastrous to the Allies.) At the same time, Wilson believed that acquiescing in the German decree would mean sacrificing "American prestige and moral influence" in making the peace. After several weeks of soul searching and observation, Wilson concluded that war was the only possible alternative. May insists that Wilson's decisions concerning the submarine were not a "tragedy of errors" but were consciously formulated in accordance with what he believed to be American interests. These interests were not the bankers and munitions makers of the revisionists but foreign trade, Wilson's concern for which William Diamond has already so well described. In the last analysis, according to May, peace between the United States and Britain was preserved because they shared "a community of beliefs," something that was lacking between the United States and Germany. May's defense of Wilson, although convincing to this reviewer, might be less so to one with a different frame of reference.

May writes succinctly, and his conclusions are clearly stated in frequent summaries. He skillfully shows the interrelationships between politics and diplomacy. He faced a difficult problem of organization, however, and at times his topical solution leads to confusion. For example, the armed ship scheme of early 1916 and the mediation proposals of the same period are described chapters apart, and

the extent to which the one impinged on the other is difficult to grasp. Treating each country separately, moreover, likewise leads to confusion. In a chapter on Germany, for example, one reads that the "burden of choice between war and peace" lay upon Germany; in reading about Wilson, one learns that his was the decision for war; yet in the rhetoric of the book's final paragraph May asserts that United States involvement was inevitable. In short, the book could have been somewhat improved by a greater attention to chronology.

Duke University

RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (1919-1957). By *Irving Howe and Lewis Coser*, with the assistance of *Julius Jacobson*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. x, 593. \$6.75.)

THIS is a good book and will last for a long time as a scholarly work of merit dealing with a difficult subject. The authors bring to their task an intimate and personal familiarity with the gyrations and nuances of the American Communist movement, its power drives and its internal power struggles. They then add to this understanding a thoroughness of research and an integrity of analysis. The result is a complete critical public history of the American Communist party from 1919 to 1957. It is a history of struggle and some success, of factionalism and of failure.

The authors do not attempt to describe in any detail the Communist party's activities in espionage, sabotage, or other forms of undercover activity directly in behalf of the Soviet Union. These are peripheral to the main objective, which is to write a public history from public records.

The book makes a serious effort to relate systematically the phenomenon of American Communist activity to American life. The authors accomplish their purpose. Beginning where such a work should begin, namely, with early socialism, the book then traces the American Communist party from its unsteady strife-ridden birth through its compromises with idealism, the gradual process of its "totalitarianizing," the excitement of its activities and its energies in the 1930's, its stormy and inconsistent relationship with American labor unions, its soul searching between orthodoxy and expediency. The book then ends, at it should, with an excellent analysis of the central theme of the Communist movement, its Stalinization.

An interesting theme that weaves its way through the book is the recurring story of Communist self-destruction in the United States, either as a result of unerring failure to understand the American culture or from the rigidities of its own orthodoxies. Time after time, at crucial moments in its history, the one step is taken that serves to split the Communist movement from the main stream of the American "left." This is particularly true with regard to the relationship of the Communist party to American politics and to American labor.

This reviewer has some differences of opinion with the authors but these dif-

ferences do not in any way reduce the effectiveness of the work. Specifically, in making clear that most members of the Communist party joined for short periods and out of many varying pure motives, the authors minimize the indictment that the Communist party of the United States is an integral part of a strong international conspiracy designed to overthrow our government and is thus a clear and present threat to the democratic institutions of the United States. One can well grant the "innocence" of many individual Communist party members and, at the same time, recognize that the sum total of the party mechanism, loyalties, affiliations, and membership makes up such a dangerous conspiracy. In essence, the authors do not appear to take the Communist party too seriously and it is perhaps in this respect that the reviewer finds his area of disagreement with them.

The book has a special virtue in that its thoroughness and detail are accompanied by a refreshing and unexpected lucidity. It is well written and escapes the pedestrian and formalistic presentations too frequently associated with works of scholarship. The authors have made a significant contribution to the literature of American political history.

Washington, D. C.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

HERBERT HOOVER AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION. By *Harris Gaylord Warren*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. 372. \$7.00.)

At least since Broadus Mitchell's *Depression Decade* convinced us in 1947 that we should do so, historians have left to the demagogues among politicians, journalists, and labor leaders the cruder legends that Herbert Hoover and his fellow Republicans caused the great depression and were indifferent to, if they did not revel in, its hardships. We have been willing to acknowledge somewhat less generally that much of the New Deal, in statute as well as in concept, had its seed in the Hoover administration. This volume has even more revisionist aims. In his introduction Professor Warren explicitly announces that "no one, it seems to me, has done justice to the Hoover Administration" and that the country "should be grateful" that Hoover was President from 1929 to 1932.

As the treatment swings back to Hoover's early years as engineer, humanitarian, and bureaucrat, and then continues through an exceptionally inclusive account of his administration, the emphasis is predominantly political-economic. In contrast to another recent book to which it will be inevitably compared, this is no history of ideas, even though Hoover's philosophy is given succinct statement. Though Warren writes a defense, he is sharply and frequently critical of the shortcomings in Hoover's personality and policy. He notes the President's "granite stubbornness" (once it is "wonderful stubbornness"), his inexplicable lapses in a sense of humor, his tendency to draw incorrect conclusions from "incomplete" or unwelcome evidence, his unwillingness "to face the economic facts of international life." In the end, at least in one reader's opinion, Hoover emerges as his critics

pictured him: perverse, self-deluded, caught in the coils of his principles. Since this is the conclusion the author hardly intended, the result is perplexing. While Warren is so fair that he is unwilling to be the partisan, he seems to balk at letting his own evidence lead him to the harsher and conventional judgment. I can imagine President Hoover murmuring over this example of doing him "justice":

It's all very well to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me downstairs?

One complaint of the author is that Hoover's program did not deal with the basic causes of the depression. Hoover might retort: neither does the book. There is a chapter on "The Heritage of Normalcy" and incidental attention to the misdeeds of bankers, businessmen, and speculators. The depression's cause seems to boil down to an anti-Wall Street grangerism, albeit in the sophisticated version of money changers in the temple. Theories of causation based upon the evil in men do not gain persuasiveness by repetition. Maybe the immense volume of explanation about business cycles, compiled with so much skill and erudition by Mitchell, Keynes, and Schumpeter, to mention no others, is nonsense. Judging by their documentation and text, few historians of the depression of 1929—for Warren is not alone—have ever made up their minds for themselves on this matter. At least they should substitute an analysis equally acute. There is another ingredient the historian should apply to the Hoover period because it is "ours and ours alone," to follow the advertisements: we cannot judge the success of policy only by short-term considerations. Warren is aware of this consideration, but he does not apply it to Hoover's policies as boldly as he might. Over a longer period than the 1930's and 1940's they may have contained deeper insights that we realize.

Thetford, Vermont

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

Books

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXIV, 1955, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1957. Pp. xxviii, 402.) The first of the bibliographies in this series covered the publications of 1926. Since then, except for a wartime interruption, each year has been effectively covered, and now 1955 has been reached. That was a "good" if not a "great" year in the vineyard of historiography. Nothing like Gibbon's first volume of 1776, Ranke's of 1881, Lavisé and Rambaud's of 1893, or Toynbee's of 1934 appeared in 1955, but there were excellent beginnings of certain major projects, significant additions to others already in progress, and many more of good quality. No one needed to thirst. In this volume are 7,086 numbered notices, some of which contain more than one title. Articles as well as books are listed. Often, reviews are cited. The Bibliographic Commission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences developed the format at the outset, and it has been approved at the last two international congresses. The grouping of notices by chapters and sections of chapters is logical and fairly conventional. Users are aided by a well-designed index, first of authors and personages, and next of place names. Professor Michel François and his associate, Nicolas Tolu, have edited materials contributed by correspondents in thirty-five countries and four international cultural organizations from the historical literature published within their jurisdictions. More countries are represented each year. Hungary and Morocco participated in this volume; Japan will help with the next. The bulk of the contents applies to the West and to modern times. It is probably a fair reflection of the geographical distribution of scholarly historical effort and the interests of those engaged in it. There are enough little errors to require caution but they will not divert a user to the wrong publications. In fact, the series is of the greatest value as an extension of the normal bibliographical assistance to be gained from historical journals.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

OM FORHOLDET MELLOM ERKJENNELSESFORM OG VERDIANSKUELSE I HISTORIEFILOSOFIEN. By Gunnar Christie Wasberg. (Oslo: Forlaget Land og Kirke, 1958. Pp. 113.) Professor Gunnar Wasberg offers to his Norwegian colleagues some ideas on recent trends in historical interpretation. The field of comment is limited to perceptual forms and judgments of values, both of which wind up in the major complexities of historical causation. This brief presentation is either condensed from or the result of his two previous works in the field of philosophy of history. Wasberg briefly offers for consideration some ideas from Cassirer, Maurice Mandelbaum, R. G. Collingwood, Morris Cohen, Karl Jaspers, and other writers. His book is, therefore,

an introduction to modern historical philosophies written in clear and excellent Norwegian. The language does not lend itself, even though lucid, to the complex intricacies of philosophical terms which are difficult enough even in English. Those writers in the field of philosophy of history ought, however, to be pleased that their ideas are circulating among Norwegian historians because of Wasberg's writings.

Occidental College

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

DETACHMENT AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY: ESSAYS AND LETTERS OF CARL L. BECKER. Edited by *Phil L. Snyder*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi, 240. \$3.50.) Carl Becker was not detached. This miscellany of several of his essays and reviews and a few of his letters shows once more, as George Sabine reminds us in the introduction, that Becker was a relativist but that "his profoundest moral convictions were all on the side of a belief that some ideals—specifically those embodied in the democratic liberties—were in substance unchangeable and were indispensable . . ." Most of the essays and reviews in this volume were originally published elsewhere; most of the letters have not been. One of the letters, to a member of a University of Kansas Alumni Committee, written in 1916 after Becker had left Kansas, describes what a university should first of all obtain and retain—"first-rate scholars and teachers," for "you may have the finest material plant and still have a very poor university." And he adds that if Kansas wishes genuine scholars, "a good library, and plenty of money for books, are as attractive as high salary. . ." The volume, however, cannot be summarized except to say that it reveals nothing that is new to students of Becker, the relativist, the humanist, the stylist, the man of ideas and good will.

Washington, D. C.

BCS

ETHICS IN A WORLD OF POWER: THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. By *Richard W. Sterling*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 318. \$6.00.) This is a fascinating and moving book about a great man's never-ending search for an answer as to the way in which political power may be made to act with justice. The issue has confronted and confronts every society, every nation-state, and not merely the German. Mr. Sterling rightly hopes "that the boldness as well as the humility which characterized Meinecke's examination of the problems of foreign policy will find resonance in this time of America's power and danger." The reviewer would like to add that the story of Meinecke's search provides a lesson in humility to all historians. Meinecke's life shows how little one learns from study of the past, how dependent one is upon personal experience for clarification of values. Nowhere is this intimate connection between values and current events more evident than in the extreme vicissitudes of German history during the past century and a half, and nowhere is the fact of this dependence more courageously exposed than in the works of Friedrich Meinecke. The problem of the relation between politics and ethics about which Sterling writes with such understanding and clarity is central to the history of modern Germany. That a person of Meinecke's intellectual profundity should have required a lifetime of over ninety years, much of it spent among catastrophes, in order to learn that the nation-state is not a good in itself, that foreign policy does not always take precedence over internal affairs, that the so-called German concept of freedom does not protect the individual against abuse of power by the state, makes poignantly evident the dimensions of the split between German and Western thinking. Even at the end of his life Meinecke rejected the cosmopolitan values of Western natural rights. As one reads Sterling's book, he is impressed with the subtlety and with the limitations of Meinecke's thinking. Meinecke concentrated on political and intellectual history; he seems to have

ignored the social sciences; and he needed almost a century of experience, much of it humiliating to him as a German, to teach him the reality of political and social pluralism. Sterling studied under Meinecke after World War II and knew him as a friend. He has done his work so thoroughly, sympathetically, and critically that he enables the reader to participate in the gains that he derived from Meinecke. "His wisdom [he writes] helped to clarify my thinking regarding many troubling problems that accompany thought and action, particularly in the realm of international politics." This is a fine book.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

EGYPT IN THE SUDAN, 1820-1881. By *Richard Hill*. [Middle Eastern Monographs, Volume II. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 188. \$4.00.) The rule of the Egyptians in the Sudan, from its conquest by Mehmed 'Ali to its loss to the Mahdi, has been the subject of a considerable literature. Most authors, however, have approached the subject in a polemical frame of mind, some seeking to show that British intrigue and duplicity were causes of the Egyptian expulsion, others placing the blame on Egyptian corruption and mismanagement. A few less impassioned studies have been published, but these have been devoted either to the conquest by Mehmed 'Ali or to the Sudan under Isma'il, and in the latter case the massive work of Douin was cut short with the period after 1876 yet to be treated. The need for a balanced and reliable treatment of the entire subject has been met by Hill, who seeks "to explain the nature and significance of the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan." The author exhibits a mastery of the literature and a sure knowledge of both European and Egyptian archives (he is perhaps the first non-Egyptian author to have utilized the Turkish and Arabic originals of the Egyptian documents). His emphasis is upon the aims of Egyptian policy and the mode of Egyptian governance. "On the ground that it is better to bore with detail than deceive with jargon," Hill has "tried to avoid giving the story a unity on paper which . . . it never possessed in fact, and to refrain from those neat, doctrinaire judgements which simplify and yet distort the writings of so many Western commentators on Eastern themes." What the treatment does show is that the development of the Sudan followed the same general pattern as did Egypt proper, with the "Turkish" regime of Mehmed 'Ali gradually becoming Egyptianized. In this Egyptianization of the "Turks," Hill believes, lies the explanation of the Mahdist victory. "In sixty years a military ruling class was becoming a clique of pot-bellied *rentiers*. Egypt civilized them and took their swords away." Altogether, this is an excellent and useful book.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

THE VICTORIAN VISITORS: AN ACCOUNT OF THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, 1861-1866, INCLUDING THE JOURNAL LETTERS OF SOPHIA CRAFT, EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF LADY FRANKLIN, AND DIARIES AND LETTERS OF QUEEN EMMA OF HAWAII. By *Alfons L. Korn*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958. Pp. 351. \$6.75.) The "Victorian visitors" were the three ladies named in the title. Lady Franklin and her niece visited Hawaii in 1861. The second visit—that of Queen Emma to England and the Continent in 1865-1866—was stimulated to some extent by the first. In describing the experiences and observations of these distinguished travelers, the author has drawn heavily upon the hitherto unpublished letters and journals of the principals. The account of Emma's visit abroad, like the sources on which it is based, is confined largely to social events, gossip, and the petty jealousies among those who were responsible for planning the

Queen's schedule. Readers interested in Hawaii will find the section dealing with the visit of the English ladies to Hawaii more useful. Lady Franklin and Miss Cracroft were not objective observers, and their bias against the social qualities and democratic influence of Americans in the islands is too obvious to escape notice. They appear to have been the victims of wishful thinking, especially in their unrestrained admiration of the royal family and in their conviction that the king hoped to enhance British prestige in his islands to save them from American domination. They appear also to have accepted uncritically the highly partisan views of Robert C. Wyllie, the British-born Minister of Foreign Relations. The book is highly readable and the story of the visit of the English ladies to Hawaii is replete with human interest. It is not the author's fault that the ladies themselves left only a footnote to the understanding of Hawaiian history.

Vanderbilt University

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

DEUTSCHLAND UND CHINA IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT: DAS EINDRINGEN DES DEUTSCHEN KAPITALISMUS. By *Helmut Stoecker*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 2.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1958. Pp. 307. DM 17.50.) After World War II some of the German Foreign Office material on China as well as that on other nations slipped into the hands of the USSR and of Communist China, and was finally deposited in the Zentralarchiv at Potsdam. The bulk of the German records on China along with those those on other countries, however, was captured by the Western Allies, and, after being microfilmed, was deposited at Bonn where the reviewer studied them last year. On the whole, Potsdam possesses mainly the material of the commercial division of the Wilhelmstrasse and the reports from legations and consulates, while the nucleus of the Bonn material is formed by the documents of the Politische Abteilung. Herr Stoecker, who writes in East Germany and thus was able to use only the type of material stored there, has focused his study, notwithstanding its title, mainly upon the 1860's to 1880's and breaks off rather abruptly in 1894. Had he analyzed the war years of 1894-1895 and their aftermath he could have shown the apogee of the activities—nefarious it is true—of some of the chief characters he deals with, such as the Krupp representative Menshausen; the latter's successor, the crafty Austrian Hermann J. Mandl, one of the greatest corruptionists of that time and namesake of the redoubtable gunmaker Fritz Mandl, who in the period of Dollfuss and Prince Starhemberg was to play such a conspicuous role in Austria and later, under Perón, in Argentina; and, finally, that fantastic German-born councilor of the Chinese embassy in Berlin, Dr. Karl Traugott Kreyer. It is true that in order thus to complete his study the author would have had to consult the Bonn files, which for a scholar from East Germany may be not too easy. Aside from the limitations—potential and real—imposed upon him by outside circumstances, Stoecker has done a praiseworthy job. Evidently less interested in the intricacies of Leninism and Stalinism than in the Ranke aim of showing *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, he mentioned Stalin not at all and Lenin only twice. He has drawn a very interesting, well-documented, and realistic picture of the role played in Germany's policy in China by business interests, military and navy aspirations, and the whole flock of geographers, missionaries, engineers, traders and munition salesmen, representatives of the early imperialist period, and harbingers of the emergence of the big Western monopolies in Far Eastern affairs. During this transition period Germany's imperialism in China, as elsewhere, was chiefly directed by Prince Bismarck, who, while having turned into a ruthless foe of the anticolonial liberals, refused to subordinate his European power politics to the requirements of limitless expansion at home or abroad. Chief actor in the

Reich's drive for a market as restricted in scope as was mandarin-ruled China was of course the German armaments industry whose maneuvers Stoecker, on the basis of a wealth of documents, analyzes in great detail. Stoecker's book presents a challenge to Western scholars, since it draws an objective picture in an area of historical inquiry toward which many Western historians still play ostrich. If they leave the study of this area chiefly to Communists, and lack proper methods for connecting whatever is known about it in a convincing fashion with the sphere of power politics, Western historiography is bound to lose ground, especially among the colonials, and might be eclipsed, particularly if Eastern writers follow Stoecker's example and do not mar good historical material by squeezing it into the tight boots of a hotly contested political ideology.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

THE GREAT POWERS: ESSAYS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY POLITICS. By Max Beloff. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1959. Pp. 240. \$4.50.) This collection of essays written in the last decade by a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, who is known especially for his studies of Soviet foreign policy, is concerned with three questions: Is a historian or a political scientist better equipped than a politician or administrator to see any more clearly into our times; what is the proper size of political units in the modern world and what are the forces making for integration or disintegration; and how has the United States, "the greatest single power dedicated to political freedom," applied its democratic philosophy to the harsh world of international relations? The answer to the first question, set forth in two essays "The Frontiers of Political Analysis" and "Historians in a Revolutionary Age," is that political scientists tend to entertain a great prejudice against history and historians. Mr. Beloff proceeds to set them, and Communists as well, right about many aspects of the history of the world since World War I. For example, there is not "a shred of evidence" that Britain and France incited or connived at a German attack on the Soviet Union. In six essays devoted to "Problems of Integration," Beloff argues that whereas self-determination seemed a reasonable and practicable solution of Europe's problems of nationality after World War I, its application to Asia and Africa is proving much more difficult. He then proceeds to discuss the "Federal Solution" so ardently desired by American opinion, and remains highly skeptical. The "Problems of International Government" are faced courageously, and the weaknesses of the United Nations are duly set forth. "The Russian View of European Integration" is, of course, hostile because it is supported by the United States. Seven essays are devoted to "America." Three are concerned with Tocqueville, Benjamin Franklin, and Theodore Roosevelt, the last an address given at Rhodes House, Oxford, in 1958, the centenary of Roosevelt's birth. The four other essays are concerned with various aspects of American foreign policy. Beloff is not personally anti-American, but he is highly critical of our policy as formulated and administered by Mr. Dulles, whose Middle Eastern policy is predicated on the assumption that "the world is populated entirely by Americans, or would-be Americans. The main trouble about Mr. Dulles' Middle East is that it does not exist." Beloff also complains about "President Roosevelt's strong and often uninformed bias against European empires and the British Empire in particular." Our anticolonialism has been carried so far that it defeats its own ends, as in Indonesia and Indochina. Finally, "what other peoples admire and envy in America is not her democratic order but her material abundance; and it has yet to be proved to them that the former has contributed to the latter." All in all, this is a stimulating book that those who make our foreign policy would do well to read and ponder.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

WHAT HAPPENED AT PEARL HARBOR? DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO THE JAPANESE ATTACK OF DECEMBER 7, 1941, AND ITS BACKGROUND. Edited with an introduction by *Hans Louis Trefousse*. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958. Pp. 324. \$6.00.) This is a convenient collection of documents and testimony on events leading to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. It contains material on developments at Pearl Harbor, in Washington, Tokyo, Berlin, and on the final American-Japanese conversations. No brief compilation could possibly include every significant document, but Professor Trefousse has skillfully and fairly selected many key and representative items. Included here are pertinent excerpts from the testimony of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, General Walter C. Short, General George C. Marshall, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, and others. There are letters and documents of such people as Prince Konoye, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Count Galeazzo Ciano, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Ambassador Joseph C. Grew. This volume reproduces the Japanese proposals of November 20, 1941, the American proposals of November 26, and the fourteen-part Japanese message delivered on December 7, 1941. Some of the documents checked by this reviewer contain minor editorial errors, but none of these alter the meaning of the items. The research historian must, of course, continue to rely on manuscripts and on the published collections from which these documents were selected—largely the Pearl Harbor hearings, the Department of State *Foreign Relations* volumes, and the records of the war crimes trials. But this book conveniently provides the general reader with the opportunity to savor the color, drama, and perplexities in the documentary story of events leading to Pearl Harbor. It is an interesting and worthwhile volume.

Iowa State College

WAYNE S. COLE

Ancient and Medieval History

THE ANCIENT MARINERS: SEAFARERS AND SEA FIGHTERS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN IN ANCIENT TIMES. By *Lionel Casson*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1959. Pp. xx, 286. \$5.95.) In this volume Casson attempts to give the history of the design of warships and so far as possible of merchantmen, of naval warfare, of commerce, of maritime exploration, and of the relevant political background, together with anecdotes, local color, and other trimmings. He starts at the end of the New Stone Age in Egypt and Mesopotamia and continues into the Byzantine period. No other book attempts anything like this. It is remarkable that Casson achieves fair measure of success. The treatment, lacking footnotes, is intended to be "popular." The title and chapter headings are "literary," and in the text a compulsion to be spectacular is often evident, sometimes with unhappy results. The Athenian naval records, for instance, are twice declared to be preserved on "imperishable marble"; alas it is precisely the naval records in Athens that have suffered more than any other group of inscriptions from exposure to the weather. But such defects disappear when the author is in the midst of good sound exposition or narrative. Then the facts are allowed to speak for themselves, convincingly. Granting the limited size of the book, still the selected bibliography is too short. At the beginning, for example, there is almost nothing on the whole long development from raft and dugout to ship (the *Kon-tiki*, not mentioned, revealed the possibilities); and J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe, Economic Background*, is relevant. For later chapters, less romance of the *Argo* and some of R. Carpenter might have been included. Casson's own special articles are there, and properly; he is no amateur in research, and no landlubber; on the contrary, he obviously knows sea-

faring so well as to make excusable an occasional saltier-than-thou turn of phrase. The most learned pages are the glossary. The illustrations are generally good, but two of the cuts representing Egyptian reliefs are sadly botched, and I think Casson forces an exciting interpretation upon the mild scene of Plate Seven. The most important depiction of a trireme, the Acropolis relief, is not even mentioned. In general the history is lively, and often there is a sharp sense of reality; but it is better in dealing with the actualities (e.g., piracy, Greek fire) than with problems of the veracity of records. The earlier chapters are insufficiently critical. On the whole the feeling remains that the negative aspects are definitely outweighed by the substance and gusto of the whole. Forced or not, the excitement is there, and it has a valid core. The Egyptian ships with their great axial cable, structurally a sort of keel in the air; the Greek trireme, with its amazing development, neatly described from longboat through three-banked Athenian masterpieces to huge Hellenistic men-of-war and Roman floating battlefields; and the Roman grain fleet, ships so large that "it was not until 1845 that the North Atlantic saw a ship" of such size—all these and more are dynamically present.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY. By A. H. M. JONES. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1958. Pp. vii, 198. \$5.00.) Jones explains in the brief preface that only Chapter V and the appendix are here printed for the first time. Two of these essays are out of print and difficult of access; yet in any case it is most useful for us to have between two covers these six studies dealing with a single theme. Chapter I, "The Economic Basis of the Athenian Democracy," is essentially an analysis of two charges commonly and rather glibly made against the democracy of the fifth century: democracy was parasitic on the Empire because imperial revenue provided pay for public service; democracy was parasitic on slavery, which created leisure. Those who bring the charges ignore the fact that the democracy continued to flourish in the fourth century when there was no empire; and Jones demonstrates "that the majority of the citizens were then workers who earned their own livings." This essay complements Tod's opening chapter in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume V. "The Athens of Demosthenes," an inaugural lecture, concentrates on the *cisphora* and the *theorikon*; it makes the interesting and perhaps surprising point that Athenian juries were often peopled by the well-to-do. "The Athenian Democracy and Its Critics" is concerned with ancient critics of the democracy, particularly Aristotle, Plato, the "Old Oligarch," and Isokrates. Jones states that "in the abundant literature produced in the greatest democracy of Greece there survives no statement of democratic political theory," which Jones attempts to reconstruct. He has much to say about Thucydides and the Athenian relationships with the allies that is worthy of meditation and debate. "The Social Structure of Athens in the Fourth Century B.C." portrays a society in which wealth was evenly distributed, with the exception of a small group of the wealthy and a small group of casual laborers. "How Did the Athenian Democracy Work?" is a valuable study of the machinery of government, with particular attention paid to functions of *boule* and *ekklesia*. It is reminiscent of (but does not repeat) A. W. Gomme's "The Working of the Athenian Democracy," in *History* (Feb.-June, 1951), a paper that should be more widely known. The appendix, "The Citizen Population of Athens during the Peloponnesian War," should be read in conjunction with Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (1933). The great merits of this work are three: it can be read with profit by any intelligent student, whether or not he knows Greek; it includes an immense amount of information that is not found in textbooks; it combats, on the basis of evidence, much

of the myth about democracy and empire that has been disseminated in classrooms and lecture halls during the past twenty years.

University of British Columbia

MACOLM F. MCGREGOR

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *James B. Pritchard*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 263. \$5.00.) The purpose of this small volume is to give a popular account of the way in which our understanding of the Old Testament has been affected by archaeological discoveries of the past hundred years. J. B. Pritchard, who has contributed an impressive share to field work in Palestine (most recently at Gibeon) and to comprehensive scholarly studies in the ancient Near East (in his two volumes: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* and *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*), undertakes the task of popularization on the basis of sound and scholarly knowledge. To what extent his effort is influenced by the nature of rival journalistic publications is clear from the admission in the preface: "I have tried to satisfy in a measure, by some specific details, the general curiosity as to who the archaeologists were, how they chanced to take up their occupation, who supported them, how they lived and worked in the field, and what were the costs of exploration and excavation." It can fortunately be stated that the gossip element is kept in the background. The organization and selection of the abundant subject matter is good. Palestine is the topic of the first two chapters, with an excursus on the archaeological technique of pottery analysis. Stratification and digging techniques might have been referred to more explicitly in view of the recent improvement in standards. The account then deals with Canaan and proceeds to Mesopotamia, where it dwells for three chapters in accordance with the essential value of Mesopotamian culture as a background to Old Testament studies. Reference to Egypt is incidental. As an introduction for the layman this book is fully recommended. It reads well, the illustrations are clear and interesting (the map in front would profit by simpler lettering, and a general map of Palestine remains a desideratum), and for once a popular book gives one the comfortable feeling that the author knows his subject matter professionally. The archaeologist misses an occasional critical note to warn the innocent reader that the end does not justify the means in field archaeology. The student of history will be familiar with some of the contents, and the present volume serves best as a light introduction to the indispensable scholarly volumes by Pritchard cited above.

Bryn Mawr College

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

THE MYTH OF ROME'S FALL. By *Richard Mansfield Haywood*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1958. Pp. 178. \$3.50.) This book gives a sketchy account of the Roman Empire through five centuries. Mr. Haywood contrasts the good government and prosperity of the second century with the disintegration of the third, and then passes on to the stabilization effected by Diocletian and Constantine and the decline in the West that set in after the death of Theodosius I. He takes not merely the government and military affairs into view, but discusses briefly the economic problems and general culture at different times, and also the rise and spread of Christianity. At the end of the preface he remarks: "I believe that the book reflects the general state of scholarly opinion on the subject as revealed in the partial studies of many scholars, but the structure and the whole course of the argument are my own." It is difficult to find anything original in his argument. It is common knowledge that many of the Germanic invaders admired Roman institutions; that some modicum of Roman culture lingered on in the western provinces even as late as the sixth century; and that the senatorial

aristocracy in Rome was the last bulwark of an expiring paganism. The author is fond of suppositions. If officials had not been so corrupt, there would have been no Battle of Adrianople; if the sons of Theodosius I had been abler, the situation in the West might have been saved, and so on. This is shadowboxing and it is hard to see what purpose it serves. The growing oppression of the masses by taxation and other devices in the fourth century and the deterioration and loss of manpower in the armies of the later fourth and fifth centuries are facts and cannot be explained away. It is quite true that the loss of the Western Empire was no sudden catastrophe but a slow process; that is not, however, a new observation. Haywood is also fond of drawing historical analogies between Roman and modern times. It is difficult to trust the historical judgment of a writer who can seriously compare the Roman Empire in the fourth century with the British Empire in the nineteenth.

Ithaca, New York

M. L. W. LAISTNER

KONSTANTIN DER GROSSE. By *Herman Dörries*. [Urban-Bücher die wissenschaftliche Taschenbuchreihe, Number 29.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1958. Pp. 192, 16 plates. DM 4.80.) Constantine has never lacked attention. In the last four decades, however, historians have shown a heightened interest in the problem the great Emperor left to later ages. Why did he insist upon making the world so sharply aware of Christianity and why did he bring about an alliance of church and state? These questions and their ramifications fascinate Dörries and he conveys the fascination of the subject with power and persuasiveness in this sequel to his earlier study *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantins*, which was published at Göttingen in 1954. To Dörries the Emperor played a heroic part in history and exerted a lasting influence on later centuries. Constantine is represented as being fully aware of the consequences of his decisions, even, for example, in the case of the temple which he allowed to be erected in his honor at Hispellum. If he took pleasure in glitter and grandeur, he also knew humility and kindness. To some readers the well-known Church historian will appear to have used the artist's prerogatives to the full in his arrangement of the lighting and his posing of the subject. Others will be disappointed not to find more critical discussion of the views of Alföldi, Baynes, Lot, Piganiol, and Schwartz, to name only a few. This book must withal be considered a valuable and exciting contribution. Dörries makes it impossible not to recognize that Constantine took positive action in a time of crisis when visibility was poor, that he had to grope his way in trying circumstances, and that his decisions were remarkably sound and extraordinarily helpful in the Middle Ages. He carried out his mission as he saw it. "So hat er ein Zeitalter beschlossen und ein neues eröffnet." The wonder is that power could corrupt him so little, that he could accomplish so much.

Stanford University

WILLIAM C. BARK

THE HOMILIES OF PHOTIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE. English translation, introduction and commentary by *Cyril Mango*. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, Number 3.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 327. \$6.00.) This volume presents for the first time in one collection and, unfortunately only in English translation, all eighteen of Photius' homilies, which are thus far known to be completely preserved. They belong apparently to his first patriarchate (858-867) and are important, though largely neglected, Byzantine cultural monuments and historical sources. Dr. Mango has performed his task with exemplary method. As a basis for his translation he has collated the best existing editions with the manuscripts and thus established in effect a new, critical text, whose numerous departures from the editions are noted wherever they affect the sense. The translation itself is as exact and literal as

possible, but manages to be idiomatic and readable. The discussion of the meager manuscript tradition and of the text history and the attempt to determine more precisely the occasion and date of each homily necessarily leave many questions undecided, but clearly state the pertinent facts and correct a number of current misconceptions. The notes indicate sources and give historical as well as philological comments. This work is thus a valuable appendage to the accepted texts and must be used in conjunction with them until the much-desired critical edition appears.

Georgetown University

JOHN SONGSTER, S.J.

THE *SUMMA CONTRA HAERETICOS*, ASCRIBED TO PRAEPOSITINUS OF CREMONA. By Joseph N. Garvin and James A. Corbett. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, Number 15.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958. Pp. lviii, 302. \$7.50.) This is the first complete edition of the text of the *Summa contra haereticos*. The late George Lacombe assigned it to Praepositinus (Prévostin) of Cremona, Chancellor of Paris, 1206-1210. But the editors do not commit themselves strongly on authorship, limiting themselves to dating the work at the end of the twelfth century, when the heresies criticized were flourishing. The edition is well done and scholarly, and is based on a thorough study and collation of the known manuscripts, which are carefully described. The printing of the text and apparatus of variants is excellent, and therefore a reliable edition is now available to students of the Cathari and the Passagini. On the whole, the editors have done all that is needed in editing the work. Perhaps, however, a brief discussion of the *Summa* as a reliable source for understanding the doctrines of the heretics is a desideratum. Possibly the editors thought that Lacombe and A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (1953), were sufficient on the subject.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

UNA FONTE MEDIEVALE FALSA E IL SUO PRESUNTO AUTORE SALADINO DE CASTRO SARZANE E ALFONSO CECCARELLI. By Geo Pistarino. [Università de Genova, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna, Fonti e Studi, II.] (Genoa: [the Istituto.] 1958. Pp. 435.) This book with its inscrutable title is an edition and study of a forged notarial chartulary—of all unlikely fakes! On the basis of much minute analysis, Pistarino concludes that the chartulary purporting to contain the contracts of the notary Saladino from Sarzana (a small town of Lunigiana about halfway between Pisa and Genoa) over the years 1294-1295 was in fact forged in the sixteenth century, apparently by Alfonso Ceccarelli, for reasons not fully ascertainable. Pistarino has exposed a fraud that has already misled many historians in many, though minor, ways in regard to the history of Lunigiana. He has further produced a solid diplomatic study of a rare if not unique kind of forgery. For these reasons we must be grateful to him. Still, for the many historians who are finding in Italy's notarial chartularies sources of seemingly limitless wealth, the major problem is not so much authenticity as accessibility. From the late thirteenth century, these chartularies have survived by the hundreds. The work of publishing them goes slowly, as the laborers are few. Pistarino is an able and experienced editor. Would he not have been better advised to edit an authentic thirteenth-century chartulary from Sarzana, and compress this book into an appendix, by which the scholarly world could have been informed of his important findings?

Bryn Mawr College

DAVID HERLIHY

PETRARCH'S EIGHT YEARS IN MILAN. By Ernest Hatch Wilkins. [Mediaeval Academy of America Publication Number 69.] (Cambridge, Mass.: the Academy, 1958. Pp. xx, 266. \$8.00.) The present study, a detailed and intimate biography of Petrarch

during his sojourn at Milan from 1353 to 1361 under the patronage of the Visconti, embodies an attempt "to utilize all existing evidence as to his outer and inner experiences in this period." It may be stated at once that this exacting task, replete with notoriously complex problems of chronology, has been discharged with a sensitivity and erudition eloquent of the author's long devotion to his subject. The blend of biographical detail and inner experience here presented is perfectly adapted to furnish a *pictura vivens* of Petrarch, who was always keenly responsive to the flux of time and circumstance. Petrarch is depicted *con amore*, and his much-criticized decision to accept the patronage of the Visconti in face of the warm protests of Boccaccio and other Florentine admirers is powerfully defended. One finds, however, some difficulty in escaping the impression that Petrarch displayed on that occasion a certain lack of candor in his apologia to his friends. He could not safely assume that the Visconti would afford him hospitality and would scrupulously refrain from requesting a *quid pro quo*. Further, if he had already sent messengers to test the terrain in Milan, his reluctance to accept the personal invitation of Archbishop Giovanni Visconti could scarcely have been more than formal. The reproaches of Boccaccio should also be considered in the light of the persistent attempts, described by Cipolla fifty years ago, to prevail upon Petrarch to settle in Florence. The episode revealed that the poet's concept of *libertas*, the crux of the debate, differed *toto caelo* from the political significance attached to it by Boccaccio. The author has wisely refrained from overburdening his study with excursions into the history of the age; but on occasion a few words of historical commentary would have further enlightened the reader. The lively interest of John II of France and the Dauphin Charles in Petrarch's discourse on Fortune during the mission to Paris in 1361 was clearly prompted by the intense current discussion on the respective parts that Fortune and human defects played in the military disasters recently inflicted on France by the English. Finally, the "significant literary and spiritual re-orientation" of Petrarch in 1360 ought perhaps to be related to the serious illness of the poet in that year. The experience certainly did not produce a radical revision of Petrarch's *Todesgedanke*, which retained its naturalistic and Stoic elements. But these are minor matters. This is a work of notable scholarship and literary quality; and it will be a *vade mecum* for all students of Petrarch.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

Modern History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

THE QUEEN'S WARDS: WARDSHIP AND MARRIAGE UNDER ELIZABETH I. By *Joel Hurstfield*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. xxii, 366. \$7.50.) This book is primarily a study of the role of feudal wardship in Elizabethan society and government. Mr. Hurstfield has presented a balanced account where a less discriminating historian might have been satisfied with a mere indictment. The sale of wardships belonging to the crown produced "abuses" which must be understood in light of the contemporary situation. For instance, many guardians forced their wards to marry for mercenary reasons, but parents often did the same with their children. The Court of Wards did not take its responsibility to protect the interests of wards lightly, especially during Lord Burghley's long tenure as its Master, but its officials had opportunities for corruption in administering the sale of wardships. The fees and gifts that they took from suitors were sometimes difficult to distinguish from extortions and

bribes. Elizabeth I received only a fourth of the profits of wardship, but most of the unofficial profits—those made on wardships purchased from the crown at less than the market price for resale—went to otherwise underpaid officials. Feudal wardship provided an indirect means of taxing the landed classes to help meet the cost of government. Robert Cecil, as Master of the Wards, proposed to abolish it in return for a guaranteed annual revenue, but neither James I nor Parliament would accept the "Great Contract." Particularly valuable are Hurstfield's chapters on Tudor marriage and "corruption" in administration. There are also interesting subsidiary points about the significance of wardship revenue to an understanding of both Henry VIII's disposal of monastic lands and the Statute of Uses, and about the happy implications for North America of the "manor of East Greenwich" clause in colonial land grants. Hurstfield has turned out an important and well written book based on a careful search and judicious appraisal of scattered sources.

West Virginia University

MORTIMER LEVINE

THE COUNCIL IN THE MARCHES OF WALES UNDER ELIZABETH I. By *Penry Williams*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 385. 42s.) Since its publication in 1904 the standard work on the Council in the Marches of Wales has been that of Miss C. A. J. Skeel, whose book covered the entire period of the Council's existence, from the fifteenth century till its abolition in 1689. Now, with respect to the reign of Elizabeth I, it has been superseded by the present volume. After an introductory chapter tracing the history of the Council to 1558, Mr. Williams plunges into the heart of his work, a careful and detailed description of the Council's powers, membership, procedure, finances, administrative duties, and relations both with the central government and with subordinate local jurisdictions. These chapters constitute a genuine and important contribution to Tudor administrative history; they also represent the result of a very careful combing and very intelligent use of source material. Very few of the Council's records have survived, as Williams points out in a bibliographical appendix; he has had to piece together his story from very scattered sources to flesh out the skeleton provided by the series of *Instructions* to the president of the Council, seven of which survive from Elizabeth's reign. Williams then concludes his book with a series of chapters on the personalities and activities of the men who ran the Council, concentrating especially on Sir Henry Sidney and Lord Pembroke, who between them presided over the Council for over forty years. The book does have its faults. Williams' writing is occasionally repetitious. Furthermore, like many other writers of administrative history, he concentrates so closely on the administrative mechanism that he sometimes loses sight of what it was administering—which is a complicated way of saying that Williams might profitably have told us more about the condition of Wales and the effect on Wales of the Council's activities. But these weaknesses do not seriously detract from the value of an excellent monograph.

Princeton University

MAURICE LEE, JR.

EXETER, 1540-1640: THE GROWTH OF AN ENGLISH COUNTY TOWN. By *Wallace T. MacCaffrey*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 35.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1958. Pp. 311. \$5.50.) Mr. Wallace MacCaffrey has produced a fine piece of historical writing, analysis, and scholarship that endeavors to mirror in microcosm the macrocosm of the Tudor-Stuart world. *Exeter, 1540-1640* is the portrait of a community in which kings and dynastic policy, privy councilors, and religious issues are gathered up and absorbed into the drama of daily and provincial existence. Three threads are interwoven into the fabric of local and civic history: the

grip of medieval attitudes upon the daily aims and organization of the city, the introverted perspectives and horizons of most Englishmen, and the successful paternalism and collectivistic character of urban life. The "cake of custom" is nowhere more apparent than in the structure and organization of the city. Yet within the ancient framework there was growth, dynamism, and adaptation to the realities of the new economic impulses of Tudor society. As MacCaffrey states it, Exeter merchants "showed a genius for manipulating existing institutions to meet new needs." Economic and social forces confronted the borough's ruling oligarchy with many of the same problems that plagued the royal government. The city's financial plight was not unlike that faced by the royal government, since neither the borough nor the crown could "live on its own" in an era of rising costs and governmental obligations. Likewise, the answer of both was similar—the efforts to find new revenues within the existing medieval structure. Possibly the most valuable aspect of this study is the relationship between the government in Westminster and its subordinate administrative parts. England was, as MacCaffrey points out, "a hybrid political society in which a centralized monarchy existed side by side with a kind of confederation of local political interests, municipal, regional, professional, and class, all held together in a certain rough unity by the powerful hand of the monarchy, yet stubbornly retaining in wide areas independence of aims and of actions." Much of the story deals with the struggle between these separate identities for the patronage and favor of the royal government and with the conflict with the crown when city and royal interests clashed. This is the kind of book that has value for a wide variety of readers. From the point of view of the Tudor historian, MacCaffrey has written a gem of scholarship, and though his story is restricted to a single city, the light he throws upon Tudor-Stuart England far exceeds the technical limits of his book.

Northwestern University

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH

THE COUNTRY CLERGY IN ELIZABETHAN AND STUART TIMES, 1558-1660. By A. Tindal Hart. (London: Phoenix House Ltd. 1958. Pp. 180. 21s.) Dr. Hart, an English rector and rural dean, has done three studies of the rural (i.e., town and country) clergy in England. This volume, on the Tudor-Stuart period, deals briefly with the pre-Elizabethan Tudor background, and devotes most of its pages to four chapters on the rural clergy under Elizabeth, James I, Charles I, and during the Civil Wars. A final chapter presents brief sketches of several typical rural parsons of the period. Hart does not present any new findings about the English Church or clergy. Rather, his work is an assemblage from a goodly array of published materials of data on the education, morals, finances, duties, routine, etc., of the average cleric. He argues that for the English clergy a low point of demoralization had been reached by the accession of Elizabeth. Despite these rather bleak beginnings of Anglicanism (as he would define it) under Elizabeth, however, gradual improvement took place all along the line until Laud's era. Under the Laudian policy of "thorough" there was a retrogression that brought on the Civil Wars. During these wars and during the Commonwealth, the typical country cleric "sat out" the storm, though many a royalist rural parson suffered severely under the Roundheads. But the country cleric, qua cleric, went his way about as usual. The interpretation of the general history of the Tudor-Stuart period is at times questionable, e.g., the Marian exiles seem all to have been in Geneva; Calvin was interested in only four doctrines; the Elizabethan episcopate is here depicted as quite too much of one common official mind; and the role of the crown in the Church is not given the place it actually had. Theological thought and development are scarcely treated. What did the cleric think about himself as a cleric? What did he try to do, and why?

Chicago, Illinois

L. J. TRINTERUD

VICTORY: THE LIFE OF LORD NELSON. By *Oliver Warner*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1958. Pp. xi, 393. \$6.50.) "In addition to being England's greatest sailor this remarkable man was a dozen other kinds of human being as well." So writes Nicholas Monsarrat of Lord Nelson in an introduction to Oliver Warner's biography. This latest of volumes on Nelson appears on the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth, and the tone of the work is balance. The result is a clear work delineating the man without really explaining him. There is a lack of material on the early part of Nelson's life and his career during the 1770's when he sailed to the West Indies, the Arctic, and the East Indies. Here the author ably follows the practice of incidental history, giving details of the ships upon which Nelson served to fill in the picture. From 1787 to 1793 Nelson was ashore and this method fails; thus Nelson in his early thirties is obscure. From 1793 there is abundant material and the bulk of the book treats it clearly. The chief discovery of Warner is another of Nelson's female acquaintances, a certain Dolly at Leghorn in 1794 and 1795. It is perhaps inevitable that to explain Nelson the hero, scholarship has turned to Nelson the lover. The battles are well known, perhaps even tedious in detail, while the many female relationships in varied settings, are romantic and human. The Lady Hamilton episode was intertwined with his Mediterranean duties and hindered them. Thus the temptation is great to explore the love affairs and not the man as naval commander. This is exactly the tendency of Warner's book; it deals inordinately with Nelson's loves. A great deal of space is spent on the Hamiltons. Warner is successful here in achieving a balance, for he is fair to Sir William Hamilton and shows his part in an unusual situation. In terms of Emma, the author is more pro-Fanny, Nelson's wife, and sympathetically shows the difficulty and heartbreak of her position. However, Nelson's significance is not as a lover, but as leader, tactician, and sailor. In a portrait of balance Nelson works against Warner, since the life was extremely rich in both peacetime and wartime naval experience. Nelson at the Nile, at Copenhagen, or at Trafalgar each give the author too much to deal with in a portrait of balance of some three hundred pages. The result is to dilute and the explanation of the Nelson touch is vague. Fame, duty, hatred, vanity, doggedness in detail of battle, and resourcefulness are all part of Warner's description, and the personal traits of the man are well and even humorously brought out; yet something evades. Also, for the general reader the major battles should have been put in a broader framework. There are a number of reproductions of charming Nelson portraits, samples of his letters, and good diagrams of the three major battles. Unfortunately there is a lack of maps. Warner's portrait does have definite merit in presenting in compact and clear form the main lines of the multifacet character of Nelson's life.

Harvard University

LEIGHTON SHIELDS, JR.

LABOUR AND POLITICS, 1900-1906: A HISTORY OF THE LABOUR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE. By *Frank Bealey* and *Henry Pelling*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 313. \$7.00.) With the advantage of access to many party and private records, Henry Pelling and Frank Bealey have collaborated to produce this sequel to the former's *Origins of the Labour Party*. It is critical, objective, and up to the standard of the earlier work. It deals with the first labor group in the House of Commons, but the center of interest rather than in Westminster is in the constituencies and in the trade-unions and socialist societies that in 1900 formed the Labour Representation Committee. The role of the Independent Labour party is emphasized. There is note, too, of the close correlation in this period between religious affiliation and political behavior; in most of Britain nonconformity usually implied Liberal or Labour politics. The authors pinpoint the 1903 Newcastle conference of the LRC as a turning point in recent British politics, because there the reluctant trade-unions, alarmed by the Taff Vale

and other legal decisions, finally accepted the need for a tight political organization supported by adequate funds. It was a portent. It so frightened the Liberal whips that they no longer ignored the demand for independent labor representation and indicated their willingness to make a political deal. James Ramsay MacDonald then negotiated a secret arrangement with Herbert Gladstone whereby the LRC received a free hand in some thirty constituencies in return for friendliness in the far larger number where Labour would abstain. The outcome was not only the tremendous Liberal victory of 1906 but also the appearance of twenty-nine labor men in the Commons who promptly formed the parliamentary Labour party. At the time the Liberals rejoiced over the success of the pact, but an unforeseen result was their decline as a major party and replacement by Labour. In this story Ramsay MacDonald appears as a very astute politician.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

THE MEMOIRS OF FIELD-MARSHAL THE VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ALAMEIN, K. G. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. c. 1958. Pp. 508. \$6.00.) In this volume, Britain's Field Marshal Montgomery adds his personal memoirs to the growing literature of World War II. His reflections necessarily cover much of the same ground and operations as do his earlier *Alamein to the River Sangro*, devoted to the operations of England's Eighth Army while under his command, and *Normandy to the Baltic*, which serves a like purpose for the Twenty-First Army Group. The latter, under Montgomery's command, was General Eisenhower's left wing, so to speak, throughout his liberation of France and conquest of Central Europe to the line of the Elbe, Pilsen, and Austria. For the future historian, interested primarily in operational facts and achievements, the foregoing volumes have more to offer. These personal memoirs are of value largely because of their revelations as to the character, philosophy, and personal views of the most eccentric Field Marshal in English history, who, at the same time, must be recognized as England's most successful field commander since the Duke of Wellington. But the future military historian will have to read as far as page 317 before he discovers that Montgomery considers himself somewhat better than the Duke. Even so, Montgomery's uninhibited frankness is as refreshing as it is revealing, though at times his argumentative paragraphs do sink to hindsight, mawkish maunderings of things-that-might-have-been. These qualities, however, enabled his publishers, by release of excerpts for advance serialization in *Life Magazine*, to give the volume a prepublication promotion unequaled since the post-World War I claque for the memoirs of T. E. Lawrence of Arabia. While these prepublication excerpts created a rash of delightful journalistic disputes and, let us hope, fattened the Field Marshal's royalty checks, the book, taken in its entirety, is not so derogatory of Americans and American leadership as its current reputation would lead one to believe. Actually, Montgomery is far more brutally severe in his strictures upon some of his English civilian and military associates. Witlessly or unwittingly, Montgomery reveals himself as an able and inspiring leader but a most difficult, cantankerous, opinionated, conceited, and just short of insubordinate number two man. A team man he was not. That, added to all the problems inherent in any joint military operations of allied armies, General Eisenhower was able to utilize and coordinate to the common cause the admitted talents of a subordinate of such arrogant, unbridled personal ambitions as the book reveals, reflects far more credit to Eisenhower's genius for leadership than the author's hindsight criticisms can subtract.

Wisconsin State College, Superior

JIM DAN HILL

BONDSMEN AND BISHOPS: SLAVERY AND APPRENTICESHIP ON THE CODRINGTON PLANTATIONS OF BARBADOS, 1710-1838. By J. Harry Bennett, Jr. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXII.] (Berkeley: Uni-

versity of California Press, 1958. Pp. ix, 176. \$3.50.) This is a distinguished contribution to the literature of plantation operation under the slave regime. By drawing upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's archives, an investigator has found it possible for the first time to employ records dealing with a single West Indian agricultural enterprise for a protracted period. Perspective afforded by a substantial time sweep has made possible both freshness of approach and new interpretations—hence the significance of this monograph. Somewhat bewildered Society officials, suddenly finding themselves possessed of two Caribbean estates designed to finance an island training center for missionaries to work among the blacks, proceeded by the trial-and-error method. After experimenting with direct exploitation, leasing, and direction by a factor, they ultimately settled upon the last as the most practical means of capitalizing on their windfall. Bowing to Barbadian public opinion, Codrington College was allowed to degenerate into a low-grade hybrid grammar and charity school. Operations were actually suspended for one fourteen-year interval. Shamefully enough, the noble objectives of its socially conscious founder were completely defeated until the eve of emancipation. When plantation population could not be maintained because of high mortality rates among newly imported Africans, gangs of trained workers were engaged for seasonal tasks, but the practice was abandoned in 1761 in favor of purchasing costly seasoned blacks. Then a new policy developed under which monies hitherto spent in hiring or buying Negroes were employed in improving the lot of slaves so that they would reproduce themselves. Economically speaking, amelioration became a vital part of a crass breeding experiment. Labor costs nonetheless continued staggering and, with freedom approaching, in 1833 an allotment system was launched with fair success. This regime aimed at maintaining a substantial labor force by giving the Negroes personal stakes in the estates.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGAZZI

EARLY NEW ZEALAND: A DEPENDENCY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1788-1841. By E. J. Tapp. (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 192. \$6.50.) This addition to the still uncrowded shelf of historical works about New Zealand is a study of New South Wales influences upon that area. The author examines the period from early exploration to the end of political dependence upon Sydney, touching upon the interaction and conflicts between profit-seekers (trade, flax cultivation, whaling, and sealing), missionaries, Maori tribes, and the administrators in New South Wales and at the Colonial Office in London. This work would appear to establish the importance of Sydney enterprise in opening New Zealand and establishing a *de facto* British claim. These activities and the brutal impact of sealer and whaler crews precipitated the hostility between Maori and the *pakeha*, and account for the opposition of the Church Missionary Society to plans for colonization of New Zealand. Such humanitarian influences pressed for extension of British law to the islands in 1817 and, in uncomfortable alliance with economic interests, supported the appointment of a British resident in 1832. This regime provided the means by which the Colonial Office, still much influenced by Exeter Hall and the Clapham Sect, finally established New Zealand as a separate colony. During this phase the wise action of Governor Sir George Gipps of New South Wales blocked a number of magnificently audacious land grabs by William Charles Wentworth and other land sharks. The author has used New Zealand, Australian, and British resources extensively and to good effect. The result is a sober and systematic account. The book contains maps for the 1830 and 1839 periods, illustrations by contemporary artists, and appendixes covering significant documents and statistics.

Colgate University

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON AND THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA. By *Roland Oliver*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 368. \$6.75.) This excellent biography, written by the leading British authority on the partition of Africa, combines disciplined and imaginative scholarship with extremely fine prose. Sir Harry Johnston was one of the foremost of the late-Victorian imperialists. He set out on his career as an African explorer and administrator just as the partition was beginning, and from 1883 to 1888 he skipped rapidly from one crucial area to another, from the Congo to East Africa to the Niger delta. He then settled down for six hard years of work first as concession hunter and then as British commissioner in Nyasaland. His last appointment, before ill fortune and blackwater fever abruptly ended his career in the British service, was to Uganda, where as special commissioner he drew up the monumental Buganda Agreement of 1900. Johnston was versatile and imaginative, with a far richer and no less effective and resolute personality than many of his contemporary empire builders. He is an attractive as well as a significant subject for biography, and Dr. Oliver has done him full justice both as a personality and as a personage. In Johnston's life the author has, besides, found plentiful opportunities to comment widely and well upon some of the general historical problems of the scramble. He writes with authority about the work of the African Department of the Foreign Office and with familiarity about its witty or dull, good-tempered or mean members. He discusses Cecil Rhodes at some length, both as the "paymaster" who made possible the acquisition and early administration of Nyasaland and as the "pawnbroker" who tried to force Johnston and the Foreign Office to cede extensive land and mineral rights to the South Africa Company. Most interesting, perhaps, is Oliver's new insight into Lord Salisbury's purposes and methods in the decade of partition. He clearly dates and explains the change in the focus of Salisbury's interest from western to eastern Africa and establishes once and for all Salisbury's character as a not at all reluctant imperialist.

Memphis, Tennessee

MARIE DE KIEWIET HEMPHILL

THE BOER WAR. By *Edgar Holt*. (London: Putnam; distrib. by British Book Centre, New York. 1958. Pp. 317. \$6.00.) This is a popular rather than a technical and scholarly account. Holt offers an impressive list of "Books Consulted" but no footnotes; interesting illustrations but, except for end plates, no maps; and general narrative rather than detailed movement of regiments and placement of artillery. He gives almost a third of his space to introductory material; about 150 pages to the dramatic early months of British defeats and frustrations, including the sieges of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking, and to Lord Roberts' marches to Bloemfontein and Pretoria; and only the sixty remaining pages to the guerrilla war and peace negotiations. Interesting sidelights are generally well explored: Sir George Colley dies at Majuba, Jameson raids the Transvaal, Rhodes quarrels with the Kimberley commander, the better-known personalities (including Winston Churchill) come alive, we see the "Biograph" and newspapermen at work, the pro-Boer politicians and excited London crowds are there, we learn that 350,000 of 520,000 horses died or were killed in action, and glimpse military equipment, transport, and the soldiers' life on the veldt. Holt slips on occasion: the mere destruction of crops, cattle, and supplies ought to be distinguished from "farm burning"; it should be noted that burghers were required to accompany women and children admitted to camps toward the end of the war; and the war surely cost more than £2,500,000 per month in 1901. More serious, however, is Holt's predilection for the usual interpretations and his failure to ask large or searching questions. He entertains and informs but he does not provoke thought. For example, he treats only superficially the major criticism of Roberts' strategy, that he moved his armies forward by

flanking the Boers out of position rather than by devising ways of crushing them. Also, he fails to analyze Britain's objectives in the war and to ask whether the conduct of the war was well or poorly calculated to achieve them. He neglects the general significance of the war. But this is criticism of Holt's purpose and not of his execution. Within the limits set, he has given us a sound and very readable account that college students and general readers should enjoy.

Long Beach State College

RICHARD H. WILDE

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *J. R. M. Butler*. THE BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST, 1943-46. By *F. S. V. Donnison*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xviii, 483. \$7.46 postpaid.) The title of this book does not do justice to its subject, for it does not deal, as one would suppose, with the administration of British forces in the Far East but rather with civil affairs and military government in Burma, Malaya, Borneo, and Hong Kong—areas formerly occupied by the British and in which they expected to assert their rule after the war as they had before. It is this that gives the volume its greatest interest. Mr. Donnison, who was a civil servant in Burma for many years and civil affairs officer during the war, brings to this subject a firsthand experience in colonial administration and a wide knowledge of the area. He describes the dissolution of the civil power under Japanese attack, the gradual assumption of responsibility by military authorities in the areas still under Allied control, the development of policies and plans for military government of the reoccupied areas, and finally the problems encountered when the Allied armies moved back into the former colonies. Of the five parts into which the volume is divided, the last two will be of especial interest to the student of Southeast Asia. Part IV, unlike the other parts which are organized on a geographical basis, deals with a number of general problems common to all areas—finance, trade, industry, administration of justice, relief of civilians, handling of refugees, labor policy, and propaganda. The last part of the book is of greatest interest to the nonmilitary student. Here the author deals with military government at the political level and expands his coverage to include Indochina and Indonesia, where the British had political though not administrative responsibility. The six chapters in this portion of the volume treat in turn the political problems created by the rise of nationalism in Burma, Malaya, Indochina, and Indonesia. Though the problems in each differ, the basic cause was the same—a great surge of nationalistic feeling among the inhabitants released first from Western control by the Japanese and then of Japanese domination by their former rulers. It is one of the ironies of World War II that the victors of that war, when they liberated Southeast Asia from Japanese rule, released the forces that ultimately lost them their colonies in the Far East.

Department of the Army

LOUIS MORTON

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *Sir James Butler*. THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN, Volume II, INDIA'S MOST DANGEROUS HOUR. By *Major-General S. Woodburn Kirby et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1958. Pp. xvii, 541. \$10.22 postpaid.) This is the second of the five-volume official interservice history of the war against Japan that is being written from the viewpoint of British officers who served in the Far East. The authors recount the loss of Burma in 1942, which laid India open to imminent invasion by the Japanese. That capability, however, was affected by the great American naval victories of Midway and the Coral Sea, and

the course of war in the entire theater was dramatically reversed; British commanders in the area then turned their attention to the problem of recapturing Burma. This book tells how the plans for Burma's liberation, despite frequent frustrations, were finally realized; large-scale operations behind enemy lines (the *Chindits*) are described in detail for the first time. Failures and successes of both friend and enemy are factually presented and knowledgeably analyzed. In addition to presenting much that is new in this authoritative treatment of the Burma campaign, the authors have successfully incorporated the many disparate and little-known aspects of war in that area into a clear and cohesive narrative. They have presented information on the Pacific (an American theater) "only in sufficient outline to allow the reader to follow its progress and maintain a balanced view of the war as a whole." The device is laudable and helpful, but the detail in this outline is not always completely accurate. These non-British, non-Burma matters are gratuitous, however, and minor inaccuracies in their telling do not detract from the validity and great value of the book for its principal coverage. Many excellent charts—well organized and positioned—and uniformly good pictures supplement the text of this interesting work, and nearly one hundred pages of appendixes provide further engrossing material for the student of diplomacy and war in the Far East.

Washington, D. C.

ROGER PINEAU

IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN EMIGRATION, 1850-1900. By *Arnold Schrier*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. x, 210. \$4.50.) A phenomenon in the form of a mass movement of people took place in the nineteenth century. Although Ireland's population seldom exceeded eight million, nearly five million Irish emigrated from 1845 to 1900, largely to the United States. In this book the author scrutinizes the influence of this Irish emigration on Ireland. In discussing the image of the United States that was created in the minds of the Irish, Dr. Schrier credits the emigrants' letters to the people at home as their greatest single source of knowledge about America. Unfortunately he has been able to locate only 222 letters of the millions that he shows conclusively were written, a very small sample from which to draw final conclusions regarding their impact. The author, however, uses them well in showing what information the Irish were receiving that might help them to decide about emigrating. As the tide of emigration increased, cries of protest became more evident in the newspapers. The analysis of the arguments of the various political and religious interests is excellent. One question is unanswered. Did the newspapers have any effect on the politicians and government officials in shaping their stands on Irish emigration? The impact of emigration on the Irish economy is shown to have been beneficial, serving as a safety valve by reducing pressure on land and removing an oversupply of labor. Agriculture and land holdings benefited, while emigration had little effect on Irish industry. Numerous Irish customs developed as a result of emigration. Most outstanding was the "American wake," the adaptation of the Irish death ceremony to the departure of the living. American money helped Ireland in two ways. Forty per cent of the total helped by prepaying passages; some of the balance was used to buy farms, although much was received in sums too small to be very helpful to the general economy. The return of the Irish from America is shown to have had little effect, since comparatively few made the trip back to Ireland. Schrier has made excellent use of four sources: the letters from America, the extensive verbatim notebooks of the Irish Folklore Commission, his own interviews with people having personal memories of the emigration, and many Irish newspapers. In conclusion, this readable and interesting book provides new light on the social, economic, religious, and political

impact on Ireland, thus broadening our understanding of Irish emigration during this period.

Arlington, Virginia

HOMER L. CALKIN

EUROPE

PARACELSUS: AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL MEDICINE IN THE ERA OF THE RENAISSANCE. By *Walter Pagel*. (New York: S. Karger, 1958. Pp. xii, 368. \$16.80.) Dr. Pagel's subtitle indicates that this lengthy biography is more than a life of Theophrastus Philippus Aureolus Bombastus of Hohenheim, alias Paracelsus. Apropos of the lengthy name, Philippus was his given name; Theophrastus and Aureolus were added gratuitously before his thirty-third year; Bombastus was an old family name; Hohenheim was the ancient family estate near Stuttgart; and Paracelsus was a sort of *nom de plume* acquired in late life by reason of his fondness for the prefix "para" (super) in the titles of his works. This term suits him well; he exaggerated, sometimes to the point of ridiculousness, most of the ideas and activities in which he engaged during his short but eventful life (1493-1541). Superaggressiveness and superrestlessness were outstanding in this stormy petrel career. Pagel devotes only about twenty-seven pages to the sketching of Paracelsus' life, spending the remaining 325 pages on "philosophical medicine in the era of the Renaissance." This latter subject includes Paracelsus' own philosophical and medical theories; among them his views on microcosm and macrocosm in human lives, his emphasis on the trinity of mercury, salt, and sulphur, and his chemical innovations in medicine. But much of the book is concerned with the ideas of others as possible sources for those of Paracelsus. Here we feel that the author went too far afield in his analyses, comparisons, and contrasts concerning predecessors, contemporary friends and enemies, and successors (notably Van Helmont, who plays the role of hero of the book). What with extensive descriptions of the ideas of Van Helmont, Erasmus, and Sennert (to say nothing of Arnald of Villanova, Ramon Lull, and other medieval forerunners) the reader sometimes wonders whose biography he is reading, if any. In fact, this is not a biography, and perhaps the name Paracelsus should be the subtitle rather than the title of the book. In general, we consider the author's scholarship beyond criticism. Factual data, explanatory notes, and bibliography are impressive. His interpretations of Paracelsus as a man, philosopher, alchemist, astrologer, and doctor are remarkably objective. He depicts faults without excusing them; e.g., Paracelsus' unscientific attitudes, his mystical, Neoplatonic emotionalism, his superstitions, charlatanism, arbitrary unreasoning egotism, etc. On the other hand he credits him with epoch-making contributions in chemistry, miners' diseases, etc., with an independent imagination, and with a Luther-like reforming zeal for the elimination of classical Galenic humorism. Pagel refuses to paint either a black or a white portrait. The reader emerges with mixed impressions; how could one human personality be such a mass of contradictions? One of Pagel's interpretative summaries leaves a definite conclusion; if it is true (and we do not doubt it) that Paracelsus comes close to Ficino's Renaissance ideal of "the priest-physician," it would seem that Paracelsus and the medical science and philosophy of the Renaissance are more medieval than modern.

University of North Carolina

L. C. MacKINNEY

THE CULT OF AUTHORITY: THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE SAINT-SIMONIANS. A CHAPTER IN THE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF TOTALITARIANISM. By *Georg G. Iggers*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958. Pp. 210. Gld. 14.25.) Mr. Iggers makes the psychological error of putting his reader into a critical frame of mind by being himself aggressively critical of earlier writers and by making

excessive claims for his own work. Thus, when he asserts that his book, unlike the Chicago dissertation of which it is an outgrowth, "attempts to study Saint-Simonian political ideas within the framework of the intellectual history of the early nineteenth century," the reader is less reluctant than usual to retort that the attempt is halfhearted. When he describes his book as "an attempt to contribute to the study of the intellectual roots of modern totalitarianism," this reader agrees instead with his admission elsewhere that "the chain of thought from Enfantin and Bazard to Sorel, Mussolini and Lenin still has to be established" (provided, that is to say, that it exists, which is far from certain). Above all, when he informs us that "in contrast to previous studies, this book utilizes extensively the periodical literature of the period 1829-1832," one must point out that while this is certainly a gain, it would have been even more important—indeed indispensable for a work of intellectual history—to draw on the rich collection of unpublished Saint-Simonian materials in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, which Iggers does not so much as mention. Intellectual historians, like other historians, must bestir themselves to the archives when necessary. This book, then, is not intellectual history; it is a digest and analysis of the published writings of the Saint-Simonians, mostly during those years 1829-1832 only, with scattered references to their predecessors and contemporaries but without elucidating their impact. Both teachers and students will find it very useful, however, within these more modest limits. The principal thesis, that Saint-Simonianism must be viewed as a total and totalitarian and not merely as an economic system, is well worth making and is well made (even if too polemically and with unnecessary moral indignation), although the essentially religious basis of the system is not sufficiently stressed. The contrast between the Saint-Simonians and Comte—insisted upon, again, to refute a previous view (Hayek's)—ignores the pontifical tendencies always latent and eventually explicit in Comte. The book is pleasantly and fluently written, though there are some signs of haste in composition. There is a bibliographical list and an index, and the book is handsomely produced at an attractive price.

Cornell University

W. M. SIMON

STAAT UND GESELLSCHAFT IM WANDEL UNSERER ZEIT: STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERTS. By Theodor Schieder. (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1958. Pp. 207. DM 18.50.) Theodor Schieder, professor at Cologne and coeditor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, presents here a collection of his essays, all but one of which have already appeared in print elsewhere. Yet because a single major theme runs through it, the work is more purposeful than is usually the case with a series of articles issued as a book. What interests the author above all is the relationship in Central Europe between social classes and economic forces on the one hand and civic action on the other. His attention is therefore focused largely on the organization and structure of political parties, which reflect this relationship most clearly. Rejecting the characteristic historicism of German scholarship, he accepts the techniques of sociology as useful tools in analyzing the interaction of ideology and interest. For the price of academic exclusiveness, he maintains, is an estrangement between learning and life. This is history written in a minor key. There is no beating of drums, no flourish of trumpets. The prevailing mood is reflective and subdued, almost diffident. Schieder's heart, one suspects, belongs to the nineteenth century, the heroic epoch of the European bourgeoisie. To him that was the time when ideas still counted for something, when ideals could still inspire the hearts of men. Today the political stage is dominated by the vast impersonal forces of an industrialized age in which there is little room for a private dedication. The author recognizes the weakness of the classic libertarian tradition and acknowledges the emergence of new economic interests

and pressure groups that determine the direction of civic development. And yet he is not entirely at home in the hard world of twentieth-century power politics. Resigned to the rise of a mass civilization, he tries to salvage a sense of humanitarian value from the general debacle of the liberal faith in Central Europe.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

HET GROTE WERK: VREDESONDERHANDELINGEN GEDURENDE DE SPAANSE SUCCESIE-OORLOG 1705-1710. By J. G. Stork-Penning. [Historische Studies, uitgegeven vanwege het Instituut voor Geschiedenis der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Number 12.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1958. Pp. xxv, 468. Fl. 22.50.) The "great work" of the title of Dr. Stork-Penning's book was a failure, but one worthy of respect for its aim—the reestablishment of peace—and for the persistence with which that goal was sought. The *grande affaire*, to use the more common French form of the expression, was the effort of France and the maritime powers during the years 1705-1710 to terminate the War of the Spanish Succession by a negotiated compromise. Stork-Penning succeeds in bringing both new knowledge and fresh insight to these much-studied episodes. He has looked at them from the Dutch side and with Dutch eyes but, as befits one who publishes under the aegis of Utrecht's Professor Geyl, with sensitivity to and respect for the thoughts and deeds of the other participants. He elucidates, as no non-Dutch writer has done, the attitudes that dominated the minds of Dutch statesmen: the fear of French land power (*Gallus amicus non vicinus*); the obstinate adherence to the English alliance in order to thwart French hegemony; but at the same time, the stinging awareness that the price of the English alliance was subordination to Britain in naval power and in trade, the very means of Dutch greatness and independence. The author has shown greater mastery of his materials than of their presentation. The book is far too long, for apparently no detail of the interminable discussions is overlooked; yet Stork-Penning's skill in analysis makes us confident that he could have safely condensed his narrative and at the same time made the pattern of events emerge more clearly. The writing plods, yet—often in footnotes!—there are flashes of characterization and wit. These blemishes are small, nonetheless, compared to the honest labor, the sound historical sense, and the independence of judgment that make this study valuable.

Elmira College

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE CONDUCT OF THE DUTCH: BRITISH OPINION AND THE DUTCH ALLIANCE DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. By Douglas Coombs. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff for the University College of Ghana Publications Board. 1958. Pp. viii, 405. Cloth gld. 30, paper gld. 25.) The author has stated explicitly the scope of his book. "The ultimate purpose of this work is . . . to discover what effect popular feeling had upon official attitudes and policies, and, on the other hand, how much the politicians attempted, and how well they succeeded, in the shaping and control of such feeling." It is not, he adds, a study of Anglo-Dutch relations as such, nor a history of the Grand Alliance. Military history has little part in it. Attention is carefully focused on the shifting attitudes of successive English ministries toward their Dutch ally, and on the use of the press to justify and popularize those shifts. As an impressive bibliography testifies, Professor Coombs has toiled heroically through the vast output of pamphlets and news sheets, not to extract the truth that is not there, but to learn what the employers of the gifted controversialists who wrote the propaganda for the press wished to have pass as truth. He admits fully that "As a guide to public opinion the ephemeral publications of Queen Anne's reign are . . . irremediably corrupt. Yet *faute de mieux* they are indispensable to the student of opinion, for without them

the material at his disposal would be impossibly limited." This brings up the important question that Coombs has evidently pondered as to how public "public opinion" could have been in the reign of Queen Anne. Who bought, read, discussed, and passed on the pamphlets and news sheets? Of these how many cared whether the Dutch did or did not have a defensible barrier, or whether Anjou was or was not to be king of Spain? There is little evidence in the form of popular demonstrations that public feeling was aroused on such remote matters, certainly not as it was aroused by the trial of Sacheverell, or by occasional conformity. One may doubt whether any nation regards another with constant and abiding affection, but even in the seventeenth century there were periods of amicable Anglo-Dutch relations when the tie of a common Protestantism and a common fear of France and popery drew the two nations together. It seems possible that the dreary stalemate of the war, high taxes, and high prices of food may have contributed more than did Tory abuse of the Dutch to the sad debacle of the Grand Alliance. The history of coalitions suggests that they are prone to dissolve even before the end for which they were formed has been achieved. Coombs has provided a highly informative account of the dissolution of this coalition.

Vassar College

VIOLET BARBOUR

LA PREMIÈRE RESTAURATION ET LES CENT JOURS EN ALSACE. By *Paul Leuilliot*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'école pratique des hautes études, VI^e section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1958. Pp. xxxvii, 290. 1,900 fr.) M. Leuilliot's monograph is the product of extensive research in departmental archives at Strasbourg and Colmar as well as in the central collections in Paris and various sets of family papers. These sources, supplemented by countless others in print, have permitted him to follow with meticulous care the vicissitudes of France's easternmost province from the aftermath of Leipzig in 1813 through the invasion and restoration of 1814 and the return from Elba and Napoleon's final defeat to the second resumption of Bourbon sovereignty in 1815. There is much to be learned from looking at this tumultuous period in French history as it affected a sharply defined geographical area. Alsace was scarcely typical of the nation as a whole. Its social, religious, and linguistic traditions were too special to permit its use as an easy base for generalization. Nevertheless, the book presents some arresting examples of certain phenomena that were important for all of France. Here we have the dilemma of Bonapartist officials wrestling with a crisis of conscience and political judgment as they sought with varying degrees of unselfishness to manage Bas-Rhin and Haut-Rhin under conditions of foreign occupation and changes of authority. Here, too, we observe the signs of popular revulsion at the ineptitude and sometimes the ill will of returning royalists. Finally, we are shown the first lineaments of a new, or revived, public image of Napoleon, hero of the Revolution, conqueror of despots. In view of his solid research and careful workmanship, it is too bad that Leuilliot has not managed more successfully to stay "on top" of his material. Repeatedly he takes the reader through long catalogues of official personnel; and while Lezay-Marnesia, the great prefect of Bas-Rhin, was important, the same cannot be said for many of the passing *sous-préfets*. The author's observations on broader problems are so interesting that they deserve to have been less deeply submerged in administrative details.

Harvard University

FRANKLIN L. FORD

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS IN FRANCE, 1814-1881. By *Irene Collins*. [Oxford Historical Series: General Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1959. Pp. xiv, 201. \$4.80.) This study treats a limited but important topic. As the title implies, Irene Collins is concerned with the relationship between

French governments and the political press. The years in question embrace the promise of liberty in the Charter of 1814 and its final realization through the Code of 1881. The story is one of manipulations of the newspaper press by fearful and hostile governments, on the one hand, and persistent attempts at evasion by publishers of political journals on the other. Outright censorship played a relatively small part. Miss Collins' book discusses a bewildering array of muzzling devices, all largely ineffective, as contributions of journalists to France's nineteenth-century revolutions demonstrate. The author finds that only Villèle and Napoleon III achieved firm control. As for government-press relations after 1870, the treatment is highly summary, with some reason, since no truly new elements entered the scene. One might wonder, however, why Miss Collins did not explore more fully the key role of the press freedom controversy in precipitating the crisis of May 16, since this seems pertinent to her topic. Further, in view of the profound significance she rightly attaches to the 1881 legislation, the reader misses a fuller exposition of the details of its enactment. Miss Collins' most substantial contributions lie, first, in the fact that she solidly establishes the statutory base of government press policy by giving the essential parts of the texts in question, and secondly, in having mined a rich vein of archival ore. While she has utilized profitably the standard histories of the French press, specialized monographs, and the relevant memoirs and biographies, she has drawn her material for the most part from a truly impressive acquaintance with official papers. Moreover, she writes well; the book is never a tedious catalogue of laws and prosecutions.

Washington, D. C.

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

THE FRENCH AND THE REPUBLIC. By *Charles Morazé*. Translated by *Jean-Jacques Demarest*. (2d ed.; Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958. Pp. x, 214. \$3.50.) As Mario Einaudi says in the preface, this is a tract for the times. But it is, of course, a good deal more than this succinct description might suggest. Charles Morazé, in attempting to explain the French in geographic, economic, and socio-psychological terms, argues from the basic premise that the contemporary French republics have been the expression of the national passion for theory, of an unwillingness to accept the risks of modern capitalism, of the practice of Malthusianism, of adventurous (but unpractical) courage, and of political insecurity. He has the gift of provocative statement, a far-ranging information, and a lapidary style. The result is an extraordinary display of fireworks, which come thick and fast. Ideas and opinions are hurled out one after another, suggested, barely developed, sometimes picked up later and carried through. His book is an excellent support for one of his chief contentions: that the French formulate their thought "with *éclat*, with splendor—a splendor that has never failed to impress the world, usually somewhat behind France in the domain of intellectual accomplishment." If there is a single over-all conclusion, it may be that the French are a great deal more diverse than the rest of the world's caricature of them, that France is the crossroads of the world still, but that unless her technical progress keeps pace she will lose her position as "the world's microcosm" and become instead "tomorrow's colonized nation." The final chapter (written in the autumn of 1957 for this American translation; the original French edition appeared in 1956) suggests that two courses were open: to follow a path leading toward nationalist solutions of French problems, or to be deflected by the strength of "world cooperation" into paths leading away from the attitudes and preoccupations of the nineteenth-century tradition. But the essay is so rich, so exciting, that it is a distortion to try to reduce Morazé's brilliant talk to any such crude summary. Naturally, so many judgments as one encounters here will not all be equally acceptable. What philosophers of history might make of some of his historical "explanations" (e.g.,

the relationship between railroads and parliamentary government) one does not like to consider. His effort to demonstrate the unique character of France might be thought excessive, failing sometimes in a series of unreal, merely verbal comparisons and contrasts. And his "explanation" of twentieth-century British policy in India seemed to one reader simply wild. So much insistent, and very real, cleverness is bound to exact a price. But all this does not really much matter. Nationalist, Gaullist, perhaps a little bitter, but at the same time extraordinarily cosmopolitan, the essential performance here is a thoroughly enlightening discourse on modern France, her origins, her present troubles (not least, her North African misfortunes), and her prospects.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

SYRIA AND LEBANON UNDER FRENCH MANDATE. By *Stephen Hemsley Longrigg*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 404. \$6.75.) In dealing with Arab questions French specialists have tended to think in terms of minorities who ought to be protected, their British counterparts in terms of emergent nationalisms that should be nurtured. Accordingly, the experience of the French in Syria and Lebanon has been the subject of a bitter debate. Brigadier Longrigg offers this work as "a tentative judgement" of French conduct as a mandatory and as "a sounder factual basis . . . for the use of popular writers, journalists, politicians, and the like than is at present available." In pursuit of these aims, the author surveys Syrian and Lebanese developments from 1914 to the French withdrawal in 1946, and closes with a brief summation of the main trends since 1946. Although economic and cultural developments are not neglected, the emphasis is decidedly political. Longrigg writes in a moderate tone, finds much in the French achievement to admire, and occasionally appreciates the French predicament. He remains, however, firmly convinced of the British point of view. He shares the usual Britisher's impatience with the Lebanese and with the Syrian minorities, and treats the pan-Syrian nationalists in sympathetic terms. He also rejects the persistent French charge that most of their difficulties in Syria and Lebanon were created by British efforts to replace them. This reviewer cannot agree with the author's general interpretation of Syrian and Lebanese politics nor with his account of British policy. The position of the British cabinet was rarely as unequivocal as Longrigg says it was, and the activities of local British officials were sometimes not far different from what the French say they were. To choose one example, Longrigg's assertion that the British repeatedly told Faysal that they "would in no circumstances themselves accept a Mandate for Syria" is a very inaccurate description of British activities as revealed in the published British documents. The reader who wishes to examine some of the evidence in the case, which Longrigg, owing to the nature of his book, cannot give, should consult Eli Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, the only scholarly study that touches on any part of Longrigg's subject. Leaving aside questions of interpretation, Longrigg's comprehensive and detailed account is useful. The remarks about the Syrian National party of Anton Sa'adah are misleading, as are those on Communists and the trade-unions, and the brief account of post-1946 parties confuses the Arab Socialist and the Arab Renaissance parties. Otherwise, so far as my knowledge goes, the book is accurate and reliable. If this reviewer remains unconvinced of Longrigg's main theses, he does believe that the author has achieved his second goal of providing a sounder and fuller factual account than any now available.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

THE LIFE OF THE ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BY HIS SON FERDINAND. By *Fernando Colón*. Translated and annotated by *Benjamin Keen*.

(New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1959. Pp. xxxii, 316. \$7.50.) The lost original of this work was written by Ferdinand shortly before his death in 1539. He did not publish it, perhaps because of the lawsuits in progress between his family and the crown. Later it passed into Italy where it appeared in an inaccurate translation in 1571. John Churchill included a translation into English, also unsatisfactory, in his *Voyages*. Long recognized as one of the basic sources and unsuccessfully attacked as a forgery, the biography has been used by all serious students. We can be thankful to Ferdinand for writing it while at the same time wishing he had made it ten times longer. He perhaps had knowledge that would have resolved many subsequent controversies. This translation is called "reasonably accurate" by the translator, a gesture of modesty compelled by the sometimes quite unintelligible Italian. More abundant notations would have been useful to the scholar, but those included are ample for the general reader. The biography is fascinating and the English is very smooth. Illustrations add to the interest and maps to the utility.

City College of New York

BAILEY W. DIFFIE

KÖNIG KARL XII. VON SCHWEDEN. Volume I (2d ed.), DER KAMPF SCHWEDENS UM DIE VORMACHT IN NORD- UND OSTEUROPA (1697-1709); Volume II, DIE TÜRKISCHE PERIODE KARLS XII. UND SEIN VERSUCH EINER WIEDERAUFRICHTUNG DER SCHWEDISCHEN GROSSMACHTSTELLUNG (1709-1714); Volume III, DER AUSGANG DER KÖNIGSTRAGÖDIE (1715-1719). By Otto Haintz. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1958. Pp. xii, 307; xv, 371; 314. DM 75. the set.) The interpretations of the life and career of Charles XII are almost as varied as those of Napoleon, and, indeed, there is much to suggest that Charles XII is to Sweden as Napoleon is to France. The greatest amount of interest in the King and the two Charleses who preceded him has naturally been in Sweden, where Karolinska Förbundet has, since 1910, annually published an *Årsbok* filled with scholarly articles on the "Carolinian" age (1654-1718). Out of the great quantity of scholarship on Charles XII and his age and out of his own investigations in German, Italian, and Scandinavian archives, a non-Scandinavian has now given us a new interpretation and historical synthesis of the great warrior-king. It has taken him a long time, for the first edition of the first volume appeared as long ago as 1936, and the first printing of the second volume (Stockholm) came out in 1951. Although Haintz believes that the work is but the forerunner of a definitive Swedish biography of Charles XII, it is unlikely that this authoritative work will be displaced for a long time to come. The volumes are handsomely printed, and the indexes, maps, and footnotes are excellent; one can only regret the lack of a bibliography. Voltaire considered Charles XII a tragic hero who possessed all the virtues to such an excess that they became as dangerous as vices. He found him guilty of having brought ruin upon his country and judged him a unique rather than a great man. Haintz has not written a panegyric, but he does present the thesis that Charles XII was not only unique but also a great man who was the first to recognize clearly the danger to Europe in the growth of Russian power. Almost any historian will be interested in this biography, and no college or university library should fail to have it available. Haintz has done the historical profession a service in completing a work which is as filled with psychological insights as it is with facts and which succeeds in making both the man and his age vital.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

EINE DEUTSCHE UNTERGRUNDBEWEGUNG GEGEN NAPOLEON, 1806-1807. By Anton Ernstberger. [Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, Band 52.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1955. Pp. 130.) This monograph

is of unusual interest not because of its familiar thesis that German nationalism in the Napoleonic period was a grass-roots movement, but because it demonstrates the difficulty of organizing a popular uprising against a foreign tyranny. In an age haunted by memories of the abortive Hungarian revolt, there is a bitter fascination in this account of Herculean effort and heart-breaking failure. For if ever an underground movement should have succeeded, it was this one, centered in Prussian Silesia in the period between Jena and Tilsit. All the ingredients of success were present: dedicated leaders, a nucleus of armed forces, popular support, and, most important of all, material and financial aid from Austria and Britain. To recapture Magdeburg, to make Bayreuth's "pine-covered hills the foyer of liberation" seemed within the realm of possibility. But every attempt miscarried, and Bayreuth was destined to be not the "foyer of liberation" but of Prussian humiliation. There forty gallant "liberators" were forced to retreat before three thousand Napoleonic troops. Even the optimistic leaders of the underground were forced to concede failure. But why failure? Dr. Ernstberger's carefully documented and detailed account furnishes the answer. As the preface states, "The new faith was the faith of the masses. . . . The yoke of foreign domination had been laid upon all. It could be cast off only by all." To translate this faith into action required planning on so grand a scale that it necessitated basic internal reforms and careful international planning. Minor officials working with a handful of troops, no matter how zealous, could not dislodge, even from a single city, so powerful a master as Napoleon. Combatting tyranny was a monumental task, then as now. The author's contribution to German regional history is surprisingly pertinent to the current scene.

Washburn University

RUTH FRIEDRICH

DER AUSBRUCH DES ERSTEN WELTKRIEGES UND DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE: CHRONIK UND ANALYSE. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, Reihe I: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Band 4.] (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957. Pp. xi, 252. DM 9.80.) Several recent studies have dealt in part with the role of the SPD in the coming of World War I (Drachkovitch, Heidegger, Berlau, Schorske, Matthias, and Meenzen), but Professor Kuczynski's work is unique. It is the most thorough to date and the first Marxist-Leninist evaluation. The author is on the faculty of economic history at the Humboldt University of Berlin and is well known as a student of German social history. His book consists of a chronicle of events, analysis, and documentary annex, but has no bibliography. Fundamental to his conclusion is the premise that the German government wanted general war in July, 1914, and toiled to bring it about. Bethmann's main concern was to keep public support without having to show his hand. Garden variety diplomatic documents cited fail to corroborate these threadbare theses. So completely did the ruling classes succeed in hiding war preparations that Socialists commonly believed in the government's peaceful intent. "Blindness" of the SPD press is illustrated solely by quotations from *Vorwärts*. As late as July 30 the proletariat had still to be won for the war. This could only be done by terrifying it with the Russian scarecrow. Thus, Germany "unleashed war on Russia to deceive the proletariat in the most outrageous fashion." This "lie of a Russian attack" underlies the asseveration that the *Burgfrieden* was betrayal of the workers by the Socialist leaders. David, Scheidemann, Keil, and the SPD Right are blamed for social chauvinism, but Südekum and the Centrist Kautsky are analytically drawn and quartered. Only Liebknecht (who had also voted war credits on August 4), Luxemburg, and a handful of others kept the faith. The rest of the party was "a stinking corpse." Kuczynski is deceived in thinking the SPD's August Reichstag stand was a break with the party's

entire past. That had come two years earlier at the Jena and Chemnitz conventions. Since it is conceded that prospects of a successful general strike were unfavorable, we must wonder what other arrow was left in the German socialist quiver. Was there a feasible alternative to *Burgfrieden*? Ideological apostrophes, with which this treatise is punctuated, cannot conceal the specious reasoning. If one rejects the "lie of a Russian attack," the conclusions are a *non sequitur*. If it be faced that Russia mobilized first, the decision of the SPD becomes a reflex of mass hysteria. Fatherland, *Freiheit*, and living standards were all jeopardized. In view of this, might it not be more fruitful to reopen the case of Russian Social Democratic war guilt? Considering the opposition of the SPD to offensive war, would or could Germany have attacked a Russia paralyzed by general strike or insurrection?

Nebraska Wesleyan University

WILLIAM H. MAEHL

KOMMANDANT IN AUSCHWITZ: AUTOBIOGRAPHISCHE AUFZEICHNUNGEN VON RUDOLF HÖSS. By *Rudolf Höss*. Introduction and commentary by *Martin Broszat*. [Quellen und Darstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1958. Pp. 184. DM 15.80.) In 1947 Rudolf Höss was hanged in Auschwitz for about one million murders—no one knows exactly how many because records were kept for the gold teeth taken from the corpses but not for the number of victims. While in jail, Höss wrote an autobiography and thirty-four supplementary statements. The autobiography and two of the statements are here published in German some years after the appearance of Polish translations. Although occasionally distorting or concealing the facts, Höss astounds by the frankness of his report. He tries to be the obedient and cooperative witness—even in the trial for his own life—as he had once been the obedient and cooperative subordinate of Heinrich Himmler in the management of concentration camps. As the editor points out in an enlightening introduction, Höss unwittingly provides gruesome but revealing information on the nature of the National Socialist state and its servants, especially those who attempted so to mechanize the process of murder that they could convince themselves of their lack of cruelty and bestiality. The inclusion of more of Höss's statements might have been helpful, but certainly the editor has done his sad duty well. In the reviewer's opinion, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte in Munich acted properly in placing this macabre document before a wider audience.

University of Kentucky

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

DIE MITWIRKUNGSRECHTE DER BUNDESGLIEDER IN DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN EIDGENOSSENSCHAFT MIT RECHTSVERGLEICHENDEN HINWEISEN AUF DIE VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON AMERIKA UND DIE BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND. By *Hans Jörg Meyer*. [Basler Studien zur Rechtswissenschaft, Heft 47.] (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn. 1957. Pp. 105. 11 fr. S.) Dr. Meyer's essay deals mainly with the legal aspects of the participation of the member states or cantons of a federal state in political decision making at the national level. His slim monograph presents in its first part a brief general discussion of the nature of a federal state. A succinct second part surveys the historical development of Swiss federalism from the "representative state" of 1848 to the "executive state" of the present. The third and longest part of the study deals with the particular rights and institutions by means of which the Swiss cantons participate in federal decision making. Throughout much of the book Meyer's approach is comparative. Wherever possible, he contrasts Swiss practices with more or less corresponding institutions in the United States and in the German Federal Republic. Such comparisons begin in the first part, but are carried

through most consistently in the third. Three groups of institutions of federal-state cooperation appear, according to the author, in Switzerland as well as in the United States and in the Bonn Republic: interest group representation through second chambers of the federal legislature, combining the representation by member states or cantons with some stress on higher levels of age, income, and social status; procedures for amending the federal constitution; and procedures for calling a meeting of the federal legislature or a federal constitutional convention. Against this background, the uniquely Swiss events and practices stand out. The author discusses in some detail the cooperation of the cantons in the various revisions of the Swiss federal constitution between 1872 and 1949, particularly in developing the Swiss employment of the referendum and/or the popular initiative at the federal level in regard to both ordinary and emergency legislation, international treaties, and constitutional revision. In addition, he treats of the rights of initiative enjoyed by the Swiss cantons and of their right to be heard in regard to proposed federal legislation—a right that the author would like to see developed and extended. The references to historical events, political processes, or social structure are sketchy. The comparisons with American and West German institutions are not profound, but are helpful for quick orientation. The main value of the study to American readers will consist in its clear and effective summarization of a broad range of Swiss practices that give Swiss federalism much of its distinctive character. Switzerland, it appears, has gone unusually far in protecting the federalistic decentralization of power in favor of the cantons, and yet also in safeguarding efficiency and applying direct democracy at the federal level. Meyer combines this stress on Swiss political innovations with brief but thought-provoking comparisons. As a brief, careful, thoughtful, and well-written survey, his work should find its place in the libraries of all serious students of federalism in history or politics.

Yale University

KARL W. DEUTSCH

THE LAST MEDICI. By *Harold Acton*. (Rev. ed.; New York: St Martin's Press. c. 1958. Pp. 327. \$6.50.) In 1932 Mr. Harold Acton published his study of the last representatives of the Medici. This has long been out of print and the author has now brought out a new edition. In his preface he states that he has pruned some of the purple passages and deleted others from his earlier work, but he makes clear that the present version represents neither a substantial addition of new materials nor a change in the author's perspective on the characters he portrays. The decision to limit revision was surely a justifiable one, for the original work possessed both historical and artistic integrity. Acton's knowledge of his subject is based on extensive reading in the Florentine archives and other contemporary sources, and his presentation is guided by a sense of the drama inherent in the scene and in the characters. In a series of lively vignettes we follow the fortunes of the last members of the grand ducal house, Cosimo III and his children, the Grand Prince Ferdinando, Gian Gastone, and the Electress Anna Maria. Their daily lives, their associates, their policies—or attempts at policy—their marriages, their diversions, and finally their deaths and funerals compose a fascinating chronicle of decadence.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

MÉMOIRES D'UN JACOBIN (1799). By *Felice Bongioanni*. Introduction by *Giorgio Vaccarino*. [Biblioteca di Storia Italiana Recente, New Series, Volume II.] (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1958. Pp. lxxxvii, 250. L. 2,600.) The Italian Jacobins left few memoirs. Giorgio Vaccarino had the good fortune to find the particularly interesting ones of Felice Bongioanni in a private collection. He has published them with an excellent critical study and this enriches our knowledge on an obscure point of

risorgimento history. Felice Bongioanni, originally of Mondovì, manifested republican sentiments from the beginning of the Revolution when in December, 1798, French troops forced the king of Piedmont-Sardinia to leave Turin. Bongioanni took part in the provisional government but he resigned when it ascertained that the Directory wished to annex Piedmont to France. Bongioanni in reality favored the independence of his country and probably the unification of Italy. He undoubtedly played a part in the secret society of the still mysterious *raggi* about which Vaccarino gave us some valuable information in the work *I patrioti "anarchistes" e l'idea dell'unità italiana*, published in 1955. Toward the end of 1799, the Austrians and Russians approached Turin. Bongioanni left the capital. Then there began for him the adventurous life which comprises the main part of his *Mémoires*. His little country, Mondovì, revolted against the French. It was taken by storm. The "patriots" were massacred just as were the adversaries of the Revolution. The Russians scoured the countryside, persecuting the people and stealing their watches. Bongioanni left Piedmont, crossing over the Traversette Pass at nine thousand feet. He found other Italian patriot-*émigrés* in Dauphiny, and, significantly, went to meet the old terrorist of the Convention, Amar, at Barraux near Chambéry. These *Mémoires* give us considerable information of first importance. They are above all significant contributions to the knowledge of the mind of the man at the end of the eighteenth century whose love of "nature" was limited to well-cultivated plains and produced only aversion for the "horrible mountains." They enable us to know the situation of Piedmont and Dauphiny in 1799. They describe for us the state of mind of the Italian "Jacobins" who admired the Revolution but were adversaries of Directory France, the egoistic politics of which disgusted them as they dreamed of a great independent and unified Italy. In his important introduction Vaccarino describes the remainder of Bongioanni's life. During the Consulate and Empire he accepted a judgeship, though he remained faithful to the ideas of his youth, expressed in a great poem *Giandujeide*, which caused him to be persecuted during the Restoration. Charles-Albert reinstalled him in office in 1831. He died in Savone on November 22, 1838.

Université de Toulouse

JACQUES GODECHOT

SULLE ORME DEL LAMENNAIS IN ITALIA. Volume I, IL LAMENNESIMO A TORINO. By *Angiolo Gambaro*. (Turin: Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria. 1958. Pp. xvi, 338. L. 3,500.) With the advent of Christian democracy to power in post-war Italy, there has been increased historical interest in the Italian Catholic movement. Its successive phases and diverse aspects—political, social, economic, intellectual, religious—are being studied, reevaluated, and variously interpreted by contemporary Italian historians. Now, Angiolo Gambaro proposes to explore the relations between Lamennais and his Italian contemporaries in a three-part work, *Sulle orme del Lamennais in Italia*. The first, *Il lamenesimo a Torino*, discusses the influence of Lamennais' early ideas on conservative Catholics in Piedmont. The second and third volumes will deal with the impact of and reaction to Lamennais' evolution from conservative to liberal to democrat. During the 1820's, when his popularity among Italian conservatives was at its height, Lamennais kept in contact with them by correspondence and on two visits in 1824 and 1828. His staunchest supporters included the *Amicizia d'Italia*, a group of Catholic laymen devoted to upholding the status quo. Among them was Cesare Taparelli D'Azeffio, father of the more famous Massimo D'Azeffio and a true gentleman of the *ancien régime*, the De Maistre family, and Count Senfft, Austrian ambassador to Turin. But Lamennais' fame spread beyond reactionary circles. In 1824 he had an audience with Prince Charles Albert, on whom he made a deep impression. In 1828 the young Rosmini and Gioberti eagerly sought him out. Lamennais' position among conservatives was

badly shaken in 1829 with the appearance of his *De progrès de la révolution et de la guerre contre l'église* and definitely overthrown by *L'Avenir* in 1831. Gambaro reveals a thorough knowledge of the literature on Lamennais and Italian Catholic circles in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, he substantiates his work with original sources, many of which are reproduced in the appendixes that form a useful documentary adjunct to the text. The appearance of the final two volumes of this study should give us interesting insights into Italian intellectual activities during the nineteenth century.

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

POLSKIE TOWARZYSTWO HISTORYCZNE 1886-1956: KSIEGA PAMIĘTКОWА Z OKAZJI ZJAZDU JUBILEUSZOWEGO PTH W WARSZAWIE 19-21. X. 1956 [The Polish Historical Society 1886-1956: A Commemorative Volume on the Occasion of the Jubilee Meeting of the Polish Historical Society in Warsaw, October 19-21, 1956]. (Warsaw: State Publishing House, 1958. Pp. 281. Zł. 70.) The present volume contains the summarized proceedings of the seventieth anniversary meeting of the Polish Historical Society. The first chapter comprises a short history of the Society that was presented at the meeting by Professors T. Manteuffel and M. Serejski. Founded in Lwów in 1886, the Society became a national Polish organization with branches in all larger Polish cities when the Polish state was established in 1918. The Society has gained distinction through the publication of numerous valuable monographs and the *Kwartalnik Historyczny* [*Historical Quarterly*]. It maintained close relations with other European societies and sent delegates to international historical congresses. The Society served as a forum and coordination agency for all aspects of Polish historical research. In 1953, with the establishment of the Historical Institute of the new Polish Academy of Sciences, this hitherto autonomous body became affiliated with the Institute. In 1956 the Society was organized into thirty-three regional groups with a total of more than two thousand members. To each group research in a specific field has been assigned. The jubilee meeting was held in quasi-revolutionary 1956. The acute dissatisfaction of historians with existing conditions is obvious from the proceedings. This dissatisfaction stemmed from concern over the future scholarly level of Polish historiography. Historical research, it was claimed, was less restricted before the war. Contemporary historiography particularly was criticized as propaganda, a cheap apologia, and falsification. Volume III of the *Decisions and Resolutions of the Polish Communist Party* is cited as an example of this falsification. It was claimed that many falsehoods have been published, especially by the history department of the Polish Communist party. The concern for Polish historiography undoubtedly has oriented the minds of Polish historians toward greater freedom in research and toward reforms in the training of future historians. As a whole, this volume represents an evaluation of Polish historical research in the post-World War II period.

Library of Congress

JANINA WOJCICKA

FAR EAST

THE RISE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN, 1600-1868: AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. By Charles David Sheldon. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, Number 5.] (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher for the Association, 1958. Pp. xi, 205. \$5.00.) The growth of a commercial economy and the accompanying rise of a merchant class during the Tokugawa period in Japan are generally acknowledged causes for the collapse of feudalism. This

monograph, the fifth sponsored by the Association for Asian Studies, is an analysis of how the socially disesteemed merchants rose to a position of wealth and economic power while the politically supreme feudal aristocracy became progressively more impoverished. Soundly based upon major Japanese studies, the book offers no new interpretations, but gives a readable, competent treatment to various aspects of this important subject. Mr. Sheldon concludes that the rise of the merchants was possible because of the "dead hand of bureaucratic lethargy" and the avoidance by the samurai class of commercial activities as both degrading and overly complex. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century the merchants had made remarkable strides: they controlled commerce through officially sanctioned monopoly guilds and trade associations (well analyzed in the third chapter) and their vigor was reflected in the culture of the times. Yet economic monopoly power, the author makes clear, never gave independent political power to the city merchants. Lack of political authority, the exclusion policy that prevented foreign trade, and the existence of provincial economies (illustrated in the fascinating account of the enterprise of the country merchant Zeniya Gohei) impeded their influence and independence. Chapter vi includes an excellent survey of the three major reforms undertaken by the feudal regime to restrict the gains of the merchants and revive the land-based feudal economy. The last of these efforts (1841-1843) to limit "city influences" was the least successful and led almost inevitably to the collapse of the old order. The importance of this work is that it affords the most detailed analysis available of a phenomenon that contributed both to the destruction of feudalism and to the shaping of the new economy following the political shifts of 1868.

Northwestern University

ROGER F. HACKETT

THE MAKING OF THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION: THE OLIGARCHS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN, 1868-1891. By George M. Beckmann. Foreword by Harold S. Quigley. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1957. Pp. 158. \$3.00.) This work is a carefully and compactly written account of the main political events that lay behind the promulgation of Japan's first modern constitution. Based largely on the works of the great Japanese constitutional historians of the last generation, Osatake Takeki and Suzuki Yasuzō, it presents less of a departure or amplification of the traditional narrative than a restatement in precise terms of the story of the men, ideas, and issues behind the framing of the constitution. Beckmann begins with an interpretation of the Meiji "revolution" as being the work of a "modernization party" among the lower class *han* bureaucrats. He follows these leaders through the events of 1868, into the period of the "abolition of feudalism," their consolidation into an "oligarchy," and their final struggle over the document that was promulgated in 1889. He brings to this story a conciseness and clarity of presentation that is at once admirable and frustrating in its brevity. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Beckmann's monograph is the information he provides on the role of German legal consultants such as Mosse and Roessler in the drafting of the constitution. A valuable addition to the main text is the series of appendixes which contain translations of early draft constitutions by Kido Kōin and Genrōin, and the written opinions on constitutional government by Ōkubo, Yamagata, Itō, Ōkuma, and Iwakura. These documents afford an intimate glimpse into the thoughts of the Meiji leaders as they approached the constitutional issue. In his concluding chapter Beckmann analyzes the effect of the constitution on Japanese politics. His view that it represented "a compromise embodying a feudal-based authoritarian political philosophy and the democratic movement's demand for representative government," while undoubtedly true enough, is a conclusion that appears more from an internal analysis of the constitution as a document than from the story

of how the oligarchs had written it. It is at this point that one wishes for a fuller documentation and a deeper penetration into the actual thoughts and motivations of the leaders, glimpses of which are provided in the translated documents.

University of Michigan

JOHN W. HALL

SIAM UNDER RAMA III, 1824-1851. By *Walter F. Vella*. [Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, Number 4.] (Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin Incorporated Publisher for the Association, 1957. Pp. ix, 180. \$5.00.) This book is a well-documented, detailed, and readable history of the reign of Rama III, 1824-1851, a transitional period from "Old Siam" to "New Siam." The author is a young specialist in this field, trained at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand* (1955). He has no other purpose than a general analysis that is limited to a short period of time and that treats topically many facets of Thai history. Using Siamese and English sources, Dr. Vella describes the semidivine power of the king; court politics, intrigues, and administrative procedures; the self-sufficient economy; indifferent or hostile attitudes toward neighboring states; the limited contact with the Western world; and developments in religion, art, and literature. Siam was engaged in a kind of imperialism in this area, for she made Laos, Malaya, and Cambodia her vassal states and demanded tributes from them as China did from her. Unlike her neighbors, Siam responded to the Western impact promptly and intelligently in order to preserve her freedom. Under Rama III the traditional ways of life were firmly kept, while at the same time transformation had already begun. The old and new have always been blending in Siam. Thus this book is not limited in its usefulness to the first half of the nineteenth century, but is applicable to Thai history in general. "Important Events in the History of Siam" are given in the appendix. No book is perfect. The exposition of the relationship between Siam and China is very brief and weak. The bibliography of Siamese material might be given better in essay form with more evaluation of the sources in order to help those who do not know the language. The maps are poorly sketched, and the second map, listed as facing page seventy-eight, is not there at all. On the whole, however, this is a fine piece of work.

Indiana University

S. Y. TENG

MY BURMA: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PRESIDENT. By *U Ba U*. With a foreword by *J. S. Furnivall*. (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. xi, 206. \$4.50.) President U Ba U's memoirs reflect in authentic fashion the conservative, parochial, apolitical viewpoint characteristic of the top group of Burmans serving the British colonial regime. The author's ancestors held executive office under the Burmese kings. His grandfather became a township officer and his father a deputy commissioner under British rule. Thus Ba U was afforded opportunity for a Cambridge University education in law. He rose to the highest level of Burma's legal profession. His elevation to the presidency was a tribute to his recognized competence and integrity. His life narrative is interesting but not entirely satisfying. His English idiom is typically Burmese, as are his personal sensitivity to real or imagined slights and his susceptibility to premonitions and magical omens. His prewar professional career reflected the atmosphere of personal jealousies and recriminations prevailing within the civil service. He was little concerned with larger issues of political and social reform. Only his account of the Japanese conquest comes to life. He accords generous recognition to British colleagues, but his labored efforts to affirm his own nationalist spirit while enjoying all the advantages of British service are unconvincing. Also disappointing is his failure to appraise important Burmese political personalities of his acquaintance. Habits of political

caution established in British times still persist. U Ba U's book is useful, but he could have written a better one.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

UNITED STATES

HISTOIRE DE LA RACE NOIRE AUX ÉTATS-UNIS DU XVII^e SIÈCLE À NOS JOURS. By *Franck L. Schoell*. [Bibliothèque Historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1959. Pp. 248. 1,200 fr.) Few contemporary Frenchmen—or other foreigners—have written about the Negro in the United States. André Siegfried, in his *Les États-Unis d'aujourd'hui* (1927), stated that the Negro problem "is an abyss which one could view only with alarm." Daniel Guérin's *Où va le peuple américain?* (II, 1951), took an equally dim view and concluded that a new terrible civil war could hardly be averted except through the union of black and white workers against the "capitalistic Colossus." Simone de Beauvoir, in her *America Day by Day* (1953), was distressed by the apathy of white students in some famous northern institutions of higher learning and by the mutual hatred of Negroes and whites in the South. Schoell is the author of *La question des noirs aux États-Unis* (1923) and *U.S.A., du côté des blancs et du côté des Noirs* (1927). In this *Histoire* he relied heavily also upon the writings of Negro Americans and of Eli Ginzberg, Melville J. Herskovits, Gunnar Myrdal, and Robert Penn Warren. The author devotes some fifty pages to "L'Esclavage (1619–1862)," one hundred to "Émancipation mais ségrégation (1863–1954)," and seventy to "Depuis 1954." Informed American readers will find a familiar story in all three parts. The book has, however, two values. First, it is one of the most balanced foreign-language analyses of the Negro in the United States. Second, it reveals the changes in the author's thinking on the subject. He had little reason to be optimistic in 1923 or 1927. But after a careful analysis of the forces working toward and against equality of treatment of the Negro, he concludes on a note of "sober optimism." In view of the bitter diatribes of some foreign writers and of the struggle by Negroes in other parts of the world for equality, this is a most timely book.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

RHODE ISLAND POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1760–1776. By *David S. Lovejoy*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1958. Pp. 256. \$4.50.) During the past few years there has been a growing body of literature expounding the thesis that the American Revolution involved little, if any, class conflict, and that the issue was mainly "home rule," not "who should rule at home." Professor Lovejoy has added an important work to this literature. He shows that a large percentage of the adult men could vote and that representation, if not completely equitable, was not a factor in the Revolution. He points also to the fact that Rhode Island did not change its government for many years after the Revolution as another indication of absence of internal class conflict. In addition, Lovejoy effectively uses the approach of Sir Lewis Namier in an effort to explain Rhode Island politics before the Revolution in terms of factionalism. Instead of upper classes against lower classes or conservatives against radicals, the struggles in Rhode Island were struggles between equals, "between people who already enjoyed the right to vote and who fought to control the government for their own ends." Loose political factions, held together by local rather than imperial issues and centered around Samuel Ward of Westerly and Newport and Stephen Hopkins of Providence, dominated the scene. British imperial policies after 1763 encroached upon Rhode Island's factionalism, threatening a system that was

profitable to those in control. When Rhode Islanders joined the Revolution, they did so "on the broad grounds of constitutional right to keep Rhode Island safe for liberty and property—and the benefit of party politics." All this is fine as far as it goes, but it leaves the reader with some questions. For one thing, the author deals almost exclusively at the level of the leading politicians themselves, and it is easy to see at this level why politicians want to win elections for personal and factional benefits. But what about the people who elected these politicians to office? Was their opposition to British measures based mainly on "local issues and personal and community advantages from government"? Lovejoy's evidence would seem to indicate that principles as well as local and personal interests were at stake—that trial by jury, taxation by representation, and freedom from imperialism were more fundamental than the mere expectation of personal gain from factional control of politics.

Michigan State University

ROBERT E. BROWN

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN GEORGIA, 1763-1789. By *Kenneth Coleman*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 352. \$5.50.) "By 1763 Georgia had outgrown her idealistically impractical infancy and was enjoying a hardy adolescence." Throughout the period covered, the frontier played a major role "with its warlike Indians, good lands, and . . . optimism." Growth continued even during the war years. Alone, Georgia, a frontier colony almost in the shadow of British East Florida, probably would not have revolted. In the showdown, however, she went along with the other colonies to the northward. Like them, she suffered British occupation and was the scene of military disasters for the American cause. The Revolution brought great changes, as in the other states, not only in the political sphere (which has received attention from previous writers) but also in economic and social areas. These the author discusses more fully than anyone else has done. At the end of the War Georgia was not beset by strong east-west sectional conflicts to nearly such a degree as were many of the other states. Her people worked together to launch a system of public schools, to found a state university, and to take other progressive steps. Georgia was the fourth state to ratify the United States Constitution, the last day of 1787, and one of three to take this action unanimously. This is the first thorough, detailed, well-balanced history of Georgia during the revolutionary period. It is based upon careful research in available archives, manuscripts, and printed materials; it is readable, sound, and well proportioned; and it handles the subject in broad perspective. The writer set out to perform a major task, and he has done it very well indeed, making a valuable contribution to historical writing on the Revolution.

North Carolina Department of Archives and History

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

THE SPIRIT OF 'SEVENTY-SIX: THE STORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS TOLD BY PARTICIPANTS. Volume I and II. Edited by *Henry Steele Commager* and *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1958. Pp. xxxi, 662; xviii, 663-1348. \$15.00 the set.) This work is an anthology of contemporary writings concerning the Revolution rather than a collection of documents prepared for the use of the researcher. The bulk of the selections is derived from printed sources, which the researcher will use in preference to the versions offered in these very attractive volumes. As an anthology for the "general reader" and for the student, *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six* is splendid and unique, offering a generous, colorful, and varied collection of writings about the Revolution from the Boston Tea Party to the close of the War of Independence. Included are British and American official papers, private letters, portions of diaries and journals, orations, essays, and verse. There is no anthology of

similar scope and richness for the tumultuous years from 1773 to 1783. A few of the pieces in the two volumes, extracts from journals and memoirs, may have seduced the judgment of the editors, since those pieces interest rather than enlighten. The introduction and explanatory comments are, as might be expected, excellent. The customary and almost inevitable minor slips are in the quantity usually found in the work of veteran and distinguished historians. Thus Joseph Galloway joined the British, not when they occupied Philadelphia, but many months earlier; and there is still no reliable evidence that the British expedition to Concord had as an objective the persons of John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The maps are clear and suitable, and the illustrations are pleasing, plentiful, and sometimes very amusing. The engraving of General Charles Lee bears no resemblance to Lee. This collection does not contain papers concerning the Articles of Confederation or the problem of western lands. The editors promise to offer these in a second collection. May they be able to do so.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

JEAN LEFEBVRE DE CHEVERUS, 1768-1836. By *Annabelle M. Melville*. (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce Publishing Company. 1958. Pp. xiv, 527. \$9.00.) On October 3, 1796, Jean de Cheverus stepped ashore in Boston, an exiled French priest, a refugee in a foreign and none-too-friendly land. On September 26, 1823, he left Boston for the last time, bound for France and great distinction in his native country, yet leaving America with the utmost reluctance, requested by Catholic and Protestant alike, by high and low, to stay. The refugee French priest had risen to become the first Catholic bishop of Boston, and had made such a mark and had so endeared himself that his going was regarded as a loss to the whole community. Up to the present time the influence of Bishop Cheverus and the man himself have remained almost wholly unknown to students of American history. Now, with the aid of hitherto unused correspondence, of diocesan and other Catholic records, and of French archival resources, Dr. Melville has given us a warmly drawn biography that will replace the previous one, today long out of date, and which for the first time puts Bishop Cheverus suitably in the American scene. We have to point out, however, that the general American setting is not so well sketched as is the French background. Cheverus as a French priest, faced with all the difficult decisions forced upon him by the rapidly succeeding crises of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic regime, and the Restoration, is a fascinating human study—and, incidentally, a very modern one. His position in America would have been clearer, a better balance would have been achieved, and his stature would have been greater had the American scene not been taken so much for granted. Yet, whatever its lack in this respect, and in spite of occasional lapses into turgid style, this book is a fine piece of scholarship and a notable contribution to American church history, a field that still needs much more ploughing.

University of Toronto

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

ALBERT GALLATIN: FISCAL THEORIES AND POLICIES. By *Alexander Balinky*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 275. \$7.50.) Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, has been lucky in the historians who have written about him. A "sound money" man who disapproved of debt, public or private, he was also a Jeffersonian friend of the people, an enemy of privilege and aristocracy, and so he has been looked on with favor by liberals and conservatives alike in the twentieth century. Alexander Balinky, an economic historian, is almost the first to question this virtually unanimous opinion. In a study confined "to an examination and evaluation of Gallatin's fiscal theories and

policies," Balinky comes to the conclusion that Gallatin "subordinated fiscal considerations and principles to the political and economic (though non-fiscal) objectives of his party," and as a result "nearly caused the complete financial ruin of the general government." He sustains this conclusion by a detailed analysis of Gallatin's administration of the Treasury Department in which he demonstrates that the financial success of the Republican administration between 1801 and 1808 was not attributable to "the logic or soundness" of its fiscal scheme but happened as a result of "external conditions." When these external conditions changed in 1808, the administration suffered serious financial difficulties "from which Gallatin's fiscal system was unable to rescue it or the nation." The author also contends that the economic and political objectives of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin did not coincide "with the real needs of the American economy at that point in its development," and expresses serious doubts as to the wisdom of political leaders who think in terms primarily of "a reduction in government spending; a decrease in the size of the public debt; the alleviation of the tax burden; and a balanced budget," rather than in terms of the "economic and political necessities confronting the nation." If more studies like this one continue to be published, those American historians who are New Dealers in the twentieth century may come to realize that there is something to be said for Hamilton and the other Federalists, Republicans, and Whigs who disagreed with Jefferson, Gallatin, Jackson, and Van Buren in the first four decades of the nineteenth century.

New York City

THOMAS P. GOVAN

SCHOOLCRAFT'S EXPEDITION TO LAKE ITASCA: THE DISCOVERY OF THE SOURCE OF THE MISSISSIPPI. Edited by *Philip P. Mason*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958. Pp. xxvi, 390. \$7.50.) To describe Henry Rowe Schoolcraft as "one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century" is to exaggerate considerably, but he was a man of much curiosity and as an explorer and an earnest student of the Indian he was important. In reprinting his account of the discovery of the source of the Mississippi, Philip Mason has done a useful service, for it helps to focus on Schoolcraft the attention he merits and makes readily available a narrative with many facets of interest. This slender account Mason has intelligently extended by including pertinent papers of Schoolcraft and reports and letters of his associates, Lieutenant James Allen, Dr. Douglas Houghton, and the Reverend Mr. William T. Boutwell, so that the full set of documents presented gives us a thorough report not merely on topography and official relations with the Indians but also on matters of scientific concern and on ethnography. Much of this material is published in full for the first time. The editor's introduction carefully places Schoolcraft's narrative in proper historical setting and points out the accomplishments of the expedition. Adequate notes, a bibliography, an index, and map end papers round out the usefulness of this volume.

Washington University

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

THE BLACKFEET: RAIDERS ON THE NORTHWESTERN PLAINS. By *John C. Ewers*. [Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 49.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xviii, 348. \$5.75.) The most powerful Indians on the Northern Plains, the three tribes known collectively as the Blackfeet, terrorized their Indian neighbors, pushed their way deep into lands south of the forty-ninth parallel, and successfully resisted Anglo-American intrusion until late in the nineteenth century. This volume, forty-ninth in the University of Oklahoma's Civilization of the American Indian Series and one of the best, analyzes Blackfoot society before the arrival of white traders, missionaries, and soldiers; demonstrates the reasons for Blackfoot strength; and relates the disintegration and virtual collapse of Blackfoot culture under the impact of

the frontier version of Western civilization. As an anthropological analysis of Blackfoot social organization, material culture, artistic activity, religious beliefs, and family life, this is a readable and valuable study. Trained by Clark Wissler and possessed of extensive firsthand knowledge of the Blackfeet gained as curator of the Museum of Plains Indians in Montana, Mr. Ewers adds greatly to our understanding of the Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot tribes during prehistoric times. Chapters become sketchy and less useful, however, after the advent of Lewis and Clark. While the author recognizes that the international boundary was only a line on a map for many years, and hardly that to nomadic Indians, he has made little use of the rich records on Indian affairs in the Public Archives of Canada. Perhaps the later chapters would have come off better had he also carefully consulted several important recent articles and books on the Canadian-American West, including those cited in the bibliography.

Hiram College

PAUL F. SHARP

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXIII, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1824-1828. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. [National Archives Publication Number 59-2.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1958. Pp. v, 1191. \$6.50.) This, the second volume of the *Territorial Papers* of Florida, maintains the same high standard of selection, documentation, cross reference, and indexing as the earlier volume. The topics that receive most space are Indians, land disposal, and internal improvements. There is also a record of an amazing amount of personal and factional quarreling. And the correspondence reveals what must have been extremely baffling problems of administering an undeveloped province at such distance with not much more than primitive means of communication. The Seminole Indians posed the problems of greatest concern to the officials and inhabitants of the territory. In 1823 at Moultrie Creek they agreed to move to a reservation in the central part of the peninsula, but they went reluctantly and neither they nor their white neighbors were satisfied with the settlement. Before the move was completed the whites were demanding their removal west of the Mississippi. Land disposal was fraught with difficulty. Private claims had to be established before public lands could be surveyed and sold. Hundreds of claims had to be investigated after the Spanish records were recorded and translated. Meanwhile, settlers were moving in and demanding preemption rights, which the Congress granted in 1826. But these titles also were long in doubt. Two hundred miles of almost trackless wilderness separated the newly located territorial capital at Tallahassee from St. Augustine, the nearest town to the east, and from Pensacola to the west. The journey by water around the lower peninsula was hazardous and time consuming. The demand for cross-territory transportation for passengers, freight, and mail, and to open up the interior to settlers grew steadily. Congress soon authorized a "highway" connecting the three principal centers of population, and it was laid out and made usable, at least in good weather. In 1826 the first survey for a canal across the peninsula, still a much-debated project, was authorized. A comprehensive system of roads was projected down the east coast to Cape Florida, and on the west coast to Cape Sable. The experience in laying out these roads revealed the degree of ignorance of the lower peninsula. Surveyors stopped the southward march on the east coast of St. Lucie Inlet, and on the west coast at Charlotte Harbor, and wrote off the lower peninsula as completely useless. Nor has the road ever come anywhere near Cape Sable, now included in the Everglades National Park. Students of Florida history look forward with great interest to the continuation of this series of the *Territorial Papers*, which fills in so much of the story of the early American period.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

NEGRO SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS. By *Orville W. Taylor*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 282. \$6.00.) The institution of slavery in Arkansas was rapidly approaching the status of slavery in Mississippi when the Civil War came. Although only 17.5 per cent of the people of the state at that time belonged to slaveholding families, there was a tremendous rate of expansion of the peculiar institution in the last decade of the ante bellum period. The increase of 135 per cent was surpassed only by Texas with a ratio of 213 per cent. Professor Taylor's study makes it clear that slavery in Arkansas represented an intermediate stage of development between the Virginia type and the Mississippi type. Indeed, one of the virtues of this well-balanced, objective study is the frequent comparison of the institution in Arkansas with conditions in other states. The laws in Arkansas, for example, were not as harsh as in the states of the lower South until the very end of the period. There was no law prohibiting the teaching of slaves to read and write. The author advances an interesting theory explaining the much smaller percentage of mulattoes in the states of the lower South than in the upper South, namely, that the blacker slaves sold more easily than the light-colored ones and therefore the slave importing states bought the blacker slaves. Taylor also argues strongly for the recent view that slavery in the South was a profitable institution. His study is soundly based on the sources and covers the salient features of slavery in Arkansas, including historical development, sale and prices, hiring, life in the quarters, health, the slave code, work and discipline, and emancipation.

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

TIDE WITHOUT TURNING: ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. By *John Gill*. (Boston: Starr King Press. [1958.] Pp. ix, 256. \$4.50.) Maine-born Elijah Lovejoy, who went west, became an able Presbyterian minister, then turned into an antislavery editor, was shot down by a drunken mob in Alton, Illinois, in 1837 while defending his printing press from seizure. The event intensified the growing excitement over slavery and made Lovejoy a martyr. In spite of the considerable literature relating to the story that subsequently appeared, Mr. Gill's account is the first full-length biographical work on Lovejoy to be published. The Kentucky-born author lived as minister for a time in Alton, where his curiosity led to research that resulted in a doctoral dissertation and this book. He has discovered valuable new manuscript material and used other sources that were little known. The product is a vivid story in which Lovejoy's life and character are sharply etched. The various views about Lovejoy are examined and their origins explained. Other persons in the drama, such as Doctors Beal and Hope, Judge Lawless, and Attorney-General Linder, are clearly characterized. The manner of presentation is somewhat confusing. It is not entirely straightforward reporting, but contains descriptions of the environment done in a poetic style presumably to heighten the dramatic quality of his story. The author sometimes loses the reader by failing to maintain clear sequences. But his artistry merits respect and the reading is interesting. The book is amply documented. Gill shows sympathy for his subject, but he is fair to those who berated Lovejoy. Never dogmatic in his interpretations, he provides material for argument. If Lovejoy was a martyr, to what cause? Abolitionism, freedom of the press, or something else? Was the current saying that Lovejoy had only himself to blame justified? It appears that the responsible authorities in the free city of Alton were primarily concerned with the belief that abolitionists were bad for business. Was freedom of the press involved as much as the freedom to speak, or rather to propagate unpopular ideas? Lovejoy assumed that the legal right to print what he pleased was sufficient justification for doing so.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

J. D. B. DE BOW: MAGAZINIST OF THE OLD SOUTH. By *Ottis Clark Skipper*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1958. Pp. x, 269. \$5.00.) Almost forgotten today, James Dunwoody Brownson De Bow was an important figure in mid-nineteenth-century United States. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, of a New Jersey father, he played a significant role in the life of the Old South and the coming of the Civil War. He pioneered in the teaching of political economy and won international recognition as a statistician and as director of the census of 1850. Through his *Commercial Review of the South and West* (better known as *De Bow's Review*) he advocated agricultural reform, the development of commerce, internal improvements and manufactures, and the establishment of public schools and other cultural institutions. His writings influenced economic, social, and political thought in the South. He himself began as a nationalist but soon became an ardent champion of sectional interests—slavery, secession, and political independence of the South. During the Civil War De Bow organized and supervised, with some success, the Confederate Produce Loan Agency. When defeat came De Bow unrealistically expected the North to ignore secession and war and to welcome back the seceded states. Likewise he expected the North to leave control of the freedmen to the southern whites. Attempting to rebuild his economic fortune, De Bow revived the *Review* and plunged into railroad enterprises, neither of which was successful. The story of such a man's career needs to be told. Professor Skipper has attempted to combine a biographical study of De Bow and a history of *De Bow's Review*. The result is a disappointing one. Neither stands out clearly: the one is lost in a mass of detail about the magazine, and the other is broken by excursions far afield. The reader fails to get a clear, vivid picture of the man De Bow. The work is poorly organized and the material ill digested. The reader will wish for much more explanation, generalization, and interpretation of the factual data given. The author has failed to utilize manuscript materials known to exist in several depositories and has not made adequate use of recent monographic materials. He has made a good beginning, but the definitive biography of De Bow and history of his *Review* is yet to be written.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

GRAY GHOSTS OF THE CONFEDERACY: GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE WEST, 1861-1865. By *Richard S. Brownlee*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xi, 274. \$4.95.) The reviewer is uncertain whether the Confederacy's Gray Ghosts west of the Mississippi are presented in dramatically historical or historically dramatic attire. Whatever the verdict, Mr. Brownlee's parade of Missouri guerrillas in partisan warfare exhibits dignified historical scholarship. With past-minded intent he seems to ride with Quantrill, Bob Anderson, or Joe Porter on their forays, only to dismount immediately for a critical appraisal of their escapades. He finds no inevitability in their activities. They were, he says, "men of free will," and he assigns "personal responsibility" to each one. Their exploits were not confined to Missouri and Kansas, and Brownlee follows the "irregular" Confederates into Arkansas and Texas, where they soon became as unwelcome as they were on the border they temporarily abandoned. Kansas jayhawkers also cross the stage, whether in retaliatory raids or in inciting Missourians to retaliation. Spaced at appropriate intervals in the narrative are accounts of Union and Confederate policy and the effect of martial law. For the uninitiated reader, a fuller view of the border war from 1854 to secession would have been appropriate; the few pages devoted to that prelude suggest the "inevitable" nature of partisanship in the years from 1861 to 1865.

University of Oregon

WENDELL H. STEPHENSON

Other Recent Publications

HOWELL COBB'S CONFEDERATE CAREER. By *Horace Montgomery*. [Confederate Centennial Studies, Number 10.] (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Confederate Publishing Company, 1959. Pp. 144. \$4.00.) Written close to the sources, this little monograph deals in part with Howell Cobb as a leader in Georgia politics and as president of the Confederate Provisional Congress, but it is principally concerned with what befell him after he organized and became colonel of the Sixteenth Georgia Regiment. Rising eventually to major general, Cobb saw relatively unimportant combat service in the Peninsular Campaign and the Maryland invasion of 1862, and then became, successively, commander of middle Florida, of the Georgia Guard, and of the Georgia Reserve Force. Here is useful light on "a far from ordinary man," and on administrative conflict within the wartime Confederacy.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

RED RIVER CAMPAIGN: POLITICS AND COTTON IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Ludwell H. Johnson*. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. 317. \$5.00.) The Red River campaign of March 12-May 20, 1864, has for long been one of the more mysterious episodes of the Civil War. In the first book-length study of it, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University, Professor Johnson has largely dispelled the mystery hovering about the story of the Banks-Porter expedition into northwestern Louisiana. In particular, this book gives perhaps the first adequate explanation of the complex origins of the campaign and of the extent to which cotton-doggling affected its operation. Johnson's informative treatment of this latter subject highlights the need for a comprehensive investigation of how cotton figured in the military operations of the war as a whole. This book portrays the Federal army commander Major General Nathaniel P. Banks as both honest and courageous, but completely unfitted for the responsibilities of command because of his lack of military training. A system that all too often subordinated qualified professional soldiers to militarily naïve "political generals" was, as the author makes clear, rooted in the political necessities of the Lincoln administration. Johnson is quite as critical of the naval commander Admiral Porter, "whose taste for prize money seldom allowed him to overlook a bale of cotton" and who owed his escape from the trap into which he had permitted his Mississippi squadron to be led mainly to efforts not his own. Although in terms of losses other than materiel the Red River campaign hardly compared with the major campaigns of the war, it is the author's opinion that failure here prolonged the war by at least two months. Even so, as he further points out, the capture of Banks's entire army could hardly have changed the war's outcome. As for the South, the depredations inflicted by the retreating Federals and the bitter quarrel that ensued between the two principal Confederate commanders counterbalanced whatever advantage was derived from the collapse of Banks's great expectations.

Chatham College

J. CUTLER ANDREWS

THIRD PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Howard P. Nash, Jr.* Introduction by *William B. Hesseltine*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, c. 1959. Pp. ix, 326. \$6.00.) This is a curiously disproportional book. In journalistic style it sketches the history of third parties that have nominated candidates for the presidency. Six of its eleven chapters are confined to the Republican party—its rise, its Civil War trials, and the later revolts of Liberals, Mugwumps, and Progressives. The reader therefore receives the startling impression that the GOP has been the most ubiquitous third party in American history. The bibliography ignores most of the standard works in its field. The only recent items cited are three volumes issued by the same publisher. Reproductions

of over a hundred political cartoons give the work some value and interest. But, as Professor Hesseltine points out in what seems to this reviewer an understatement, the "book is by no means definitive."

American University

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

GEORGE PERKINS MARSH: VERSATILE VERMONTER. By *David Lowenthal*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 442. \$6.50.) Some fifty years ago Baedeker's *United States* found in Woodstock, Vermont, only the birthplace of Hiram Powers, the sculptor, and "Geo. P. Marsh (1801-1882), the diplomatist and Norse scholar." But in this country Marsh had almost been forgotten and no biography of him had been written, except for a eulogy by his wife, until this one by Mr. Lowenthal filled the gap most adequately and interestingly. Diplomatist he was—minister to Turkey, 1849-1853, to Italy, 1861-1882, the longest tour of duty held by any American head of a mission. In both countries he did well, and his reports on Kossuth, on Garibaldi, and on the struggles of the new Italian state are of real interest. Norse scholar he was, too, with the first Icelandic grammar in English, and a large collection of Scandinavian literature now at the University of Vermont. But he was much more than that. He read the encyclopedia at the age of five, and never stopped learning. A lawyer and manufacturer, a member of Congress for six years, his interests were more scholarly, and his chief service in Washington was in helping create the Smithsonian Institution. Far ahead of his time, he urged the writing of social history; less admirably, he fostered a Puritan, Gothic myth. Generally conservative, he spoke for public regulation and even ownership of railroads as Vermont Railroad Commissioner in the 1850's, and again led the way in applying these ideas to the water supplies of the West. He started the Vermont marble industry, broke the path for conservation as Vermont fish commissioner, designed the statehouse, and was responsible for the form of the Washington monument. He wrote the first treatise on the relation between man and natural resources, *Man and Nature* (1864), and this book is perhaps his greatest accomplishment, as the chapter about it is the most significant in Lowenthal's volume. Indeed, Marsh did so much, and led the way in so many fields, that too much had to be treated very briefly. There is more detail on the Italian years in *Italo-American Diplomatic Relations, 1861-1882: The Mission of George Perkins Marsh* (Washington, D. C., 1958), by Sister Mary Philip Trauth, who does not always agree with Lowenthal. No New Hampshire reviewer can wholly accept a book about a Vermonter, especially one by a New Yorker who at times shows that he is not quite at home, particularly when he has Franklin Pierce born across the Connecticut River. In summary, Marsh comes out an interesting, not wholly likable character, biased, violently anti-Catholic, racist, widely if not deeply learned, not on Bancroft's level of scholar-diplomat, but one of the original minds of the century.

Dartmouth College

HERBERT HILL

THE OIL CENTURY: FROM THE DRAKE WELL TO THE CONSERVATION ERA. By *J. Stanley Clark*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xxii, 280. \$3.95.) The publication of *The Oil Century* is a welcome addition to the growing list of scholarly books written on the petroleum industry. A reader interested in a general account of the industry's history during its first hundred years will find this volume very rewarding. The first half of the book is largely devoted to the historical development of the petroleum industry—the existence and use of oil prior to 1859, the main events leading to the drilling of the Drake Well, the exciting events along Oil Creek and the surrounding territory, transportation methods, speculation in oil, the rule of

capture and its effect, the growth of monopoly, the tremendous expansion of the industry after 1900 due to the invention of the internal combustion engine, the advent of the automobile, the use of oil for a variety of purposes in peace and war, and the opening of new oil fields in the West and particularly the Southwest. Numerous quotations from contemporary sources enrich the narrative. The last half of the book relates to the enormous waste in drilling for oil and gas, the emergence of state and federal conservation laws and regulations, new technological advances in finding, producing, and transporting oil, and the problem of oil imports versus domestic production. The book is attractively printed. It is well documented, has a bibliography and index, and contains many photographs.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

LUCRETIA MOTT. By *Otelia Cromwell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958. Pp. x, 241. \$5.75.) Lucretia Coffin Mott was born on the island of Nantucket into a seafaring family long associated with the Society of Friends. Both of these circumstances exerted a lifelong influence upon her. Her mother, the wife of a whaler absent from home for long intervals, managed the home and family affairs and kept a small store as well. Lucretia attributed her interest in and views on women's rights to her Nantucket heritage. "I grew up so thoroughly imbued with women's rights," she stated, "that it was the most important question of my life from a very early day." The traditional humanitarianism of the Friends together with her marriage at the age of eighteen to a fellow Quaker furnished much of the inspiration for a lifetime of devotion to the crusade for social justice. If antislavery and women's rights had first claim on the services of this redoubtable woman, temperance, the peace movement, and a host of personal philanthropic enterprises had their place as well. Behind these and closely related to the reforming spirit was her long connection with the Friends as devoted member of the various Quaker meetings with which she affiliated, zealous disciple of the Books of Discipline, and highly respected and eloquent minister. In the controversy that split the Friends in and around Philadelphia during the 1820's into two groups, the Orthodox and the Hicksites, James and Lucretia Mott were among the disciples of Elias Hicks, the leader of the liberal wing. This was an affiliation that helped to establish for Lucretia a sympathetic rapport with the Unitarians among her fellow reformers. The record of Lucretia Mott's long life—she died at the age of eighty-seven, active almost until the end—is a veritable history of the social ferment of the mid-nineteenth century. Otelia Cromwell has made extensive use of the source materials associated with every aspect of her subject's life, including correspondence, diaries, records of the Society of Friends, and proceedings of reform societies. She has achieved a vital portrayal of an able and lovable woman and a perceptive account of the individuals with whom she was associated and the movements she served so indefatigably. Nor does the author overlook the delightful home life of the Motts. Not the least of Lucretia's contributions to the woman's cause was the distinction with which she combined home-making and public affairs. Especially to be commended is the skillful use of quotations—mainly from Lucretia Mott herself but also from some of her coworkers—in such a way as to give full effect to the personal note without lengthy or cumbersome quotations. The least effective part of the biography is the treatment of Mrs. Mott's religious views and activities. For example, the doctrinal significance of the Hicksite controversy is not clear. In every other respect Miss Cromwell has made a distinguished contribution to biography and to the literature of social reform.

Hunter College

MADELEINE HOOK RICE

SUSAN B. ANTHONY: REBEL, CRUSAIDER, HUMANITARIAN. By *Alma Lutz*. (Boston: Beacon Press. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 340. \$5.75.) Whether one leans toward the view of Simone de Beauvoir or that of Mary R. Beard regarding the lot of the female in the course of history, a study of Susan B. Anthony's record will bring conviction that in nineteenth-century America woman's position left much to be desired, and that this militant feminist fought harder than any other single person in that century to improve it. Susan learned early to think in nonconformist terms from her Quaker background and her abolitionist father. Both teaching and the marriage proposals that came her way proved uninspiring, but she found outlet for her emotions and her tremendous energies in crusades for reform. From battles for temperance and the Negro she moved to a lifelong campaign to raise the status of her own sex. By the 1890's, according to Miss Lutz, "in the mind of the public she personified woman suffrage." Certainly this idealist who bargained so brilliantly with the leaders of her generation deserves a fitting niche in the history of her period. That she has not received it is partly her own responsibility. When Ida H. Harper's two-volume biography was completed under Susan's direction, most of her diaries and letters were destroyed. Later, Katherine Anthony (no family connection) found herself uncomfortably dependent upon the scarcely impartial Harper account when she undertook a biography. Yet, after scouring manuscript collections, she produced in 1954 a remarkably objective work (see review in *AHR*, LX [Apr., 1955], 690), although its lack of footnotes is maddening. Susan emerges with more flesh and blood from her pages than from those of Miss Lutz. The latter has produced a smooth, workmanlike job, but it fails to penetrate the surface record of events. The study gives an appearance of good scholarship; the bibliography lists an imposing number of manuscript collections and a fair number of newspapers. Also, Miss Lutz has included backnotes. But these citations only reveal that her presentation stems directly from the Harper biography and the *History of Woman Suffrage* edited by Susan, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Matilda J. Gage. Newspaper quotations add spice to the text, but most of them come from Susan's scrapbooks, her newspaper *The Revolution*, or the Harper biography. Miss Lutz is sometimes uncritical in her assumption that generalizations on press reaction can be made from scrapbook clippings. Finally, she attempts no real evaluation of her subject's work against the background of the changing political, economic, and social scene. This slim volume is not the definitive biography of Susan B. Anthony.

Washington, D. C.

MARY R. DEARING

THE SEVEN WORLDS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By *Edward Wagenknecht*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1958. Pp. xvii, 325. \$6.50.) Within two years the nation celebrated centennial birthdays of two of its greatest Presidents: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt. It is curious that Wilson's centenary, 1956, called forth a large number of very critical and analytical evaluations, whereas Roosevelt's celebration, 1958, was the occasion for the writing of appreciative volumes. With several notable exceptions, the Wilson evaluations were fresh and critical, the Roosevelt material admiring. It may be that an age accustomed to tragedy and irony finds Wilson a more suitable figure for concern than the bombastic, rarely subtle Roosevelt. Roosevelt may be much too hearty and old-fashioned to speak to this generation. Edward Wagenknecht's volume portrays the many-sided Roosevelt, in all his glory, in the contexts of the several worlds he inhabited and dominated: the worlds of action, thought, human relations, family, spiritual values (aptly, the slimmest of the chapters), public affairs, war, and peace. It offers a spritely, descriptive summary of the attitudes and actions of a remarkable man. The author has labored diligently in the

vast Roosevelt material, as the extensive though unannotated bibliography suggests. For the nonprofessional reader the book is delightful. Professional students of the American past, however, will find it of little use. Some of them will, undoubtedly, be irritated by the use of evident (if sometimes unintended) hyperbole. Thus, for example, we are told that "It is impossible that there can ever have been a cleaner-living man than Theodore Roosevelt." On another occasion, TR's extravagant concern for others is compared with "Him who thought it no degradation to wash his disciples' feet." On the other hand, the author expresses dismay in explaining "how a man who loved animals as much as Roosevelt did could still *enjoy killing them.*" This is an altogether bully book, lively, earnest, exuberant. Packed with anecdote, it captures well the enthusiasms, passions, and prejudices of its subject. It is not unmindful of the moral dimensions of TR's career. Many readers will be pleased with the appropriateness of the book for the occasion.

University of Minnesota

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURERS: THE FIRST FORTY YEARS. By *John B. Rae*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Company. c. 1959. Pp. xii, 223. \$6.00.) The rather prosaic title of this volume belies the factual and fascinating story about the famous and not so famous personalities who founded and developed the automobile industry in the United States. The author gives credit where it is due and makes no pretense of denying the fact that most of the early development of the gasoline-powered vehicle was performed in Europe. The author takes the reader from the beginnings of the horseless carriage in this country before the turn of the century through forty years of technological and corporate adventures to the period just before World War II, when the automobile industry had become almost completely dominated by the "big three" manufacturers. In that period as many as 2,900 cars of different names were built in the United States, the American production line that was to revolutionize the world was developed, and many great fortunes were established and a few lost. The prominent names of the industry's early days are fitted neatly and accurately into the pattern that made the automobile age. Duryea, Buick, Nash, Packard, Olds, Leland, Durant, Sloan, Chapin, Pope, Ford, Selden, Winton, and Chrysler are among those whom the author parades through their tribulations and successes. One of the most interesting sidelights of the book to the business-minded student is the background of the early manufacturers. The author points out that a surprisingly large number for that day were college-trained engineers, but the men who had been trained as machinists and mechanics outnumbered and overshadowed them. Only two really conspicuous examples, William C. Durant and John N. Willys, are found of men reaching the top without any technological background or associations. Both rose high, the author relates, but they also fell hard. *American Automobile Manufacturers* will be particularly valuable for the student of automotive lore. It is copiously supplied with source notes at the end of each chapter. The author has made a significant and readable contribution to the history of the automobile.

Scarsdale, New York

FRED KELLY, JR.

THE TRAGEDY OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By *William Appleman Williams*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1959. Pp. 219. \$4.75.) William Appleman Williams is a brilliant but perverse historian of American foreign policy—and this little book demonstrates both his virtues and his defects. One can have very real admiration for a writer who draws his literary bow so widely, embellishing his chapter headings with quotations, among many others, from Joseph Conrad and W. H. Auden, Richard Wright and C. P. Snow, and who demonstrates also such an extensive knowl-

edge of disciplines other than his own. But Williams is so obsessed by an almost exclusively economic interpretation of foreign policy that he tends to ignore such material as does not support his point of view, and arrogantly dismisses rather than answers what he considers the mistaken ideas of most of his fellow historians. His present theme is that since the opening of the century American foreign policy has in the final analysis been a program of economic expansion dictated by the country's corporate leadership. He terms this policy "open door imperialism" and describes it as stemming directly from John Hay's notes on China ("the classic program of imperial expansion"), but broadened and carried forward by successive administrations with world-wide implications. For fifty years it appeared to work brilliantly, Williams states, but its fundamental failure—the "tragedy" of his title—has now become apparent. While open-door imperialism has built an American empire, it has not sustained equitable development in the areas into which the United States has expanded, and it has prevented any accommodation with the revolutionary movements that are making over the twentieth-century world. What is essential today, therefore, is an "open door to revolutions" rather than an open door to the continued economic exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. It is impossible to give a satisfactory outline of the argument of this book in a brief review. And it is argument rather than diplomatic history. But however one may quarrel with Williams' major thesis or become annoyed with his dogmatic judgments (the threat to the open-door policy, for example, "crystallized the cold war"), *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* is stimulating and provocative. Its often enlightening treatment of the background of policy making and much of what it has to say about the present world situation make it for all its exaggeration and overemphasis a highly interesting contribution to today's great foreign policy debate. Williams' style is at times somewhat less than crystal clear (one could wish that he was not quite so enamored with "structure" as a verb), and his documentation is limited to a brief note on "evidence and insights."

Ohio State University

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

ROBERT LANSING AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, 1914-1917. By Daniel M. Smith. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LIX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1958. Pp. iv, 241. \$5.00.) Mr. Smith's painstaking and well-documented study brings to light little new information on America's road to war, 1914 to 1917. In the main it emphasizes and fortifies familiar interpretations of that period. Scholars long since concluded that Lansing anticipated Wilson in regarding war with Germany as inevitable, that he was more consistent than Wilson in viewing the cause of the Allies as that of the United States and in linking it with the cause of world democracy, and that his persistent pressure for intervention was a significant factor in determining the President's course. If anything more than this emerges from Smith's detailed narrative, it is new emphasis upon Wilson's tortured hesitancy when on the brink of war, and upon Lansing's insistence that a German victory, or even a stalemate, would imperil the future security of the United States. Thus the work contributes a partial answer to the question of whether the United States entered the war to preserve the balance of power; a partial answer because, first, Lansing talked much of ideology (democracy) and little of power relations, and second, the effect of such arguments on Wilson is not clear. Would the United States have entered the war if Germany had adhered to the *Sussex* "pledge"? The question is still unanswered, though Lansing's wishes are explicit. "I hope that those blundering Germans will blunder soon," he wrote in his diary in January, 1917, "because there is no doubt but that the Allies in the west are having a hard time. . . . The Allies must *not* be beaten. It would mean the triumph

of Autocracy over Democracy; the shattering of all our moral standards; and a real, though it may seem remote, peril to our independence and institutions. . . ." Scholars, to whom mainly if not alone this monograph will appeal, will regret that a university press insisted upon making backnotes of the footnotes.

Hood College

JULIUS W. PRATT

AMERICAN HISTORICAL FICTION. By *A. T. Dickinson, Jr.* (New York: Scarecrow Press. 1958. Pp. vi, 9-314. \$6.50.) This bibliography of 1,224 historical novels published in the United States from 1917 to 1956 is sensibly categorized into period and subject. The author, who was trained at the Graduate Library School in the University of Chicago, has not undertaken to read the books he lists; his selections and descriptions of content are based on comments in *Booklist*, *Fiction Catalogue*, and on secondary studies of the historical novel. His classified list is reasonably inclusive and well indexed. Mr. Dickinson adds nothing to knowledge of historical fiction with his introductory essay, and his sixty-page analysis of "background and themes" is weakened by his hap-hazard and ill-informed selection of what he regards as representative books. Any student who seeks a critical introduction to this voluminous literature should continue to rely on Ernest E. Leisy's *The American Historical Novel* (Norman, Okla., 1950).

Princeton University

ROBERT A. LIVELY

ANGRY VOICES: LEFT-OF-CENTER POLITICS IN THE NEW DEAL ERA. By *Donald R. McCoy*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1958. Pp. 224. \$4.00.) This work is a brief account of several efforts to patch together a national third party during the 1930's. As such, it is narrower in scope than the title suggests. "Left-of-center" politics in labor unions, farm organizations, and within the Democratic party itself are barely touched. What is told, chiefly, is the story of a small number of self-conscious politicos and publicists, who tried to parlay their splinter-followings into a major party. These are the specific groups discussed by the author: the League for Independent Political Action, the American Commonwealth Political Federation, the Union party, and the National Progressives of America. They were large in name, small in deeds, and lie buried without tears. To anyone familiar with the history of third-party aspirations over the past century, this book adds little of value. It presents several rounds of the well-known cycle in futility politics: grandiose proclamations, delusions of power, and the inevitable pricking of the bubble. Professor McCoy may have been taken in a bit by his own materials. He indicates surprise when a "promising" movement plunges to oblivion, and in his summation he magnifies the influence of fringe politicians and organizations. In one chapter of a somewhat different order, he gives a sketch of the rabble-rousers Long, Coughlin, and G. K. L. Smith. Although no important interpretations are developed, this a useful reminder of the national potential for demagoguery. The book shows little more depth than breadth. While the author has consulted a number of manuscript collections and has conducted several interviews, he relies generally upon printed sources. These include a limited list of relevant books, magazine articles, and newspapers (mainly the *New York Times*). McCoy has put some "angry voices" on the record, but he has revealed no fresh insights or provocative ideas concerning "left-of-center" politics.

Michigan State University

THOMAS H. GREER

HISTORY OF U. S. MARINE CORPS OPERATIONS IN WORLD WAR II. Volume I, PEARL HARBOR TO GUADALCANAL. By *Lieutenant Colonel Frank O. Hough, Major Verle E. Ludwig, and Henry I. Shaw, Jr.* (Washington, D. C.: Historical

Branch, U. S. Marine Corps; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1958. Pp. x, 439. \$5.00.) This is the first of a projected five-volume history of United States Marine Corps operations in World War II. After tracing the prewar development of Marine amphibious equipment, techniques, and doctrines, this volume covers combat operations at Wake Island, the Philippines, Midway, and Guadalcanal. The late Lieutenant Colonel Hough and his associates profited by the research done on earlier Marine combat operation monographs. The publication of this volume fills a need that many students of military affairs have felt for a Marine Corps complement to the Navy point of view expressed in S. E. Morison's *The Struggle for Guadalcanal* (Boston, 1950), to the Army-oriented account by J. W. Miller, Jr., in *Guadalcanal: The First Offensive. The U. S. Army in World War II* (Washington, D. C., 1949), and to *The Army Air Forces in World War II. The Pacific: Guadalcanal to Saipan*, Volume IV, edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate (Chicago, 1950). Japanese as well as American documents were examined by the authors in a reevaluation of earlier accounts of these engagements. The result is a well-organized, detailed history of the first great amphibious assault conducted by the United States in World War II. The account shows that our conduct of the Guadalcanal operation had all the imperfections of a first "austere" amphibious effort. American command arrangements were needlessly complicated. A struggle for control developed between Rear Admiral R. K. Turner, commander of the Amphibious Force and Major General A. A. Vandegrift, commander of the First Marine Division, which did the fighting on shore. The climax came August 2, 1942, when the carriers and transports were withdrawn from the area, leaving the First Marine Division with only four units of fire and a thirty-seven-day supply of food. Shortly after this Admiral Turner proposed converting the only immediately available reenforcing unit, the Second Marine Regiment, into "raider battalions" and suggested sending some of them to other areas. He wrongly assumed that raider battalions would be better adapted to amphibious warfare in the Pacific than Marine regiments and divisions. American ship-to-shore gunnery was ineffective. Employment of American carriers seems to have been on the cautious side. Fortunately for the United States Marine force on Guadalcanal, mismanagement of affairs was even greater on the Japanese side. They failed to coordinate their military movements and wasted their assets in piecemeal fashion. From this time on the Japanese were on a descending curve of air and naval power, and they never again successfully defended an area under attack by American sea, ground, and air forces.

Santa Monica, California

HARVEY A. DE WEERD

LATIN AMERICA

POWER AND PROPERTY IN INCA PERU. By Sally Falk Moore. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 190. \$5.00.) Dr. Moore's examination of the functioning of the Inca state demonstrates how historical interpretation can make contributions in the absence of new sources. Her procedure is to approach known sources with specific questions. Her interests are in Inca land tenure, taxation, bureaucratic organization, and applied law. In general she finds in the original sources a discrepancy between law and practice and in secondary literature an extreme emphasis on law with a neglect of practice. Rejecting socialist and other abstract classifications for the Inca government, she rejects likewise much of the tripartite land divisions, the decimal hierarchy, and the labor tribute. It is indicated that the Incas themselves elaborated an idealized societal form, and that it is this fiction that has led previous students astray. With regard to land, the analysis yields the suggestion that community property was

much more extensive than Inca property and that individually held lands existed side by side with the tripartite types. With regard to taxation it is shown that tribute in labor meant payments in material produce and that local taxation was more burdensome to the payers of tribute than was imperial taxation. The decimal hierarchy emerges as an administrative body consisting more of local governors than of Inca rulers. The result of these various conclusions is an emphasis upon regional custom and decentralization in the Inca state. In the presentation of these materials there appears a tendency to repeat the argument and a further tendency to modify the terms of the argument as it recurs. ("There is strong evidence that the completely government-supported Inca bureaucracy so often admired may not have existed. Allusions to the *curaca's* lands suggest this The conception of an Inca bureaucracy vanishes and that of a local landed nobility takes its place when evidence of the *curaca* lands is given its proper importance.") The book's purpose is, at least at one point, stated with caution: "to try to reconstruct from the fragments of information in the Spanish sources what is missing in the idealized scheme." But the author's delight in iconoclasm is precariously held in check. A careless reader might receive the impression that the book accomplishes more than it does. A careful reader, aware of this, might be misled into thinking that it accomplishes less.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

DESCRIPCIÓN DEL VIRREINATO DEL PERÚ: CRÓNICA INÉDITA DE COMIENZOS DEL SIGLO XVII. Edited, preface, and notes by Boleslao Lewin. [Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas Colección de Textos y Documentos, Series B, Number 1.] (Rosario: Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias de la Educación. 1958. Pp. 140.) Publication of this anonymous early seventeenth-century description of Peru initiates a series that promises to be of major importance. The original manuscript is in the French National Library and only parts of it have hitherto been published. After general comments about Peru's climate, geography, and products, there follows a description of principal settled places. The author noted particularly agricultural and handicraft production, the state of defenses, mineral production, trade, and social conditions. One is impressed by the commercial magnetism of Lima, which was destined for so large a share of the wheat, maize, sugar, livestock, minerals, and other fruits of economic activity. Unusually restrained and factual in narration, the author was truly enthusiastic about the *limeñas* whom he found to be the most beautiful and best-formed women in the world. The men he described in less glowing terms. Although not a moralist, he denounced immorality and debauchery, whether among Indians or whites, and took a few sly digs at religious orders. The author was probably a Portuguese Jew engaged in trade, and, the editor concludes, wrote this report for the Dutch who were then preparing New World adventures. During a residence of fifteen years, from about 1605 to 1620, this keen observer accumulated a vast store of information. He ranged far and wide but his travels within the viceroyalty almost certainly did not take him beyond the present Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Ecuador. This is a document rich in reliable observation and description, upon which all scholars interested in colonial Latin America may draw with profit. A series so auspiciously inaugurated deserves a long life.

Miami University

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

LA EXPEDICIÓN NORTEAMERICANA CONTRA EL PARAGUAY, 1858-1859. Volume II, LOS RESULTADOS. By Pablo Max Ynstran. [Biblioteca de Historia y Arqueología Americanas.] (México, D. F.: Editorial Guarania. 1958. Pp. 278.) Pub-

lished in 1954, the first volume of this work dealt with the commercial venture in Paraguay of a United States entrepreneur, Edward A. Hopkins; the role of the United States Navy's "scientific" expedition led to Paraguay by Lieutenant Thomas J. Page; and the course adopted toward these visitors by the president-dictator, Carlos Antonio López. Hopkins, his position undermined by his own irresponsible actions, departed in 1854, and early in 1855 Page's ship blundered into a cannonade with a Paraguayan battery. United States representation in Paraguay was but recently and insecurely established, and gave our government no clear view of these events. As this second volume opens, President James Buchanan resolves on a punitive expedition to redeem insult to our flag and to force payment of losses sustained by the United States company headed by Hopkins. From this point on the author carefully unfolds the story of this expedition of more than a dozen warships which never entered Paraguayan waters, and of the negotiations at Asunción involving a United States commissioner; President López; President Urquiza of the Argentine Confederation who came to Paraguay for this purpose; and a would-be participant, the Brazilian representative Amaral. With Urquiza's mediation the results were a United States-Paraguay treaty (signed February, 1859) and a convention specifying that a joint commission at Washington would settle the company's claims. United States Commissioner Cave Johnson soon ruled that no basis existed for such claims, and the matter died. Ynsfran's sources, gathered from every side, are excellent, and he exploits them very well. He deals out judgment with an even hand, now criticizing the erratic procedures of López and again censuring the inconsistencies of Hopkins, Page, and others. Thus the positive and negative aspects of this controversy are brought plainly to view, with the author's opinions clearly indicated. Indeed, in penetrating this tangle of personalities and political undercurrents, Ynsfran uses to good effect his own experience of public affairs. The results is not only a lucid narrative but a fine history book, placing the controversy in its regional context and illuminating the little-known record of early relations between Paraguay and the United States. It contains documents (some appearing for the first time), a detailed bibliography, and a good index for both volumes.

Occidental College

CLIFTON B. KROEBER

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The 1959 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, December 28-30. The Council will meet December 27. Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University is Program Chairman; Professor Paul Barton Johnson of Roosevelt University is Local Arrangements Chairman.

Since the publication of the 1958 *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History* a new file of dissertation titles has been started at AHA headquarters. Students and their advisers are urged to send in titles as soon as they are adopted and to inform the office if changes are made. The primary purpose of the *List* is to avoid duplication. The next *List* to be published will include all titles received and registered in this file since September, 1958, as under way or completed in history departments in the universities of the United States.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received first shipments of the papers of Jesse Holman Jones (1874-1956) as the gift of Mrs. Jones. It is expected that eventually the papers will cover the various phases of his career. The material thus far received (approximately sixty thousand pieces) consists largely of Mr. Jones's personal correspondence during the years he served in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and as Secretary of Commerce.

The papers of Rear Admiral Stanford C. Hooper (1884-1955), who has been called the "Father of Naval Radio," have been added to the Naval Historical Foundation collection in the Library of Congress. Many outstanding authorities on radio in government and in private industry are represented in the more than ten thousand Hooper papers, which date from 1916 to 1952 and thus cover the years Admiral Hooper served as Director of Naval Communications, 1928-1934, and chairman of the Naval Research Committee, 1934-1939. The papers also include 150 reels of magnetic tape on which Admiral Hooper and other pioneers in the field traced the "Naval History of Radio-Radar-Sonar."

Colonel William S. Culbertson, distinguished American diplomat, educator, author, and authority on the economics of world trade, has presented his papers to the Library. The approximately 35,000 items, dated from 1906 to 1958, consist of correspondence, memoranda, and manuscripts of his speeches, articles, and books. They include materials that relate to Colonel Culbertson's work as mem-

ber and later vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission (1917-1925) and to his service as ambassador to Roumania (1925-1928) and to Chile (1928-1933). There are also papers dealing with his work in the field of geopolitics during World War II and with various international conferences he attended as this country's economic expert. Certain files may be used only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

The papers of Henry F. Pringle (1897-1958), a large part of which were deposited in the Library in 1943, have been made a gift by Mrs. Pringle. They are composed mainly of correspondence, office memoranda, drafts of speeches, and pamphlet material accumulated by Mr. Pringle when he served as chief of the publications division of the Office of Facts and Figures and the Office of War Information (1943-1944) and as consultant to the War Department (1944-1945).

Dr. Lyman Bryson, author, lecturer, educator, and broadcaster, has presented the first installment of his papers (about 3,900 manuscripts) to the Library. These contain correspondence, scripts of radio broadcasts, and manuscripts of books and articles. The Library has received also the first installment of the papers of another well-known author and broadcaster, Eric Sevareid, as the gift of Mr. Sevareid. The approximately ten thousand items, which include correspondence from 1946, drafts of articles and books, and drafts and copies of broadcasts and interviews, may be consulted only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

The May, 1959, issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains an article on the Chester A. Arthur Papers and a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscript Division during 1958.

Records recently accessioned by the National Archives include correspondence of the Office of the Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering and predecessor units (1940-1954), records relating to the Bureau's discontinuance of Arlington Farm and the construction of research facilities at Beltsville, Maryland, and other localities (1933-1942), and records of the Bureau's Division of Farm Machinery (1926-1954) and of the Horticultural Crops Research Branch (ca. 1890-1952); machine tabulation listings of federal real property holdings made in connection with the First, Second, and Third Inventories of Real Property Owned by the United States (1953-1956) and the First Inventory of Real Property Leased to the United States throughout the World (1956); records of the United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota (1869-1912); and records of the President's Committee on Scientists and Engineers (1956-1958).

The National Archives has published one additional guide to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia, no. 7, *Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command* (Part I). The guides were prepared by the American Historical Association's Committee for the Study of War Documents.

Additional information about both microfilm and copies of the guides to German records may be obtained from the Exhibits and Publications Branch, the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C.

Among recently issued National Archives Microfilm Publications are Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs from the Southern (seven rolls) and Western (four rolls) Superintendencies and from twelve additional agencies (ninety-six rolls); Population Schedules of the 1820 Census for the State of Kentucky (fourteen rolls); Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1861-1902 (forty-four rolls); Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, 1848-1891 (282 rolls); and Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Officers below the Rank of Commander, 1854-1881 (274 rolls).

The 1958 volume of the series *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* has been placed on sale by the Superintendent of Documents at a price of \$8.25. The volume contains transcripts of all presidential news conferences held during the year, speeches, message to Congress, and other material issued as White Houses releases. Included are items on Alaskan statehood, the reorganization of the defense establishment, nuclear tests, space science and exploration, the voyage of the *Nautilus*, the advancement of scientific education, anti-American demonstrations in Latin America, the situation in the Far East and the Middle East, and mutual security. This is the third volume in the series; volumes for the years 1956 and 1957 have already been released.

A significant portion of the Truman Papers was opened to researchers at the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, on May 11, 1959. Those who wish to use papers and other materials are requested to make advance application to Dr. Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, Independence, stating the nature and purpose of their projects. This will give the staff an opportunity to locate materials of interest and will enable the researcher to begin work with minimum delay. Students will normally be expected to include letters of introduction from their professors with their applications.

MEETINGS

The Pacific Coast Conference on British Studies was formally organized at a separate meeting following the English History Session of the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held at Whittier, California, December 29, 1958. Officers elected for the ensuing year are: president, Professor Francis Herrick of Mills College; secretary-treasurer, Professor Guilford Dudley of Arizona State University. Those interested in the development of British studies in the western area are invited to contact the secretary-treasurer, Guilford Dudley, History Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

More than seventy representatives from thirty-seven colleges, universities, military institutes, newspapers, foundations, and government services gathered

at Ohio State University on February 27 and 28 to participate in a Conference on Civil-Military Relations. The meetings, sponsored jointly by the Defense Studies Committee and the department of history at Ohio State, discussed such topics as the development of wartime civilian leadership in Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States; the tradition of civil-military relations in recent American history; the role of public opinion in policy making; and the development of a military elite in the Soviet Union and in Communist China.

The Society for French Historical Studies held its annual conference at Western Reserve University and the Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 3 and 4, 1959. The meeting included a number of sessions with papers and discussions, luncheons offered by Western Reserve University and the Case Institute, a reception by the Western Reserve Historical Society and the French consular agent in Cleveland, a business meeting, and a concert of French music. The president of the Society, John Hall Stewart of Western Reserve University, and the vice-president, Melvin Kranzberg of the Case Institute, headed the committee on the program and local arrangements.

At the annual dinner the William Koren, Jr., Prize for the best article in French history published by an American or a Canadian in 1957 and 1958 was awarded to David D. Bien of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, for his article "The Background of the Calas Affair," published in *History*, October, 1958. This prize will be awarded annually.

Professor Evelyn Acomb of the State University of New York Teachers College at New Paltz was elected president for the coming year and Professor John B. Christopher of the University of Rochester, vice-president. Professor David H. Pinkney of the University of Missouri was reelected secretary-treasurer for a three-year term. The Society's next conference will be held on April 8 and 9, 1960, at the University of Rochester.

At the spring meeting of the Conference on British Studies in New York, April 4, 1959, Professor Peter Laslett of Cambridge University read a paper on "Social Change in Twentieth-Century Britain." Commentators were Professors Arnold Rogow of Haverford College, Stephen Graubard of Harvard University, and James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina.

At its Denver meeting April 22-24 the Mississippi Valley Historical Association elected Professor Frederick Merk of Harvard University as president for 1959-1960 and Professor Fletcher Green of the University of North Carolina as vice-president. The next meeting of the MVHA will be held in Louisville, Kentucky.

As has been usual since World War II, the Stockholm International Historical Congress (August 21-28, 1960) will have as the standard morning program the discussion of reports printed and distributed well in advance of the Congress,

and for the afternoon program a series of twenty-minute papers, related in general to the morning reports, and both read and discussed at the meetings. The following reports are being prepared by scholars from the United States: Felix Gilbert of Bryn Mawr College, "Cultural History, Its Development and Methods"; Sterling Dow of Harvard University, "Some Problems on the Bronze Age"; W. Norman Brown of the University of Pennsylvania, "Traditional Culture and Modern Developments in India"; Earl J. Hamilton of the University of Chicago, "Price History before 1750." Papers by scholars from this country will include: Louis Gottschalk of the University of Chicago, "The Problem of Generalization of the Writing of History"; Carl Schorske of Wesleyan University, "Vienna in the *Fin de siècle*: Social Crisis and Cultural Expression"; R. H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Philosophical Society, "Relationship of European and American Medicine during the Nineteenth Century"; Woodrow Borah of the University of California, "New Demographic Research on the Sixteenth Century in Mexico: The Social and Economic Effects of Catastrophic Loss of Population"; William Albright of Johns Hopkins University, "Archaeology and History in Ancient Palestine"; H. C. Krueger of the University of Cincinnati, "Genoese Merchants, Their Investments and Contracts, 1155-1230"; Hajo Holborn of Yale University, "Christian Ethics and Power Politics in German Lutheran Thought of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"; Bernard Bailyn of Harvard University, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America"; Henry Steele Commager of Amherst College and Columbia University, "The Reform Program of J. F. Struensee"; Howard K. Beale of the University of Wisconsin, "Changing Attitudes in the United States toward American Overseas Expansion, 1897-1907"; Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, "American Philanthropy in Europe, a Historical Evaluation"; Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University, "Cultural Reverberations of Scandinavian Emigration to the United States in the Scandinavian Countries"; and A. L. Gabriel of the University of Notre Dame, "Foreign Students, Members of the English-German Nation at the University of Paris in the Fifteenth Century."

The meeting of the Governing Board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for 1959 will take place at the end of August in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The principal item of business will be the consideration of final plans for the Stockholm Congress.

DONALD C. MCKAY

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

In February the Ford Foundation announced programs to strengthen undergraduate teaching about Asian and other non-Western countries. Grants were given to Indiana University, Denison University, the University of Vermont, and Haverford College. For graduate study additional grants were given to the University of Chicago and to Yale University, and "for developing American-Asian educational and cultural relations" to the Asia Society.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the following fellowship awards in history: *Grants-in-Aid of Research*—I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University, for research in Europe on the origin, development, and influence of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* and other work in the exact sciences; Francis G. James of Tulane University, for research on the United States and the Old Empire, 1688–1782; Leo F. Solt of Indiana University, for research on millenarianism and the sects during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1657.

Faculty Research Grants—Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, for a reevaluation of the "frontier hypothesis" as a means of interpreting United States history; Rushton Coulborn of Atlanta University, for research in the United States on the Prehistory of Middle America and Peru in the context of the development of civilized societies; Klaus Epstein of Harvard University, for research in Germany on the history of German conservatism from the French Revolution to World War I; John S. Galbraith of the University of California, Los Angeles, for research in England and South Africa on the missionary influence in South Africa, 1834–1854; Paul W. Gates of Cornell University, for research on federal land policies in California; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of Vanderbilt University, for research on the progressive movement in the South, 1900–1920; Wladyslaw W. Kulski of Syracuse University, for research on a new approach to international politics, based on differences between the nineteenth century and the present; David S. Landes of the University of California, Berkeley, for research in Western Europe on a comparative history of the Industrial Revolution; William L. Letwin of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for research in Ireland and Great Britain on Adam Smith and the origins of scientific economics; Elbert B. Smith of Iowa State College, for research on the career of Francis Preston Blair, 1791–1876 (renewal); John B. Wolf of the University of Minnesota, for research in France on the life of Louis XIV; Perez Zagorin of McGill University, for research in England on a social history of the English Revolution, 1640–1660.

Grants for Research on the Near and Middle East—John A. DeNovo of Pennsylvania State University, for research in the United States on American interests and policies in the Middle East, 1900–1939; Nikki R. Keddie of Scripps College, for research in England and Iran on the transformation of Iranian intellectual life, 1890–1914.

Grants for Slavic and East European Studies—Samuel H. Baron of Grinnell College, for research in Europe on the life and thought of G. V. Plekhanov; Robert V. Daniels of the University of Vermont, for research on the counter-revolution in Soviet thought: social and intellectual policies in the Soviet Union, 1929–1937; Sidney S. Harcave of Harpur College, for research on the life and role of Nicholas II (alternate); David Joravsky of Brown University, for research on the history of "Michurinist" biology; Victor S. Mamatey of Florida State University, for research in Europe on diplomacy, propaganda, and party politics in

Russia and East Central Europe, 1914-1920 (alternate); Michael B. Petrovich of the University of Wisconsin, for research in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on historical research and writing by the South Slavs; Peter Sugar of Princeton University, for research on the industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule; Arthur Voyce of Stanford University, for research on the architecture of pre-Petrine Russia (alternate).

Auxiliary Research Awards—Wilson Smith of Johns Hopkins University.

Grants for Attendance at the International Congress of the History of Science—I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University; Melvin Kranzberg of Case Institute of Technology; Harry Woolf of the University of Washington.

Under the Council's program for travel grants to scholars to attend international conferences abroad a limited number of grants will be offered for the meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences to be held in Stockholm in 1960. Those who wish to apply should write directly to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Under the auspices of the Joint Committee on Grants for Asian Studies, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council will make grants to individual scholars for research in the humanities and the social sciences relating to East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. A grant from the Ford Foundation will support this new program. Applications are welcome from mature scholars who have already made significant contributions to Asian studies, and from those with established competence in a social science or humanistic field who wish to equip themselves for research on Asian problems. Eligibility is limited to permanent residents of the United States and Canada who have the Ph.D. or its equivalent and whose capacity for effective research has been demonstrated by their previous work. Inquiries and requests for application forms should indicate briefly the nature of the proposed research, the approximate amount of financial support required, the applicant's present position or activity, and advanced degrees held. All communications should be addressed to Grants for Research on Asia, ACLS.

The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has named twelve hundred American and Canadian students as Woodrow Wilson fellows, 34 per cent of whom are planning to take courses in the social sciences and 38 per cent in the humanities. These fellows, who begin graduate work next fall at eighty different universities, will receive a living allowance of fifteen hundred dollars apiece, plus the full cost of tuition and fees. Married students will receive additional stipends.

The Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs has initiated a program of grants-in-aid. These will usually be grants of less than five hundred dollars to provide travel and living expenses for short periods of work at the Library. For the immediate future, grants will be concentrated on

those who are working on the period of former President Truman's public career and those who will be using the resources of the Truman Library.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences announces that it will award annually three prizes of one thousand dollars each to the authors of especially meritorious unpublished monographs, one each in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical and biological sciences. For the purposes of these awards a monograph is defined as a "scholarly contribution to knowledge, too long for an article in a learned journal and too specialized or too short for a general book."

The Royal Historical Society, London, announces that Maurice Lee, Jr., of Princeton University has won the David Berry Prize. This prize, a gold medal and fifty pounds, is awarded every three years for the best essay on a subject dealing with Scottish history in the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive. The next competition will be held in 1961. Correspondence relating to the competition may be addressed to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London, S.W., 10, England.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture and the Jamestown Foundation announce the establishment of a special prize competition for the best unpublished book-length manuscript about seventeenth-century America. The annual prize will consist of one thousand dollars and publication by the Institute. Manuscripts should be submitted not later than December 1, 1959, to James M. Smith, Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Ernest Samuels, professor of English at Northwestern University, has been awarded the Francis Parkman Prize for 1958 by the Society of American Historians for his book *Henry Adams, the Middle Years, 1877-1891*, published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

The Council of Library Resources has made a grant of twenty thousand dollars for a study of the role of the independent historical society in today's world. The study will be made by Walter Muir Whitehill, Director and Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum. Four independent historical societies are sponsoring the study. They and their representatives are: Virginia Historical Society, John M. Jennings, Director, Richmond; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, R. N. Williams II, Director, Philadelphia; American Antiquarian Society, Clifford K. Shipton, Librarian, Worcester, Massachusetts; and Massachusetts Historical Society, Stephen T. Riley, Director, Boston. Mr. Whitehill's study is expected to result in a book-length report that will be published.

With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies is sponsoring the preparation of a guide to materials in the British Isles on South Asia.

The University of Pennsylvania has received a \$75,000 appropriation from the Foundation for a study of the political, economic, and cultural aspects of nationalism in Argentina. The work will be directed by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker.

Dr. Louis Morton of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, received a Rockefeller Public Service Award for 1959-1960 to study national security policy research at various American universities.

The Theodor Körner Foundation of Austria has awarded a research grant to Eric Kollman for the preparation of a biography of the late Austrian president, Theodor Körner.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

A recent study of social science requirements for bachelor's degrees (United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Social Science Requirements for Bachelor's Degrees*, Bulletin No. 8, 1959, pp. 18-26) covering the history offerings in 224 colleges and universities reveals that more than two-thirds of the institutions have a social science requirement toward whose fulfillment history courses may be taken. In order of frequency, American history or civilization ranked first, Western civilization second, and world civilization third. The study also describes the strengths and weaknesses of the various courses as these were reported by the institutions.

The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has issued a *'Guide to the National Defense Education Act of 1958'*. It discusses and answers questions about the provisions of the Act, including those that pertain to loans to students and graduate fellowships.

The United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (*Higher Education*, Mar., 1959) has recently published figures concerning earned degrees at all degree-granting institutions in the United States in 1957-1958. In history 12,883 B.A. degrees were granted, 1,397 M.A. and 297 Ph.D. degrees.

According to Ray C. Maul of the Research Division of the National Education Association, the United States will need 425,000 new college teachers between 1959 and 1970. Fifteen thousand of these, according to Dr. Maul, will be needed in history.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Austin College: Edward Hake Phillips of Rice Institute appointed professor.
Brown University: Forrest McDonald, Executive Secretary, American History

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Research Center, Madison, Wisconsin, and Donald G. Rohr of Williams College appointed associate professors; Klaus Epstein of Harvard University appointed associate professor to assume duties in 1960; Sydney James, recently of Kent State University, appointed assistant professor. *Bryn Mawr College*: T. Robert S. Broughton appointed professor-in-charge of classical studies in the American Academy in Rome, 1959-61. *University of Chicago*: Louis Gottschalk named the Gustavus F. and Ann M. Swift Distinguished Service Professor of History. *University of Connecticut*: Edmund A. Moore, head of the department of history for more than twenty-six years, has retired and will join the European area program of the University of Maryland in the fall. *Cornell University*: Dexter Perkins retired as John L. Senior Professor Emeritus of American Civilization; Brian Tierney appointed professor; Eugene F. Rice, Jr., promoted to associate professor; Walter F. LeFeber appointed assistant professor. *Duke University*: William E. Scott of Yale University appointed assistant professor; Winfred Bernhard, Theodore Crane, Donald Limoli, and Gaddis Smith appointed instructors. *Fairleigh Dickinson University*: William M. Armstrong of Washington College appointed associate professor. *Harvard University*: John K. Fairbank appointed Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History; Franklin Ford promoted to professor. *Haverford College*: John P. Spielman of the University of Michigan appointed assistant professor. *High Point College* (North Carolina): Alexander V. Berkis promoted to associate professor. *Huntington Library*: O. O. Winther appointed senior research associate in western American history for the calendar year 1960. *Library of Congress*: Daniel J. Reed, director of libraries at the University of Detroit since 1953, appointed Assistant Chief of the Manuscript Division; Lester K. Born named head of the Manuscripts Section of the Descriptive Cataloguing Division. He will supervise the establishment of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. *Long Island University*: Milton M. Klein of Columbia University appointed professor and named chairman of the department of history and government; Moses Rischin appointed assistant professor and Albert Fein and Donald Warren, Jr., appointed instructors. *Louisiana State University*: John Duffy promoted to associate professor; Patrick C. Lipscomb appointed instructor. *Mary Washington College*: Vivian L. Munson appointed instructor. *University of Michigan*: Robert I. Crane promoted to associate professor and Gerhard Weinberg appointed associate professor. *Montana State University*: Morton Borden and Paul Carter promoted to associate professors. *University of North Carolina*: Preston W. Edsall on leave on grant for study of North Carolina legislative politics. *Pennsylvania Military College*: William Edwin Sawyer promoted to professor, William Madison Rolofson to assistant professor. *Pennsylvania State University*: Richard E. Pipes appointed associate professor. *University of Pittsburgh*: Robert G. Colodny appointed associate professor.

Rice Institute: Francis Loewenheim appointed assistant professor. *Rider College* (Trenton, New Jersey): Leon J. Agourides promoted to associate professor.

State Department, Historical Division: Howard M. Smyth appointed American Editor in Chief of *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*. *Trinity College:* Robert C. Black III and Norton Downs appointed associate professors. *Tulane University:* Hans A. Schmitt of the University of Oklahoma appointed associate professor. *University of Vienna (Austria):* Friedrich Engel-Janossi of Catholic University of America appointed professor. *Washington College* (Chesertown, Maryland): Robert Kirkwood of Clarkson College of Technology appointed associate professor. *Washington Missionary College* (Takoma Park, Maryland): Charles B. Hirsch of Potomac University appointed dean. *Western College for Women* (Oxford, Ohio): Isabel R. Abbott of Rockford College appointed dean. *Wheaton College:* Durward Long appointed assistant professor; Thomas Kay appointed instructor. *University of Wisconsin:* Marshall Clagett named professor in the university's new Institute for Research in the Humanities.

RECENT DEATHS

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., died in May, 1958, at the age of eighty-seven. Born in Eastern Bengal and educated at the Presidency College of Calcutta, he was for twenty-one years professor at the Patna Government College. In 1926-1928 he was vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, and from 1929 to 1932 he served on the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1929 he was knighted.

Sarkar's study of the Moghuls began in 1901 with his *India of Aurangzib*, and extended to 1950, with the publication of the fourth and last volume of his monumental *Fall of the Moghul Empire*. Earlier he had completed the five volumes of his *History of Aurangzib*, and from Persian manuscripts that he found he translated the *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*. Results of his studies of eighteenth-century contests for control of India were *Shivaji and His Times* and *The House of Shivaji*. He also wrote *The Economics of British India* and *India through the Ages*, his most general work. Remarkably successful in his literary finds, Sarkar collected some five thousand letters and papers of the Aurangzib period. He edited the second volume of the *History of Bengal* and collaborated with G. S. Sardesai in editing the fifteen-volume *Poona Residency Correspondence*. Terming "the Gibbon of India," Sarkar's major contribution was his intensive half-century study of the Moghul period. He was an honorary member of the Association.

Georges Bourgin, historian-archivist, died in September, 1958. Born in Nevers in 1879, he studied law at the École de chartes and entered the service of the Archives nationales in 1904. Several inventories are due to his careful work, and he was still conservateur of the Section ancienne when he died. Professor at the École pratique des hautes études for fifteen years, he gave a course on economic and social history, and especially on the history of labor.

He was long a member of the Comité des travaux historiques, the Commission and Sous-Commission des documents économique de la Révolution française, the Institut de l'Histoire de la Révolution française (Sorbonne), the Comité des

historiens français, vice-president and president of the Société d'histoire moderne, and president of the Commission internationale d'Histoire des mouvements sociaux et des structures sociales. Bourgin participated in international conferences of historians at London, Bucharest, Budapest, the Hague, Zurich, Paris, and Rome.

Among his numerous publications were volumes alone or jointly in the series of *Documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française*. He made important contributions to the bibliography of the *risorgimento*, the history of towns, the Catholic Church in France, history of the press, and social history. Bourgin translated a number of works on Italian history, and collaborated on Italian historical reviews as well as innumerable French learned reviews. Bourgin was always generous of time and encouragement for American historians studying in France. He will be missed by all those who were interested in social and economic history and the history of the press.

Joseph Stanley Jackson, associate professor emeritus at Carroll College, died at Waukesha, Wisconsin, January 17, 1959. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932. A specialist in English history and the Renaissance, he was the author of *The Public Career of Sir Francis Burdett* (1932).

George Matthew Dutcher, professor of history at Wesleyan University, died at Middletown, Connecticut, on February 22. Born in Pleasant Valley, New York, in 1874, he became a student of Morse Stevens at Cornell University, where he received the Ph.D. in 1903. Joining the Wesleyan faculty in 1901, he became professor in 1905, serving until 1946. He was acting president of Wesleyan from 1918 to 1921. Chairman of the board of trustees of the Connecticut State Hospital for twenty-five years, he was honored by dedication of a hospital building as Dutcher Hall. He edited and contributed to the Connecticut Tercentenary Series of Historical Publications. His writings include articles on the enlightened despots, the political awakening of the Far East, and contributions as joint editor of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (1931). He was chairman of the committee on bibliography of the American Historical Association from 1915 to 1928. Lecturer at Harvard, 1923-1924, and Yale, 1926-1928, he also taught in summer sessions at the following universities: Cornell, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Northwestern, and California. He lectured at colleges around the world, 1921-1922; and again in 1930 he lectured, in behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, at ten universities in Japan, China, the Philippines, and Hawaii.

Louis Henry Dielman, former librarian and executive secretary of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland, and life member of the Association, died March 8.

Professor Robert Fortenbaugh, chairman of the department of history at Gettysburg since 1926 and life member of the Association, died March 16.

Donald Cope McKay, Anson D. Morse Professor of History at Amherst College, died at Amherst, Massachusetts, on April 1. Professor McKay was widely known in the historical profession as a major contributor to and organizer of French and Italian studies. He was an American member of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

Born in 1902 in Salt Lake City, Utah, Professor McKay did his undergraduate work at Stanford University, and received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in 1932. At that time he was already an instructor in the Harvard history department, and continued to serve there, with the exception of wartime duty with the Office of Strategic Services, until he resigned in 1956 to go to Amherst.

Professor McKay was known widely for his two books in the field of modern French history, *The National Workshops* (1933) and *The United States and France* (1951). He did not limit himself to this specialization, however, and his interests became steadily wider as his scholarly life advanced. As an outgrowth of his wartime service, more particularly as chief of the Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS in the Mediterranean theater, he became interested in the establishment of regional study programs at Harvard, and to this he gave vigorous leadership in the immediate postwar years. Subsequently, he turned his attention to the development of *risorgimento* studies. At the time of his death, he was absorbed in preparations for the 1960 meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, having served the previous October as one of the hosts for the first American visit of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

Paul Murphy, emeritus professor of classics and ancient history at the College of Idaho, died April 3.

Arthur M. Hyde, life member of the Association since 1928, died in Colorado.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

My attention has been called to several paragraphs in Professor Walter Prescott Webb's "History as High Adventure," which appeared in your January, 1959, issue, because it is quite obvious that we are the publishers of his *Divided We Stand*, which we brought out in 1937. Professor Webb says:

The book in original form trod on the toes of a powerful monopoly of patents, and it in turn trod on my publisher, leading to expurgation in gallery of all reference to this company and to its products, glass bottles. The book was quickly declared out of print on the ground that it did not sell.... The original publisher is out of business.

Our records show that *Divided We Stand*, published in 1937, had two additional printings in 1938, and was in print until 1940. It was never remaindered. This company—it was then Farrar & Rhinehart—has certainly not gone out of business.

As to Professor Webb's allegation that certain cuts were made in the manuscript, these were not due to any pressure on the publishers by any northern vested interest, but because in our opinion and those of counsel they were as questionable as his current statements about this company and the publication history of his book.

In the same period, we published two other controversial books: *The American Chamber of Horrors* by Ruth de Forest Lamb, which was an exposé of certain violations of the Food and Drug Act by well-known northern manufacturers; and *Life Insurance: A Legalized Racket* by Mort and E. A. Gilbert. Although great pressure was brought on us to withdraw both these books, we felt that publication was in the public interest.

New York

STANLEY M. RINEHART, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Rinehart's memory of the case of *Divided We Stand* is understandably dim after the lapse of so many years. If he will examine the file of our correspondence when the book was in galley he will find that the facts, with the exception of one, vary considerably from his recollection of them as set forth in the last paragraph. Perhaps I was in error in stating that the publisher of my work is out of business. I suppose I should have said it has altered its name.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I request space to comment on Irvin G. Wyllie's review of *The Responsibilities of American Advertising* by Otis Pease (*AHR*, LXIV, 467). Mr. Wyllie makes the damaging assertion that Pease "leans rather heavily on the [advertising] industry's self portrait." In elaboration, he represents Pease as arguing that "advertising men are not mere hucksters but 'crusaders for the liberation of middle-class people'" and that they are "reformers who favor 'a more progressive economic policy.'" The interior quotations are from Pease, but what does Pease, in fact, say? On page forty-one, he says that "those engaged in twentieth century advertising looked on themselves, in effect as crusaders . . ."; on page twenty-one he says that "the advertising man tended to look upon himself as an economic reformer." His entire treatment shows that he himself rejects these concepts, and it is loaded with caveats against them. The meaning which the phrases convey in context could hardly be more different from the meaning which is attributed to them in quotation.

Further, Mr. Wyllie suggests that Mr. Pease contracted these mistaken views from me. This tempts me to a labored argument that he could not have, since I do not hold them myself. Such an argument would stress my belief that any worthwhile analysis of the social effects of advertising will get farther by cold-blooded dissection of the basic forces at work than by hot-blooded denunciation of "hucksters." It would emphasize the distinction between contending that advertising is immensely important, which I do, and contending that it is all right, which I do not. This argument would also call attention to the discussion of the detrimental effects of advertising on American social standards in my *People of Plenty* (pp. 180-88) and to some severe strictures of mine on the mass media, in a symposium entitled *An Inquiry into Cultural Trends* (pp. 26-28, 39-40), which was

published, with some fortitude, I felt, by the Advertising Council itself. But clearly the real question is not whether it was I who led Mr. Pease astray, but whether he has in fact been led astray at all. Anyone who wishes to satisfy himself on that point can, I believe, find a clear-cut answer by making an examination, which need not be exhaustive, of Mr. Pease's book.

Yale University

DAVID M. POTTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am amazed that Mr. Potter finds my review of the Pease book damaging, since on balance my appraisal was decidedly favorable. I commended Mr. Pease for writing a serious and useful book, for resisting all temptation to be amusing, supercilious, or superficial, and for giving us a history of the ethics of advertising (the main concern of the book) that is sensible, cautious, and sophisticated throughout.

While conceding the author's independence in his judgment of advertising ethics, I indicated that in his discussion of advertising's general social role (Chapter II, "National Advertising and the Good Life") he leaned rather heavily on the industry's published self-portrait. I do not find this chapter, which seems to be the only one at issue, "loaded with caveats against them," nor do I think Mr. Pease achieves complete disassociation merely through use of the phrase, "advertising men looked on themselves." On page twenty-six, despite the inclusion of one qualifying statement, he certainly conveys the idea that the industry generally supported labor's view of the wage question. "With regularity and conviction advertising men spoke out on behalf of high-wage policies and effective bargaining power for wage earners." Frequently they "found themselves aligned with spokesmen for labor and for a more progressive economic philosophy. . ." The supporting evidence consists of two footnote citations to *Printer's Ink*, which certainly suggest heavy reliance on advertising's published self-portrait. One would like to know what the industry's closed files say about labor and the wage question, and whether labor itself recognized the advertising man as an ally.

Some of Mr. Pease's views are debatable, but I did not put them down as mistaken. Nor did I suggest that he contracted any mistaken ideas from Mr. Potter, or that he was led astray by him. I simply indicated that he joined Mr. Potter in chiding historians for underrating the social importance of advertising, a point easily verified through an examination of page viii of the Pease book and page 167 of *People of Plenty*.

I find it difficult to understand how my review could have inspired this protest.

University of Wisconsin

IRVIN G. WYLLIE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I cannot refrain from taking exception to several of the comments made by Francis B. Simkins in his review of my book *Doctors in Gray: The Confederate Medical Service* (*AHR*, Oct., 1958).

"If there was pathos about deaths in hospitals or on the field of battle," writes Professor Simkins, "we are not told this. If there were beautiful nurses Cunningham does not mention them." Perhaps some heart-rendering deathbed scenes were in order, but it is believed the average reader will find pathos and drama enough

in reports of soldiers freezing to death while on guard duty, being reduced almost to skeletons by diarrhea, undergoing amputations on makeshift operating tables slimy with blood, and suffering the horrors of the damned after major engagements as wounded captives in Federal hospitals. The publisher and I jokingly considered having the picture of an attractive female nurse on the dust cover; maybe we should have taken the matter more seriously. At any rate, my report of the hospital patient who persisted in removing his clothes every time Phoebe Pember entered his ward illustrates that these men of the fighting forces were not altogether unaware of women, whether beautiful or not, in the hospitals.

My answer to the statement that the book is "an endless stringing together of details" is the statement of a reviewer—better versed in medical matters than Professor Simkins—in another national journal that "Mr. Cunningham has studied and reported every aspect of medical care with a proper perspective for the important and the trivial."

Elon College

H. H. CUNNINGHAM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Cunningham omits from his comments that I praised the thoroughness of his research findings, and that, in my own words, I agreed with "the reviewer better versed in medical matters" concerning the author's report of "every aspect of medical care." These commendations do not contradict my assertion that the book is "an endless stringing together of details." The "pathos" may be present, but it is not graphically enough presented to compel attention. About this matter there is a difference of opinion over which we two should not quarrel.

Longwood College

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Miss Adrienne Koch's review of Robert D. Meade's *Patrick Henry: Patriot in the Making* (AHR, Jan., 1959) contains several factual errors which, I believe, need correction. Even casual readers must know that the book has been well received, both by historians and by the general public; it would be idle to pay undue attention to the opinion of one obviously prejudiced reviewer.

Nevertheless, a few obvious misstatements call for comment. Miss Koch states that the journal of the so-called "French traveler" contains the only eyewitness account of Henry's Stamp Act speech; Dr. Meade deals with surviving eyewitness accounts by Paul Carrington and Thomas Jefferson, as well as with a mass of supplementary evidence. Miss Koch refers, also, to Dr. Meade's having "interviewed countless Virginia ladies and gentlemen, who may have some gossip to transmit about 'the American Demosthenes.'" I find no evidence in the book that Dr. Meade has acted as gossip-monger, or has accepted undocumented rumor about Patrick Henry. From a purely practical point of view, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find Virginians now living who would be in a position to transmit such gossip.

In a somewhat contradictory statement, Miss Koch deplores the fact—or reputed fact—that "we are never put in touch with a man." Is Dr. Meade expected, then, to invent anecdotes to "humanize" his subject, or to collect gossip to substantiate personality traits nowhere suggested in authentic sources? In the first place, a glance at the index will direct the reader to a number of evaluations of Henry as

"a man"; furthermore, the second volume, not yet published, is the logical place for a sustained estimate of Henry's character.

I am surprised that a review in a scholarly journal should be so condescending in tone. I have long been familiar with Dr. Meade's work as scholar and historian; Miss Koch's review is a misleading estimate of a book which is, I believe, a lasting contribution to colonial and revolutionary history. I trust that readers of the review will at least turn to the book before accepting Miss Koch's conclusions.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

MILDRED B. MUNDAY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Miss Mildred Munday claims that my critical review of *Patrick Henry* contains several factual errors, but she fails to establish a single one. She asserts that it is an "obvious misstatement" to say that the French traveler's journal presents the only eyewitness account of Henry's Stamp Act speech. But even Dr. Meade states that "the traveler's account is the only eyewitness description we have of Henry's Stamp Act speech" (p. 177). It should be clear, therefore, that Miss Munday is in error in this point. Perhaps her error arises from the fact that the journal entry significantly alters the traditional account of Henry's speech as given by Paul Carrington and Thomas Jefferson some fifty years after the event, and thus comes close to heresy for a Henry partisan.

Miss Munday's next charge is that she can find no evidence that Dr. Meade transmitted "gossip" about Henry. Perhaps I can help her, by referring to the extended footnote seventy-seven of Chapter xv, which reads:

Interview of Miss Sally Campbell. She was born at Glen Cairn in 1855 and her grandmother from whom she had the data on Mrs. Henry was Mrs. Harriett Brown (née Sheppard), born Aug. 3, 1799. Miss Campbell pronounced Patrick "Pähtrick." The neighborhood story of Mrs. Henry's insanity is repeated by several reliable witnesses. . . .

This footnote continues in the same vein for several paragraphs, and is typical of others. Here again Miss Munday is in error.

Her third charge is that something must be wrong with my critical review since "even casual readers must know that the book has been well received both by historians and by the general public." It should be apparent that the opinion of a casual reader is irrelevant to a responsible review for a scholarly journal. Nor is it the obligation of a serious reviewer to take a poll of what other critics might say about the book. However, I do not believe that my criticism is as singular as Miss Munday contends, since I am aware of at least one similarly critical review by the noted historian Carl Bridenbaugh, which appeared in the New York *Times* book review section on August 25, 1957.

Miss Munday's final charge is that it is contradictory to note that Dr. Meade uses "gossip" and that he yet fails to put us in touch with the man. In making this charge, she falsely implies that I considered Dr. Meade a "gossip-monger," and she herself confuses gossip about a person with knowledge of the person.

However, there is one statement in Miss Munday's comment which I do not find odd or wayward, and that is her closing hope that readers "will at least turn to the book before accepting Miss Koch's conclusions."

University of California, Berkeley

ADRIENNE KOCH

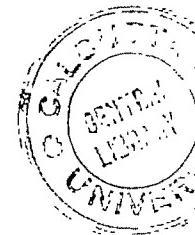
IN TRIBUTE

September 19, 1959, will mark the centennial of the birth of J. Franklin Jameson, first and long-time editor of the *American Historical Review*, the scholar who in the opinion of his colleagues did more to promote historical research in America than any other man.

EDITOR'S NOTE

For many years this editor and his predecessors, including J. Franklin Jameson, have hoped to emphasize broad, interpretive essays and critical review surveys which sum up research in fields of wide interest. At its meeting in December, 1958, the Board of Editors once more expressed this hope. During the spring of 1959 the *Review* received enheartening support for this policy from historians throughout the country who were asked for specific and general suggestions. The *Review* will continue to publish research articles that uncover new facts. It will emphasize and try to obtain articles, however, that broadly cover and interpret major fields and subjects, that examine the nature of the study of history and present fresh points of view, that lead to intelligent new understandings, or that sum up, with critical analysis of the literature, what is known in major fields or about significant subjects.

When the *Review* began publication in 1895 it paid for accepted articles at the rate of \$3.00 a page. The practice of payment for articles, long discontinued, will be tried once more. For articles accepted after September 1, 1959, the *Review* will pay \$5.00 per *Review* page. After one year the Board of Editors will reexamine the question.



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